MEMORIAL STONES

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MEMORIAL STONES

a study of their origin, significance and variety

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In memory of

HERMANN GOETZ
A. N. UPADHYE

PREFACE

For over a century, memorial stones have been noticed in various parts of India, although the focus of attention has been on their epigraphical rather than on their archaeological and plastic contents. Lack of co-ordination on the one hand and slow pace of recognition of their artistic importance on the other, kept this vast body of sources away from the serious consideration of scholars. During this time, regional scholars took it for granted that the memorial stones were the peculiar features of their particular regions, and made casual attempts at drawing attention to them through isolated publications, but very few of these evoked the desired interest. This accounts for the absence of reference to the memorial stones in serious publications on history, anthropology, archaeology and art-history. The epigraphists, no doubt, effectively used this body of sources, but they too found it of lesser interest compared to the elaborate *dāna śāsanas* and *vijaya śāsanas*. Often the memorial stones were cited in political history to prove or disprove a political situation (boundary dispute, clash of interest either between feudatory families or independent kingdoms, local skirmishes among social or economic groups etc.,), but their origin and history, the philosophy, meaning and significance attached to them, their variety, form, and plastic detail, their socio-economic significance, were more or less left uninvestigated. Recent attempts have, however, helped us realize that these stones are confined not to any particular region nor to a period of history and that they should not be viewed merely as documents relating to a clash of economic or political interests.

The hero-cult and the philosophy underlying the process of commemoration are deep-rooted both in our ancient literature and history, and the variety and forms of memorial tablets are interesting enough to secure them an independent status in the art-history of India. Locally called *vīragals*, *naṭukals*, *pāliyas*, *govardhan-stambhas*, *kīrti-stambhas*, *chhāya-stambhas* or merely as *khatris*, *stambhas*, *devalis* etc., these tablets fall into several sub-groups originating in ritual or cult practices as well as religious or social customs of its patrons. The *chhāya-stambha* is among the earliest archaeological evidence, and it seems to be rooted in the social practices of the Buddhists.

The *nisidhi* represents the ritual death practiced exclusively by the Jains. Unlike these, the *vīragals* — or at least the currency of this term — crosses religious demarcations, if not the conventional geographical limits of Southern India. The *kīrti-stambha*, *pāliya*, *khatri*, *devali* and *stambha* share the country between the Himālayas and the Vindhyās.

This first comprehensive study of the memorial stones of India tries to focus attention on the vast archaeological and literary wealth of the country and on the salient features of the cult-practices prevalent in the past and in the present. The inquiry extends from Kerala to Himachal Pradesh; from the Buddhist practices of the 2-3rd cent. A.D. to the contemporary customs among Gujarat tribes. Besides studying the sacred literature in Sanskrit and the classical literature in two of the most ancient regional languages (Tamil and Kannada) of the country, an attempt has been made here to explore the folk-literature, and to find the relevance between the theory and practice of the hero-cult. The origin, regional variety and the socio-economic significance attached to the memorial stones are also examined, though the body of source material is limited to the field work done by or available to individual scholars. All these, we presume, would at least serve as an introduction to a more comprehensive understanding of this source material in the years to come.

These papers were read and discussed in a seminar jointly held at Dharwad by the Dept. of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University, Dharwad, and the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany. They are brought out in print after a lapse of seven years. Not all the factors that delayed this publication can be justified, but it is gratifying to note that the gap between the deliberation and publication has been effectively utilized by some scholars to revise as well as to update their material and judgments, and also to secure for us an interesting variety of illustrative material. We thank all contributing scholars, who patiently co-operated with us and met our numerous demands.

We specially regret the delay because this belated publication has made it impossible for us to obtain today the enlightened reactions of two of our foremost Indologists, Hermann Goetz and A. N. Upadhye, who are unfortunately no more with us. Directly as well as indirectly they led us to this field and we hope this fruit of the combined scholarship of their contemporaries and juniors is not far below the expectation they would have had of us.

S. Settar & G. D. Sontheimer

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I

MEANING, SIGNIFICANCE AND ORIGIN

THE AFTER-DEATH DESTINY OF THE HERO ACCORDING TO MAHĀBHĀRATA

PIERRE FILLIOZAT

THE after-death destiny of the hero who has been killed in battle is a theme frequently used in Sanskrit literature. All authors of *mahākāvyas* have used the image of the dead hero welcomed by celestial damsels in heaven. The *Mahābhārata* assures a reward to the hero after his death on the battle-field. In the *Śāntiparva*,[1] Bhīṣma expounds the rules of conduct, the code of honour and of bravery, which a king should follow, when he goes to war and conquest. Yudhiṣṭhira objects that violence and bloodshed are sinful, and asks : "By which act does the king win upper worlds (*loka*)? "

We may note here that the word *loka* is always used in the plural in this text. Its common meaning is "world". In later literature it is commonly held that a place in the other world, "*svarga*", is given to the hero. Here, it seems, the worlds other than *svarga* are also referred to. The same text shows a hero going above Indra's world, in accordance with the belief that the hero, according to his heroic acts, would rise to different upper worlds in the well-known series, *svar*, *mahar*, *tapas*, *janas*, *satya*. "Hear from me which *lokas* are obtained by the hero"; "thousands of celestial damsels run towards the killed hero..."[2] The *loka* appears to be merely a word referring to all kinds of fruits obtainable after death.

Bhīṣma is made to answer Yudhiṣṭhira first by pointing at the material benefits gained by the victorious. As for the sins of killing, they could be cleansed by meritorious deeds. But there is something more than this. After recalling that one obtains by sacrifices the similarity with Indra, Bhīṣma says that when a king fights with enemies, for the sake of brahmins, "giving his self to the sacrificial post" (*ātmā-naṃ yūpam utsṛjya i.e.*, losing his life in battle),[3] then the battle is a sacrifice of innumerable *dakṣiṇas*, (*i.e.*, a sacrifice of the highest order and source of infinite merit). We encounter here for the first time the comparison of a battle with a sacrifice. In the *yajña*, which is the battle, the king is the animal offered as sacrifice (*paśu*). Bhīṣma reveals the relation between the actions of the king on the battlefield and the fruits to be obtained in the other world in the following words :

---

[1] *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*, *adhyāya* 97 and 98 (Kumbakoṇam, Bombay 1907), 97·2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 98·72.

"The king obtains as many everlasting and soul satisfying fruits as there have been arrows tearing off the skin of his body. When blood flows from his body, he is liberated of all his sins..."[4]

Bhīṣma goes on to show the difference between the ordinary man who is filled with fear, and the hero who rushes to fight. A hero should not die at home, for natural death resulting from disease is to be despised. "The *kṣatriya* deserves the death caused by sharp arrows"[5]. "If he does not turn his back, the hero obtains equality with Indra. When killed, being surrounded by enemies, the hero obtains imperishable worlds, if he has not resorted to cowardice".[6]

Yudhiṣṭhira then asks which are the *lokas* obtained by the heroes who have not run away from the battle-field. Bhīṣma does not directly answer this question. He does not say much on the nature of the *lokas*; but, he reveals by which actions and for what reasons fruit is obtained. He does it by citing a discourse between Ambarīṣa and Indra: king Ambarīṣa ascends to heaven and sees the chief of his army, Sudeva, "who, seated in a beautiful *vimāna*, was going to other worlds, rising above him".[7]

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[3] This *pāda* appears in verse 97·10 and in verse 98·53. According to the first line of verse 98·53, it refers to the loss of life experienced by the king in battle.

[4] *Ibid.*, 97. 12–13.

[5] *Ibid.*, 97·28.

[6] *Ibid.*, 97. 31–32.

[7] *Ibid.*, 98·4.

Surprised to see his subordinate rising above him, Ambarīṣa complains to Indra that Sudeva, a mere soldier, who had not performed any sacrifices was rising above the king, the performer of many sacrifices. Indra recalls the story of Sudeva and explains the moral of it.[8] When three demons obstructed the sacrifice of Ambarīṣa and seized the subjects of the king, Ambarīṣa's ministers falsely accused Sudeva for the defeat. The king first removed Sudeva from his office; then, on the deceitful advice of the same ministers, he asked him to attack the demons and liberate his subjects, knowing fully well that the demons could not be conquered, and that Sudeva would only encounter death. With an army, Sudeva reached the place where the demons had imprisoned the subjects. When he saw the demon army, he understood that it was too powerful to be conquered by him. Sending back his troops to the king, Sudeva prepared himself for death. He praised Śiva, and took up a sword to cut off his own head. Śiva appeared, and opposed his intention of committing suicide. Śiva gave him the chariot, and the equipment with which He had conquered Tripura. Sudeva could then attack and fight against the demons; but ultimately he was overwhelmed and killed. In this story Ambarīṣa is shown to be guilty of having treacherously sent his officer to death, on hearing reports from his deceitful ministers, whereas Sudeva is shown to have gained merit because of his heroic death. This explains why he got a higher reward than the king.

Indra concludes by saying that Sudeva accomplished with valour the sacrifice which is the battle. "Every soldier who is equipped, and has approached the front line of the army, is initiated

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[8] The story is told in verses between 99·12 and 38 in the Kumbakoṇam edition. In the same edition the story is followed by a long discourse (verses 39–77) on the idea of the ascension of heroes to heaven. In other editions, the story is omitted and only the general discourse is given. As we shall see, the story answers the question of Ambarīṣa, whereas the general discourse is a broad and indirect explanation. And without the story, it is difficult to understand why Sudeva should surpass Ambarīṣa in heaven. The general discourse leaves this particular point unanswered. Therefore the version presented in the Kumbakoṇam edition is more logical and coherent.

(*dīkṣita*), and has the charge of performing the sacrifice of battle (*yuddhayajñādhikārastha*)"[9]. As Ambarīṣa asks a clarification on this point, Indra makes a lengthy discourse on the battle as a sacrifice. The elephants are the officiating priests (*ṛtvij*). The horses are the *adhvaryus*. The pieces of flesh of enemies are the offerings. The blood is the liquid butter. The jackals, vultures, etc., are the *sadasya* priests. The weapons are the ladles (*sruc*). The arrow is the *sruva*. The sword is the spade (*sphya*). The blows from metallic weapons are liberally distributed, like the wealth in metallic coins. The blood which flows on the ground is the complete oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*). The shouts of soldiers "cut! break" are the *sāmans*. The front line of the enemy force is the container where the offerings are stored (*havirdhāna*). The troops of elephants, horses and armoured men are the altar in the form of a bird of prey. A headless trunk standing upright, supported by thousands of bodies heaped around, is the octagonal post made of *khadira* wood. The trumpeting of elephants is the invocations of the *iḍā*. The sound of the bow-strings is the clapping of hands accompanying the recitation of the word *vaṣat*. The drum is the *udāgtṛ*.

The poet goes on to praise the hero, comparing his heroic acts in the battle-field with an act of sacrifice. He concludes by saying that the hero killed in battle should not be grieved for. He says that "people do not desire to give food, or water, or to perform baths and rituals connected with impurity, for the killed hero". No impurity is caused when death takes place on a battle-field, hence the relatives of the dead hero had to perform no rituals connected with impurity. The same idea occurs in *Manusmṛti:* "for one who is killed, without trespassing the code of *kṣatriyas*, with uplifted weapons in battle, a sacrifice is completed at the same time, and the impurity of death is cleansed".[10] Manu here uses the same analogy of battle and sacrifice. To fight in a battle is to perform a sacrifice. This belief may be connected with the idea of the absence of death-impurity. The battle is considered as effective as a sacrifice, for happiness after-death. In the same way, it is also considered effective as a ritual, for the removal of death impurity.

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[9] *Mahābhārata, op. cit.*, 98·39.

[10] *Manusmṛti*, (Bombay, 1946), v. 98.

This comparison between battle and sacrifice, elaborated with many details in the *Mahābhārata*, is interesting because it is presented as an explanation of the hero's accession to heaven, and as a proof of its reality. We can see in it a reasoning based on analogy, a reasoning which is an attempt to give a stronger foundation to the belief. It is admitted, on the authority of sacred texts, that sacrifice leads to heaven; this is now extended to the hero killed in battle.

We find another proof of this belief in Medhātithi's commentary on *Manusmṛti*. In a section of the seventh *adhyāya* Manu describes the duties of the king in battle. He says first that a king shall not shrink from battle. For the *kṣatriya*, to avoid a fight is to commit a sin. He adds that a king who fights and does not turn his back proceeds to heaven. Then he enumerates the duties, rules of honour of a king etc.[11] In order to give proof of the existence of heaven for the king killed in battle, Medhātithi (9th cent.) adopts the following reasoning. The king launches his attack in order to subjugate land; therefore his act results in material gain. There is no need to suppose a transcendental result for his act, because the material gain can be obtained with or without respecting the rules of honour. And there are such rules well-established in the authoritative scriptures, and in the customs of *kṣatriyas*. Hence the valiant conduct of the king in battle should produce more than material gains. The other fruit is heaven. If heaven were not a reward, the rules of conduct in battle would not have been meaningful. It follows that the *kṣatriya* will get heaven, only if he has respected the rules, if he has not turned his back, etc. Medhātithi adds that a king who has renounced his kingdom, but observed the rules of battle, is entitled to the reward even if he surrenders to the enemy. If, suffering defeat, in sheer desperation, he enters into the thick of the fray, he obtains heaven.

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[11] *Mānava–dharma–śāstra, with commentaries of Medhātithi, etc.*, ed., Mandlik, V. N., (Bombay, 1886), VII·89.

The popularity of this belief is well attested by the numerous hero-stones erected in many parts of India. Hero-stones have the additional interest of showing the ideas of transcendantal reward and heaven. Concrete representations of heaven are scarce in Sanskrit texts. We have seen that the transcendental reward, in this text of the *Mahābhārata* was generally expressed by the word *loka* in the plural. We also find abstract descriptions of the after-death happiness in Sanskrit literature. We have to look at hero-stones to understand how this state of happiness has been visualized. We find two indications in the text which correspond to common representations in sculpture. It has been said that multitudes of celestial damsels ran towards the dead hero with a desire to marry him. We have seen in the story of Ambarīṣa that Sudeva was installed in a *vimāna*, when going towards the upper heaven. On hero stones, the hero is shown surrounded by divine figures as well as carried in the *vimāna*.

HERO : DEATH : COMMEMORATION, AS REFLECTED IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE — A STUDY

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

I

THE earliest recorded Indian literature is represented by the Vedas (C. 1500 B.C.,) which are at once ritualistic and scriptural, poetic and legendary, but not without glimmerings of a hoary historical tradition. These glimmerings can be seen in what are called *dānastutis* or eulogies of generous patrons by individual donees;[1] and more particularly in *gāthās* and *nārāśaṁsīs* or hymns of praise addressed to historical heroes of the time, which we find frequently in the Brāhmaṇa literature.[2] In the Brāhmaṇas also we find references to ancient royal heroes like Janamejaya *Pārikṣita*, Marutta Aikṣvāka and Bharata Dauṣyanti. Sovereignty of the whole country, with the four seas as its boundaries, became the objective of monarchical ambition in ancient times. The ideal is thus put forth in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*:-

> "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries; it should be territorially all-embracing up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas."[3]

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[1] Cf. *Rājānaḥ na praśastibhiḥ somāsaḥ gobhiḥ añjale na sapta dhātṛbhiḥ*. — *Ṛgveda*, IX. 10.3.

[2] For some of these heroes, *e.g.*, Marutta Āvikṣita, Kraivya Pāñcala, see *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 21-23; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5.4, 1-6, 11 etc.

[3] Quoted by Radhakumud Mookerjee, *Nationalism in Hindu Culture*, (London, 1921), p. 70.

such a king was coronated as an emperor to the accompaniment of Vedic rites called *Mahābhiṣeka*, which was a part of the ceremony known as Rājasūya.[4] The king was therefore looked upon as a divinity on earth; and this tradition of a *cakravartin* or emperor, consequent upon his *digvijaya* or 'all-round conquest', was continued in the later literature, like epics and Purāṇas. The references to Rāma's *aśvamedha* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Yudhiṣṭhira's *Rājasūya* in the *Mahābhārata* are well known. But what is important to note is that this tradition continued throughout the historical period. We hear again and again of emperors like Candragupta Maurya, Khāravela, Puṣyamitra Śunga, Samudragupta, Pravarasena, Pulakeśin II and such others, who, fired by the idea of *digvijaya* achieved it like Bharata and Raghu, our Purāṇic heroes. We read in epigraphs of the*Aśvamedhas* performed by scores of Hindu emperors. There is thus a perfect continuity in the ancient Indian idea of a 'hero', an idea not only hallowed by religious myths and legends but also popularised by all classical Sanskrit poets and dramatists like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti.

II

That is why Indian Poetics prescribes the rule that a hero in a poem or play should be a noble and exalted personage (*dhīrodātta*) and the incidents in the literary work should culminate in his success. The ruling *rasa* or sentiment in all Sanskrit literature is primarily *vīra* or the heroic; and even when love is the dominant theme as in the plays of Kālidāsa and Harṣa, special care is taken by the poet to so arrange the romantic incidents as to ultimately lead up to the intended conclusion of the hero's material and martial gain. Thus the heroines of all love-plays — Mālavikā, Padmāvatī, Sāgarikā, Priyadarśikā and so forth — are there not only to show the shifting phases of *śṛṅgāra* or the hero's love, but also to serve as means for the hero to gain *cakravartitva* or supremacy over the whole country. Incidentally, Fate helps them kill two birds with one stone, for

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[4] See, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1.1.13.

kanyālābha culminates in the hero's *rājyalābha* also. This universally accepted *motif* in Sanskrit literature, deserves more than a passing notice. It reveals how the greatest of men were also traditionally and popularly credited as the favourite sons of Fortune and around whom any miracle could be woven without evoking disbelief.

How should such a hero be commemorated? The answer stands out clearly against the background we have sketched. A literary work, preferably an epic, was considered the best form of commemoration: Rama's glory is commemorated fittingly by Vālmīki and poets like Bilhaṇa are proud that heroes are at their mercy. Hence all historical kings, and even some petty chieftains, patronised poets generously. They wanted their fame to outlast them in immortal literary works. If Vikramāditya had a Kālidāsa to eulogise his greatness, Harṣa had Bāṇa, and Pulakeśin II, Ravikīrti. The court-poets might eulogise the heroes either directly like Bāṇa or, indirectly by equating them with epic heroes, like Kannada poets, Pampa and Ranna.

But there were other forms of commemoration too. The *Aśvamedha* performed by such kings resulted in the establishment of *yūpas* or pillars, which, in turn, stood as symbols of their victory. Usually called *Jaya-stambhas*,[5] these bore the *praśasti* or panegyric of the glory of their material achievements. The historical *praśastis* issued by Khāravela and Samudragupta are among the well known examples. Another common form of commemoration was naming towns after the heroes. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* bears testimony to the town Pravarapura which was founded by Pravarasena.

In our literary tradition, *vīra* or heroism is not confined to military expeditions; it also includes in an equal measure boundless liberality and sympathy towards people and a righteous mind. Hence along with *yuddha-vīra* there are *dānavīras*, *dayāvīras* and *dharmavīras*. A king could entitle himself for a commemoration not only by wars but also by his munificence, kindliness and righteous acts. In this sense,

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5. Cf. *nicakhāna jaya-stambhān*, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 36; 'Kīrtistambha . . .' *Ibid.*, XV. 10.3.

any memorable deed of his — a gift of land, establishment of a temple, a tank, a hospital, often in memory of the departed heroes[6] — could become an occasion for a *praśasti* or eulogy, as attested by a number of epigraphs throughout India. It should not be forgotten that all such commemorations were accompanied by the idea of *puṇya* or religious merit.

From this *vijaya-praśasti* of a *kṣatriya-vīra*, the transition to a religious *vīra*, or saint, was but a natural one. That is how not only the various Acāryas of Vedānta like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Caitanya, but also Jaina prophets like Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, became heroes of literary works. Their polemical victories over rival systems of thought also came to be hailed as *digvijayas*.

But, on the other hand, even in avowedly historical compositions like *Harṣacarita*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, to mention only typical and outstanding names, the respective authors followed the epic convention and made their heroes emerge more as semi-divine than human. This aspect has been noticed by Dr. V.S. Pathak in his recent book, *Ancient Historians of India*.

III

Let us now turn to the commemoration of a dead hero. Here again the idea of religious association with the act of commemoration becomes a prominent feature. There was no image-worship in Vedic times, but iconic worship of gods and heroes had become popular during epic times. In the concluding part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[7] we read that Rāma arranged for a golden image of his wife Sītā (who was exiled and virtually dead for him) so that he could become eligible for the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice.

That this custom of honouring dead heroes by setting up their images in temple-like structures was prevalent in India is attested most forcefully in the *Pratimānāṭaka* or 'The Statue Play' by Bhāsa, the great predecessor of Kālidāsa. The whole action of the play centres round statues. After the exile of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, Daśaratha dies in Ayodhyā and Bharata who was living in his uncle's place is summoned urgently by the ministers. Since he had spent his impressionable years outside Ayodhyā, he did not know the practice of setting up statues of dead kings in temple-like buildings. As soon as he arrives at the city-gates, he is asked to postpone his entry and await an auspicious hour. Then Bharata enters the *Pratimāgṛha*, and mistaking it for a temple, he starts worshipping the images. Meanwhile the priest enters and informs him that they are statues only of dead kings. He is told the names of the first three emperors, Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja. It suddenly dawns upon Bharata that the fourth image may be of his father Daśaratha and that means he should be dead. This symbolic communication of the bad news to him adds to the dramatic appeal of the play. But it is clear that a custom of honouring the dead by erecting statues was prevalent in India.

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[6] As in Harṣa's Madhuban Copper plate inscription which speaks of the commemoration of his departed parents and brother — *EI* VII, p. 155.

[7] *Uttarakāṇḍa*, XCI, 25.

Another equally remarkable practice of honouring the heroes is exemplified in the eras newly founded. The Vikrama era of 57 B.C., and the Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D., mark memorable events *i.e.*, either conquest of new kingdoms or death of the heroes concerned. However this is still a controversial issue among scholars. The Jaina tradition holds that the Vikrama era commemorates the death of Vikramāditya.[8]

One more way of commemoration was by fixing certain days in the year as religious festival days, to honour great saints and heroes. Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī and Dīpāvalī commemorate Kṛṣṇa and Bali Cakravarti. Bhīṣmaikādaśī and Vyāsa-purṇimā, also signify similar purpose.

IV

So far we have restricted our attention to the suzerain emperors and their commemoration after death. What about the 'unknown warriors', so many of whom must have laid their lives? The law-books are seen waxing eloquent on the *puṇya* or sanctity attaching to heroic death even of a common soldier. They make no distinction between a king and a commoner in this. Beginning from the *Ṛgveda*, almost every important epic and Purāṇa speaks of this in glowing terms; and this tradition is continued by our classical Sanskrit writers. We may give some specimens:

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[8] Cf. *Ṣaṭtriṁśe śate'bdānāṁ mṛte vikramarājani* — V. Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, (Delhi, 1964), p. 113.

Ṛgveda X. 154.3[9] says:—

> "Warriors losing life in battle reap the same rewards that those who make gifts of a thousand cows in sacrifices secure."

This idea is reiterated by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*;[10] and it goes on to quote a verse which states:

> "May the treacherous warrior who does not fight
> for the food-debt he owes the king never get funeral
> libations with water-filled jars placed on sacred
> *darbha* grass and may he go to Hell!"

This verse also occurs in Bhāsa's *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*. A handful of loyal and disguised soldiers of Minister Yaugandharāyaṇa fight against heavy odds while arranging for the escape of their imprisoned king, and they boost up their morale with this ideal. In the same play, we read that the soldiers of Vatsarāja fought the numerically superior force of Mahāsena, regardless of their lives, until all but one were killed and the remaining one brought the news of the king's capture by the enemy to Minister Yaugandharāyaṇa. The *Mahābhārata* (V. 133-136) has a whole episode called *Vidulopākhyāna*, where the mother of a run-away soldier disowns him for his sin. There are countless exhortations like the following:

> "It is a sinful act for a Kṣatriya to die in his
> house from some disease; the ancient code of conduct
> for him is that he should meet death from steel".[11]
>
> (*Bhīṣmaparvan* — 17.11)

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[9] This is also in *Atharvaveda*, 18.2.17. For further details, see Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, (Poona, 1946), Vol. III, p. 58 ff.

[10] *Arthaśāstra*, X. 3; quoted also by Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*, VII. 89.

[11] See Kane, *op. cit.*

This sentiment is echoed by other *smṛti* writers like Parāśara (III.37), Yājñavalkya (I. 323-324), Viṣṇu (III. 44). In fact, Parāśara equates a heroic soldier's after-death status to that of the highest *yogin*, a status in the Sun's orb, which puts an end to rebirth once for all.[12]

This sentiment petered down to popular literature like the folk-tale. Poets imagined that such heroes were welcomed by celestial nymphs with open arms in aeroplanes bound for heaven so quickly that sitting in those planes they could look down and see the two pieces of their severed body still throbbing with movement.[13] Bāṇa brings out this through Harṣa's general:

> "Wise men do not put any faith or attachment in this fragile body, which soon disappears like a dream; they regard abiding fame itself as their lasting body."[14]

Hence, we find the following verses inscribed and immortalised on hero-stones.

Jitena labhyate pṛthvī mṛtenāpi surāṅganāḥ I
Kṣaṇavidhvaṁsini kāye kā cintā maraṇe raṇe II

"Victory brings wealth, death the clasp of heavenly nymphs; why fear death on the battle-field when this human body is liable to destruction every moment?"[15]

The above sentiment was so common that it found its way into the *Bhagavadgītā* too, and no soldier in historical times ever doubted its veracity.

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[12] *Dvāvimau puruṣau loke sūryamaṇḍalabhedinau* I
Parivrāḍ yogayuktaśca raṇe cābhimukhe hataḥ II
Parāśara, III. 37, in *Mahābhārata* also, Uddyoga, 33.61.

[13] Quoted by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka*, III.27 f.; for similar verses see Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvali* (Baroda, 1938), p.3.

[14] *Na Ca svapnadṛṣṭanaṣṭeṣviva kṣaṇikeṣu śarīreṣu*
nibadhnanti mandabuddhiṁ prabuddhāḥ I
Sthāyini yaśasi śarīradhīrvīrāṇāṁ II
—*Harṣacarita*, VI. p. 46, Kane's.

[15] Cf. *Karnataka Darshana*, (Bombay, 1955), p. 23.

It might well be asked today whether all this promise of a religious reward in a heaven to come is really commemoration of the dead hero. But in Indian eyes, it is the highest commemoration conceivable. The highest spiritual status conceivable for a departed soul is readily conceded to such a fighter with all religious sanctity and what more could be done to honour him? Of course a memorial stone here or there is meant to serve only as reminder of the glorious self-sacrifice of the hero to future ages.

In the case of departed religious saints, however, the Buddhists built *chaityas* on their relics; and the Jainas set up *niśidhis*. A *niśidhi* is a memorial either in the form of an independent tablet or a portion of a shrine, or a pillar or a door way or a *maṇḍapa*.[16] The earliest record of a *niśidhi* we have is in Khāravela's *praśasti* (200 B.C.).[17] The Hindu *Brindāvanas* or *gadduges* also commemorate deceased *sannyāsins* or saints, but they are not the same as the *niśidhis*. Even these earthly memorials are believed by the public to have spiritual power to bless the devotees.

What has been said of heroes and their glorious death in war applies with equal force to the death of *pativratās* by choice when their husbands die. This practice, known as *satī*, must have been voluntary in the early times. We know that Harṣa's mother Yaśomatī chose such a religious death in preference to the life of a widow, though she had no dearth of worldly comforts. The incident has been described in glowing terms by Bāṇa.

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[16] See Desai, P. B., *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Inscriptions*, (Sholapur, 1957), p. 225 f.

[17] *Kumārī-parvate Arahate Pakhiṇa-saṁsitehi kāya-nisīdīyāya* . . . Hathigumpha Inscription, line 14. Translation by Dr. Sashi Kant reads—"On the Kumari Hill . . . he offers respectfully royal maintenances etc., to monks who by their austerities have extinguished the round of lives, the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial." *Kharavela and Asoka*, (Delhi, 1971), p. 30.

THE HERO CULT

A Study of Kannaḍa Literature from 9th to 13th Cent.

S. SETTAR & M. M. KALABURGI

BETWEEN the time of Nṛpatunga (9th cent.) and of Basaveśvara (late 12th cent.), an interesting and important body of literature was produced in the Kannaḍa language. This literature is marked by the *vīra-rasa* (emotion of heroism) in contrast to the *bhakti-rasa* (emotion of devotion) that generally characterises the literature of the post-Basava period. Several rulers of the Cālukya, Gaṅga, Kadamba, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, later-Cālukya, Hoysaḷa and Sevuṇa dynasties, (6th to 14th cent.), in an attempt to extend their borders, converted the Kāverī-Godāvarī region into a veritable battle-field. This political necessity was probably significant in moulding the character of the society.

In the monarchic order of the early-medieval times, theoretically it was the king who was responsible for the protection of the life and property of his subjects; but to translate such an ideal (*duṣṭha-nigraha* and *śiṣṭha-paripālana*) the monarch depended not only on his subordinates (*sāmantas*) but also on his subjects (*praje*). The age expected chivalry from every able-bodied individual, just as it expected charity from the wealthy citizen. The hero - whether a chieftain or a soldier - took upon himself the responsibility of defending and protecting society, even at the cost of his life. Society, in turn, recognized his service and admired his courage as well as contribution; it also took upon itself the responsibility of providing for the family of the dead hero. He was assured of "fame and gain in this world and a place in heaven". Assurance of spiritual, social and economic gains, appears to have emboldened soldiers so much as to lead them to embrace death on the battle-field without anxiety.

The avarice of the brahmins and the ambition of the kṣatriyas contributed no mean share in idealizing the concepts of *dāna* and *vīra* respectively. 'The hero shall enjoy the earth' (*vīra-bhojya-vasundhara*) was the declared goal. By identifying the *vīra* with the *dharmma*, *vīra-dharmma* was made the goal of all brave men. This idea is celebrated and propagated through literature (*vīra-kāvya*), and inscriptions (*vīragals*). The present study is confined to the former.

I

The majority of Kannaḍa poets of the Heroic Period (9th-12th cent. A.D.,) appear to have been as familiar with the art of writing as with the art of warfare, and some of them handled the sword and quill with equal facility. Pampa (10th cent.) declares, that he was not only a *kavi* (poet), but also a *kali* (hero)—*em-kaliyo-sat-kaviyo*[1]. In Cāvuṇḍarāya (10th cent.) the profession of a soldier (*samarodyoga*) and the profession of a poet (*sāhityodyoga*) were integrated.[2] Nāgavarma (also of this century) declares that he was the son of Kuntī in warfare and the lord of learning (*padmajam*) in wisdom—*kuntī-putram poṇarda-raṇadoḷ-padmajam-śāstradoḷ*).[3] Janna (13th cent.) says that he was a *daṇḍādhīśa* while on his feet, a minister while squatting, and a poet when engaged, *nimdire-daṇḍādhīśam kuḷḷire-mantri toḍanke-kavi.*[4] These assertions reveal their attainment in wielding the sword (*khaḍga-kalā-pariṇati*) and the pen (*kāvya-kalā-pariṇati*) equally well. They adorned courts as soldiers and scholars; hence, there is no wonder that their poetry reflected their experience on the field of battle.

At the root of chivalry, compassion, and charity, stood courage and conviction. Chivalry itself was classified into three distinct forms

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1. Pampa, *Vikramārjuna-Vijayam*, ed., Puttappa K.V., (Mysore, 1973), XIV, v.50.
2. Cāvuṇḍarāya, *Trişaşṭhi Lakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam*, ed., Kulkarni, B.S., (Dharwar, 1975).
3. Nāgavarma, *Candombudhi*, ed., Ramaswamy Iyengar, H.S., (Mysore, 1974), I, v. 24.
4. Janna, *Anantanāthapurāṇam*, ed., Deveerappa H., and Sharma, P.C.M., (Mysore, 1972), I, v. 56.

—*yuddha-vīra* (the great warrior), *dayā-vīra* (the compassionate-great) and *dāna-vīra* (the munificent-great). The compassionate and the munificent were required to sacrifice as much as the hero on the battle-field. In Pampa's words:

> He, who cannot uproot enemy kings,
> nor protect those who clings to his feet,
> nor leave an imprint of charity by parting with
> his gold, yet longs to live—oh Murāntaka,
> should he be called a human or a mean worm in the
> country-fig![5]

Ranna endorses this when he says that the kṣatriya alone knows how to pierce, how to protect, and how to part with his wealth—*iyal-iriyal-śaraṇbuge-kāyal-kṣatriyare-ballar.*[6] The king who enthrones himself but knows not how to share his gains with the deserving and how to protect the prostrated, is compared to a monkey perching on top of the tree, to a cat clinging to the balcony, and to a bitch in the house.[7] Although the three forms of heroism are equally emphasized, we meet only the *dāna-vīras* and the *yuddha-vīras* in Kannaḍa literature. The traits of the *yuddha-vīra* are appropriately identified in Śūdraka and Arjuna, and those of *dāna-vīra* in Karṇa and Hariścandra. The similies and metaphors used in the poetry of this period reveal the heroic sentiments nourished by the age—'the sky shines like a sword polished with sour fruit';[8] 'though sharpened like a sword, can a wooden weapon gain the penetrating power of the metal blade?';[9] 'grapple like the hero's hold';[10]

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[5] Pampa, *op. cit.*, V, v. 75.

[6] Ranna, *Sāhasabhīmavijayam*, ed., Krishna Bhat, K.V., (Mysore, 1949), II, v. 16.

[7] Mallikārjuna, *Sūktisudhārṇava*, ed., Anantarangachar, N., (Mysore, 1972), XVII, v. 23.

[8] Pampa, *op. cit.*, VII, v. 71.

[9] Ranna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 23.

[10] *Bhakti-Bhaṇḍāri Basavaṇṇanavara Vacanagaḷu*, ed., Hiremath, R.C., (Dharwar, 1968), v. 763.

'the tip of the pen became the edge of the blade',[11] are some among them. Heroism was an object of universal acclaim, and Nṛpatunga rightly asks "who would not admire a warrior wielding a weapon?".[12] But misplaced heroism deserved only to be despised, for example, as in a brahmin (*śastrāstram-avarge-jāti-viruddham*).[13] In Pampa's words, "however mighty be a *dvija*, would one shudder at his presence?"[14] In this context, the three noble elements of the kṣatriya, recognized by Ranna, become meaningful to us.[15]

Chivalry, however, was carefully and assiduously nurtured by kings, chieftains, parents and consorts. Ranna throws a challenge to all men growing moustaches to compete with Attimabbe, mother of Taila, in promoting and protecting chivalry and charity.[16] By similar exhortations, chivalry was raised from the level of an abstract concept to that of an absorbing cult, while the 'knight-in-armour' who was first assured an honourable place in society was also guaranteed a place in heaven. Win or lose, the hero would gain—it may be wealth and fame in this world, or warmth and care of the heavenly beauties in the next. "I pray for the heroic death you are blessed with, oh Abhimanyu", says Duryodhana envying the lad's end, for such a death does not come to everybody.[17] Warriors daubed the blood of the dying hero on their forehead, an act by which not only was the heroic death admired, and the divine status of the dead recognized, but the survivors derived power to sustain the cause of chivalry. It was natural for the rulers to nurture chivalry, for on the heroes rested the strength and honour of the monarch. But rulers were not the only ones to nurture chivalry—the age itself was surcharged with this ideal, and the mothers as much as the wives, longed to identify themselves with it. The mother craved that the excellence of her womanhood should be judged not by the twin fleshy mounds on her bosom but by the heroic traits of her sons (*vīra-jananī*).[18] She was so anxious to be the mother of those who could quell the pride of the enemy kings, that she could not endure the flower of motherhood melting away in monthly cycles, like the withering away of the sugercane flowers.[19] "Instead of one who could get us precious stones, gold, cloth and jewelry, we long to possess a hero of righteous character, whose body bears the scars of the sword", says Draupadī in Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*.[20] Wives (*vīra-maḍadi*) contributed no mean share in shaping the personality of their husbands. Pampa, who probably had occasion to witness the parting moments of the couples on the night-before the battle, has lucidly described it in the following words:

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[11] Janna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 24.

[12] Śrī-Vijaya's *Kavirājamārga*, ed., Kedilaya, S.A., (Madras, 1973), I, v. 123.

[13] Ranna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 17.

[14] Pampa, *op. cit.*, XII, v. 41.

[15] Ranna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 16.

[16] Ranna, *Ajita-Tīrthakara-Purāṇa-Tilakam*, ed., Deveerappa, H., and Javaregauda, D., (Mysore, 1959), v. 65.

[17] Ranna, *Sāhasabhīmamvijayam*, IV, v. 57.

1. "This is the moment, the real one", declares a hero to his wife, "Tomorrow, by this time, I shall be amidst the heavenly damsels." "You shall not", retorts his wife, "you will come back and join me."
   "How can you be sure?", questions the hero.
   "I have the blessings of my *voles* (the symbols of marital bliss)", the wife declares.[21]
2. Another wife, who had great faith in her husband's valour, says: "The pearls of the sea are no novelty to me. Get me the real, round, unmutilated bunch of pearls, hidden in the forehead of the rutting-elephant of your cruel enemy, salvaging them with your mighty sword-power." Speaking thus, she lovingly caressed her husband.[22]
3. In another corner of the camp rested a hero and his wife on a mattress. His determination had been well-divined by his consort.

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[18] *Ibid.*, IV, v. 56.

[19] Pampa, *op. cit.*, I, v. 117.

[20] Ranna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 5.

[21] Pampa, *op. cit.*, X, v. 44 (*vacana*).

[22] *Ibid.*, X, v. 46.

> "Tomorrow he will unite with the celestial nymphs leaving me all alone here", she says to herself. "Am I such a great fool as to remain here alone? Nay, I shall hasten ahead and welcome him in heaven. Oh, I shall never allow him to unite with the heavenly damsels".[23]

Although the discourse is surcharged with passion, it has elements of pathos shared by both the hero and his wife. The third verse cited above reveals the anxiety of the wife to avoid widowhood. The calmness with which death is discussed here is only paralleled by the courage with which the end is finally welcomed. "I shall hit the recalcitrant enemy force and wipe it out; I shall win the admiration of my master. The victor is bound to be rewarded either with immense wealth or with the warmth of the arms of the heavenly damsels. Either of these should gratify the hero - knowing this, how can one be afraid of war?", says a proud soldier.[24]

II

Satī or *Sahagamana* is also vividly described in the literature of this period. If the immolation of Mādrī is set in its *purāṇic*-framework by Pampa, Ranna brings it nearer to its historicity when describing the end of Guṇḍamabbe. Janna distinguishes himself by dwelling on the psychology of the wives parting from their possessions and passions. The following extracts are note worthy:

1. Hugging her husband's dead-body, Mādrī decides to end her life. Noticing her face lit up with determination, Kuntī falls to the ground, rolls in sorrow, and declares: "Foresaking me and your children, what if you have parted from me? I shall follow you—oh king, how can I live without you?"
   Turning towards Mādrī, she says:

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[23] *Ibid.*, X, v. 45.
[24] *Ibid.*, X, v. 44.

"Accept the care of these children. Give me his body. I shall be what he has become".

To this, Mādrī says in reply:

"I have been blessed with this occasion by my husband; I shall not forgo it for you. Tend my children, and please do not plead further with me."

Thus saying, while the saints and the sylvan deities praised her courage and conviction, Mādrī plunged into the pyre clinging to the body of Pāṇḍurāja. She thus attained an unequalled and unparalleled status of heroine among those of her conviction, the blemishless Mādrī.[25]

2. Guṇḍamabbe, sister of Attimabbe, (two celebrated Jaina sisters in Karnataka history), pleaded in terms similar to those of Mādrī:

   "Sister, you have a son, the forehead jewel of the world. Remain here and rear him up to adolescence. I shall follow Nāgadeva". Begging thus, she clung to her husband's body, observed all the rites, and adorned with all the (auspicious symbols) ornaments, she plunged into the pyre with unswerving courage. While the congregation acclaimed the noble act of this *mahāsatī*, she ended her mortal life to the great discomfort of the nymphs in heaven.

   "Our dream of uniting with Nāgadeva has been shattered" burst out the celestial nymphs steeped in jealousy, "the chaste Guṇḍamabbe has rejoined her handsome hero in death and has become his beloved in Heaven too."[26]

3. In the story of Caṇḍaśāsana, depicted by Janna, the pathos and passions of the parting women, their psychological tumult and the conflicts in their convictions, surface boldly. Caṇḍaśāsana's obsession for queen Sunandā, his friend's wife, results in her death, and in sorrow at the result of his guile, he throws himself into the pyre, hoping to unite with his love atleast in

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[25] *Ibid.*, II, v. 24 (*vacana*) and v. 26.

[26] Ranna, *Ajita-Tīrthakara-Purāṇa-Tilakam*, I, v. 47-48.

the next life. This evokes mixed reaction from the queens wedded to him, though they are all united in following him by the rite of *sahagamana*. One abdurate queen, as recklessly challenging as the rancorous mounds on her bosom, questions the validity of their obligations to a husband, who has betrayed them all by falling for another's wife.

In her words:

"Shamelessly ignoring the sarcastic grins of others, forsaking all of us, he fell for another's wife; learning of her death, now the king is preparing to end his life, behold this sister!

"Like the jasmine creeper we hugged the mango tree, but the tree is enamoured of the goddess of spring; for his shameless act, we are to pay with our lives. What a fate, oh sister!

This protest provokes reactions from other wives who reiterate traditional social values. One of the dedicated wives has the following reply:

"Should we find fault with our lord, his sins and his weakness? He knows the laws of life, of sins, and of passions; he is the lord of this earth. Come what may, we shall follow him like his shadow wherever he goes, and in all that happens to him. Why protest against it? — are we the judges of his acts?" Saying thus, the queens rushed, each anxious to secure a place ahead of the other.

"Deciding to win the grace of their lord, to abide by the rule, to perform their duty, to return their debt to their protector, the queens rushed forward, vying with each other, to take the vow. They parted with their wealth; they consoled their dependents; they bade farewell to all they had tended— birds and creepers, plants and animals. They received honour and reciprocated love. Ruffled in the sea of sorrow, they reached their destination."[27]

Here Janna's depiction comes close to the parting scene of Śākuntalā in Kālidāsa's classic.

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[27] Janna, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 91 and 93.

Many a brave wife followed her heroic husband in death, but it was not a universal practice. This is evident not only from the examples cited above, but also from a comparatively smaller number of references to this practice in inscriptions and literature. Mādrī followed her husband, but bade Kuntī remain — so did Guṇḍamabbe and convinced Attimabbe to stay and live. On some occasions, such as that of Caṇḍaśāsana's death, all the wives were led to the pyre. Those who plunged into the pyre that consumed the body of the husband, were considered to be following the *sahagamana* rite; but those who plunged into the pyre, after receiving news of their husband's death, are described to have followed the *anugamana* rite. However, both these terms are used rarely in the literature of this period.

Despite sectarian and religious differences, medieval society nourished certain social values, and *sahagamana* appears to be one of them. Among the social groups which observed this practice we do not seem to meet brahamanas; of the other three *varṇas*, the kṣatriyas and vaiśyas observed it occasionally, while among the sūdras—who incidentally, formed the bulk of the army—this practice appears to have been very popular. Though not in conformity with their religious observances, the Jains seem to have approved of the *sahagamana* (as in the instance of Guṇḍamabbe); but more discriminating of them took to *samādhi-maraṇa*, a process of fast unto death. Despite their criticism of brahmanical values, the Vīraśaivas appear to have generally approved this, if they did not openly advocate it. In the *Vacana* literature of this period, we come across a casual, and, very occasional reference to the details of this ritual. From the sayings of Basava and Mādara Dhūḷamayya, we learn, that when the *satī* was taken in procession to the pyre the heroes of the village begged blessings from her, obtained flowers from her hair and limes held in her hands.[28] By this symbolic act the heroes honoured her and their conviction was reinforced by the blessings of one who was on her way to attain 'divinity'.[29] But in the literature of the post-Hoysaḷa period, (after the middle of the 14th cent.) more elaborate and vivid descriptions of the *sahagamana* rites are given. A study of this literature is, of course, beyond the scope of this paper.

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[28] *Bhakti-Bhaṇḍāri Basavaṇṇanavara-Vacanagaḷu*, v. 678.

[29] *Sakala-Purātanara-Vacanagaḷu*, ed., Hiremath, R.C., (Dharwar, 1972), v. 1761.

III

Those who held firmly that they should "fight unto the last breath and part with all their wealth (*jīva-uḷḷavam-iridu artha-uḷḷinegam-ittu*)[30] were honoured by society. The memory of the most munificent was preserved by erecting pillars recording their gifts (*cāgada-kambamum-nilisi*), while the memory of the most heroic was preserved by the hero-stones (*bīrada-śāsanamam negaḷci*).[31] Heroic traits, even in an enemy, were not under-estimated, for one of the basic virtues of the hero was to honour bravery in others (*pūṇdudan-eyde-pūṇdam pageyam-koṇḍādam-gaṇḍane*).[32] The heroes were more concerned with their honour and less with material gains. "You may think that I fight for the land," declares Duryodhana, "I am only fighting for my honour." Karṇa says that the "body and the breath will perish, not the honour to which I cling."

If a warrior hestitated to put his might to the test on appropriate occasions, he was no better than a eunuch.[33] Five such occasions are recognized by Ranna; these are: (1) *turugoḷ* or on the occasion of a cattle-raid; (2) *peṇbuyyal* or when women were lamenting; (3) *erevesa* or when the master issues orders; (4) *neṇṭan-eḍar* or when relatives were in distress; and (5) *ūr-aḷivu* or when ones village was being desecrated.[34] Of these, *erevesa* has received considerable attention, while *turugoḷ* incidents are dealt with on certain specific occasions. Only casual references are made to the *peṇbuyyal*, *neṇṭan-eḍar* and *ūr-aḷivu*. We shall examine all these in the light of the references made in the Kannada literature of this period.

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30. Pampa, *op. cit.*, V, v. 77.

31. *Ibid.*, I, v. 50.

32. *Ibid.*, XII, v. 160.

33. Ranna, *Sāhasabhīmavijayam*, V, v. 47; Pampa, *op. cit.*, XII, v. 181.

34. *Ibid.*, II, v. 24.

I. *Peṇ-buyyal*, *Neṇṭan-eḍar* and *Ūr-aḷivu:* Although assault on the modesty of women was not approved by the medieval society, the boasts of kings, generals and warriors reveal that the enemy never hesitated to violate this principle. Inscriptions frequently refer to the "loosening the girdle of the women", while in literature, this is indirectly borne out by the attempted disrobing of Draupadī. But whenever such outrages were made and the women cried out for help, the heroes seem to have gone to their rescue. One who turned a deaf ear to the lamentations of women was considered not a true *kṣatriya* by Nāgacandra (*nija-kṣatriya-pavitramemba-permmege-peṇbuyyalan-apekṣisuvudu-ucitam-altu*),[35] and Ācaṇṇa admonishes all those who ignore this obligation.[36] Bāhubali considers such indifference a sin (*doṣa*),[37] while Nāgacandra warns that the reputation of such a hero is bound to be sullied (*vikhyāti-dūṣitam-akku*).[38] Apparently for this reason, the Ratna-Jāta laid down its life trying to save Sītā from Rāvaṇa,[39] and Simhacūḍa died fighting against Caṇḍaśāsana, the abductor of Sunandā.[40] More revealing evidence on the subject is, however, obtained from the inscriptions of the time; this is true of the *neṇṭan-eḍar* and *ūr-aḷivu* about which the literature of the time is almost silent. The *Harivamśābhyudaya*, for example, remarks that the chief trait of a great hero is to fight at the time of all kinds of distress—*eḍaroḷ kāvude-subhaṭa-guṇam*.[41]

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[35] Nāgacandra, *Mallināthapurāṇam*, ed., Hendi, B.B., (Dharwar, 1974), VII, v. 63, (*vacana*).

[36] Ācaṇṇa, *Varddamānapurāṇam*, ed., Mariappa Bhatta and Rao, M.G., (Madras, 1952), we read that *peṇbuyyalan-vicārisade-puruṣam-pogat-āgadu*, XVI, v 58 (*vacana*).

[37] Bāhubali, *Dharmmanāthapurāṇam*, ed., Basavaradhya, N., (Dharwar, 1975), V, v. 92.

[38] Nāgacandra, *Rāmacandra-carita-purāṇam*, ed., Hiremath, R.C., (New Delhi, 1975), X, v. 144.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Janna, *Anantanāthapurāṇam*, XI, v. 74. (*vacana*).

[41] Bandhuvarma, *Harivamśyābhyudayam*, ed., Sannayya, B.S., (Mysore, 1974), XI, v. 85.

II. *Turugoḷ:* Cattle-raiding was a frequent and favourite sport of the ambitious and the heroic in medieval times—it was often an invitation to war, a call for combat over claims and convictions. The *go-grahaṇa* of the *Virāṭa-parva* in the *Mahābhārata* is repeated almost verbatim in several Kannaḍa works, such as Pampa's *Vikramārjuna-vijayam*, Karṇapārya's *Nemināthapurāṇam* and Bandhuvarma's *Harivaṃśyābhyudaya*. "When our cattle is captured, we fear not for life", says a determined bunch of cowboys in Pampa's work. "We shall fight unto death; let our bodies be trampled by the stampeding herd. This is the right kind of death for us."[42] Death in defence of cattle is considered the right means to ensure fame (*jasakkenomtevu*) by Karṇapārya,[43] while Bandhuvarma regards such an extraordinary death a fruit of penance (*turugoḷ-sāvu. . .tapaphalam*).[44]

All these instances are set in the conventional frame-work of the *Mahābhārata*. In Cāvuṇḍarāya's (10th cent.) *Triṣaṣthi-Lakṣaṇa-Purāṇam* Kṛtavīrya's raid on the Kāmadhenu of Jamadagni, which led to the death of the latter, is narrated but briefly. The two sons of Jamadagni, declaring "that merit will be gained by those who die during the cattle raid", and accompanied by other children of the *munis*, march against the enemy. The term used here is *turu-grahaṇa*.[45] When a brahmin thief captures the cattle of Vinīta-nagara they are retrieved after the thief is put to death by the *taḷavāra* of the town, implying that defence of the property of the citizens was a sacred duty of this officer.[46] But the manner in which the heroes of the town or kingdom were attached to the cause, and the mode in which the rewards were declared and conferred on them, are reflected in the story of Kaṣṭangārika-Kāḷakūṭa.[47] When the chief of the hunters,

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[42] Pampa, *op. cit.*, VIII, v. 95.

[43] Karṇapārya, *Nemināthapurāṇam*, ed., Iyengar, H.S., (Madras, 1940), X, v. 142. Also see X, vv. 134, 139, 154, 157 and XI, 29.

[44] Bandhuvarma, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 39.

[45] Cāvuṇḍarāya, *op. cit.*, XVIII, p. 259.

[46] *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 331. This is repeated in Mahābalakavi's *Nemināthapurāṇam*, ed., Sannayya, B.S., (Mysore, 1977), III, v. 147 (*vacana*).

[47] *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 412.

Kāḷakūṭa, with his band of robbers, raids the capital, captures the cattle, and takes them away, the minister Kaṣṭangārika makes a public announcement promising the hand of Godāvarī, daughter of Gopendra and Gopaśrī, to the hero who retrieves the cattle. In response to this, Jīvandhara and his friend Nandāḍhya, accompanied by other heroes, march against the tribal chieftain, and after recapturing the cattle, return to the capital in great pomp. Nandāḍhya is rewarded with the hand of Godāvarī. This story reveals that the heroes were attracted to serve the cause not only because they believed that it was the duty of a brave man, but also because of the material gains involved in it. But, as already stated, *vasu* and *vasundhara* were naturally owned by the valorous.

The reaction of the Vīraśaivas to this is not clear, but they appear to be not very enthusiastic in perpetuating the ideal and in glorifying the hero of the *go-grahaṇa*. Basaveśvara, in particular, appears to have been more concerned with the fate of the orphaned calf than of the captured cow; hence, he urges the release of the calf immediately after the raid, for, its need of its mother is more than of those who owned it.[48] Basava was probably as tired of witnessing cattle-raids as of the blood-shed that followed, for he was certain that unequal distribution of wealth and undue attachment to brahmanical values, (of which glorification of death in defence of cattle is one), were among the causes of conflicts that medieval society was engaged in. It is possible that during the raid, as many heads of cattle fell as those of the heroes who went in their defence in the skirmish several women's "waists were loosened" and several women widowed. While the heroes celebrated their victory and widows lamented the death of their bread-winners, none seems to have cared for the calves. Basava, no doubt, subtly undermined the importance attached to the *go-grahaṇa* ideal, and reminded society that uniting the calf with the cow was more important than retrieving the cattle for his master. He put forth a new philosophy, broadening the base on which bravery could be put to the test to more than that advocated by the brahmanical *dharmaśāstras*. Compassion governed the philosophy of Basava, passion the philosophy of the brahmin; wisdom stood at the root of the first, vengeance at the root of the second; natural ownership was upheld by the first, while proprietorship was the concern of the second.

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[48] *Bhakti-Bhaṇḍāri Basavaṇṇanavara-Vacanagaḷu*, v. 829 reads as follows:

Say not thieves have captured thy cows . . . cry
not. . . lament not. The One who drinks its milk
There as well as Here is the same . . .

Cf. Hariharadeva's *Nūtana-Purātanara-Ragaḷegaḷu*, ed., Sunkapur, M.S., (Dharwar, 1976), IX, v. 110-120, p. 70, which reads as follows:

Release the calves, mother kine must't grieve
They plead, their teats ready to relieve
Pain not mother kine, release the calves
Their rememberance haunting, they grieve for union,
Oh release at once, join the kine and calves
Oh could kine ever remain away from calves?

However, Basaveśvara did not aim at uprooting the ideal in as unequivocal a manner as that of Brahmaśiva, his near-contemporary Jaina critic of brahmanical values. Brahmaśiva scoffs at the superstition and the shallow philosphy built up around the heroic practices. "None but fools (*mūḍhar*) would dip their finger in the blood of the fallen warrior and deck their forehead with a mark", he asserts. He also held that "only the ignoramus (*arivilladavaru*) would believe that the celestial nymphs will carry the dead hero to heaven."[49] "The soul shall not climb to heaven on its own" he remarks sarcastically, "hence it is to be carried by the celestial nymphs!" He was keen to know from the advocates of this philosophy that "how could the heavenly damsels carry the formless substance, the *jīva*?"[50]

III. *Ere-vesa:* On the master's orders (*ere*-master, *vesa*-order), his heroes (whether they were chieftains, or commoners) fought caring very little for the safety of their lives; among them were some as blindly dedicated as the slaves. They considered it impudent to question the cause or the consequence of the fight. Whether it was a major war, or a local skirmish, it made no difference to them; any occasion was good enough an occasion to repay their debt to the master, who, in fact, provided them subsistence. A large number of *vīragals* found in the lower Deccan stand as memorials to heroes who laid down their lives in this cause; some were called upon to fight by the master; some fought on their own, probably to please the master; some pledged to follow him in death either by plunging into the pyre, falling from a height, cutting off their own heads or by offering themselves as objects of sacrifices; some took a vow, to ensure progeny or prosperity to the master, and to fulfil this, offered their heads. This kind of bravery has martial connotation - the heroes were brave enough to accept or invite death but did not question the rationale behind it. In Kannaḍa literature, such heroes are identified by several terms of which *veḷevāḷi*, *joḷavāḷi*, *tuḷilāḷ* are endowed with certain exclusive traits, while the terms *subhaṭa*, *lenka*, *kali*, *baṇṭa* were identified with the qualities common in the heroes of the time. Interestingly enough, terms like *kīḷguṇṭe* and *garuḍa* are nearly unknown in literary works, as well as in inscriptions.

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[49] Brahmaśiva, *Samayaparīkṣe*, ed., Kulkarni, B.S., (Dharwar, 1975), App. I, v. 3 and IX, v. 34 respectively.

[50] *Ibid.*, IX, v. 35.

A. Veḷevāḷi: Like the *satī* who followed her husband to the pyre, the *veḷevāḷi* also followed his master in death. During their life time, the *veḷevāḷis* received orders from and did all that pleased and profited the master; they subordinated their personal and family interests to those of their masters'; they took pleasure in all that pleased their master; hated all that was shunned and accepted all that was idealized by him. Their master's death — not necessarily in heroic circumstances — cast such gloom on them that they (very much like those who were married to the master) felt it meaningless to survive him; hence, they committed suicide choosing a mode of death befitting their code of honour. His devotion to the master was measured at this moment; hence, the end chosen by him was more than spectacular, for it not only meant the end of his own life, but also the lives of his kith and kin: wives, children, servants and even friends. *Veḷe* means time or occasion, *pāḷi* means duty or obligation; the principle and philosophy of the *veḷevāḷis* were to do their duty and fulfil their obligation whenever they were called upon. Because of this implied obligation at a time of crisis, they were known as the "*apattuḍavigaḷ*"[51]

The *veḷevāḷis* were also known by terms like *veḷevaḍica*, *mane-magan*, *mane-mudda*, *priya-putra*, *premālaya-sutan*, *poreda-magam* etc. Some of these correspond to the *kulaputra* of the *Harṣacarita*.[52] In return, the heroes regarded themselves as the *sons* of their master, or of the master's wife; and, identifying with the master's sentiments and sensibilities, they never hesitated to sacrifice themselves and their family.

The main characteristic of the *veḷevāḷi* was the total dedication of mind and body — "like the jasmine in full bloom which reminds the lovers of their love, the brave appeared to have taken a *veḷe*-vow to their loves".[53] Among the earliest references "the fierce heroes under the vow of the *veḷe*" and "the army of heroes . . . like the waves merging into the ocean, the *veḷes* terminated the fight for the day and retired to their camps" occur respectively in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* and *Vikramārjunavijaya*.[54] While Pampa compares the *veḷe's* dedication to the jasmine, Bandhuvarma compares the approach of death to the body (*śarīram*) which had taken the *veḷe*-vow to the time (*āyu*).[55] The *veḷevaḍica* (one under the vow) was expected to be as firm in his conviction as an ascetic who had taken to penance. "If the sworn servant dreads death and the hermit the severity of observances (*anuṣṭhāna*), what kind of *veḷe* and what kind of *tapam* could it be?", asks Bandhuvarma.[56] "Penance cannot be practised without subduing the senses and the vow of *veḷa* cannot be fulfilled without mastering the mind", he further says.[57]

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[51] Murthy, M.C., *Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sāmskṛtika-Adhyayana*, (Mysore, 1966), p.312.

[52] *Harṣacarita Ek Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, Agrawala, V.S., (Patna, 1953), pp. 93, 110 and 137. Also see n. 2 on p. 93.

[53] Pampa, *op. cit.*, V, v. 33: "*basantadoḷ-biriduvadento-malligege-nallaru-mellerde-veḷegandudo*".

[54] Śivakotyācārya, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 143; Pampa, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 24 (*vacana*) — "*veḷegaḷ-samudramaṅgaḷaṁ-pugwaṅte tam-tamma-bīḍugoḷam-pokkar*."

[55] Bandhuvarma, *Jīvasambodhane*, ed., Sesha Iyengar, H., (Madras, 1955), I, v. 21: "*ayuge-veḷegoṁḍudu-embovoḷ-aḷiguṁ-śarīram*".

[56] Bandhuvarma, *Harivaṁśābhyudaya*, IX, v. 24 (*vacana*).

Janna compares the emotions and enthusiasm of the *veḷevaḍicas* to the waves of the surging sea at whose roaring approach, the stars (enemy soldiers) fall, like withering stalks. Their rythmic movement, their lightning turns, their ability to arrange themselves into a beautiful line, are vividly described.[58] When an attempt is made to decieve Sunandā by showing the "head" of her husband, this head scoffs at the *sāmantas*, who neither stood by the *joḷa* nor by the *veḷe ḍharma* to defend the master.[59]

The hero under the *veḷe* oath was expected to look forward to only one thing: his death. As the soul longs for salvation, the *veḷevaḍica*, facing the burning pit, looked only towards the other world; as such, he could hardly indulge in frailties.[60] Distinguishing them from *joḷavāḷis* and *tuḷiḷāḷs*, Mahābala calls them *samargām-veḷi*, a hero who stands by the master and fights to quell the enemy.[61]

B. Joḷavāḷis: The goals and functions of the *veḷevaḍica* were obviously greater than those of *joḷavaḷis*, whose identity is established from the subsistence (*joḷa*-millet) received from their master.[62] The *Vacana*-literature makes this distinction quite clear. Basava, for example, declared that he was not a *joḷavāḷi* (slave of subsistence) but a *veḷevāḷi* (a slave of conviction).[63] "The servant of the *jangamas* (the peoples' guide) I am their *veḷe*," a devotee declares in the

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[57] *Ibid.*, I, v. 15 (*vacana*).

[58] Janna, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 58.

[59] *Ibid.*, XI, v. 76.

[60] Bandhuvarma, *Jīvasambodhane*, I, v. 15 (*vacana*); *uriva-koṇḍakke-vanda-veḷe-vaḍacigam manuṣya-bhavakke-baṇḍa-jīvakkaṁ gatiyaṁ-bageyal-allade-peratu-mohadoḷ-negaḷal-eḍeyillam.*

[61] Mahābalakavi, *Nemināthapurāṇam* ed., Sannaiah, B.S., (Mysore, 1977), XI, v. 133-135.

[62] However, we learn from inscriptions that some were both *joḷavāḷis* and *veḷevāḷis* and they immolated themselves immediately after the death of their masters — See *ASMAR* 1936, Bl. 33.

[63] *Bhakti-Bhaṇḍāri Basavaṇṇanavara-Vacanagaḷu*, v. 698.

Basavarājadevara-Ragaḷe.[64] While the *Vacanakāras* seem to have accepted the concept of *veḷe*, (for they agreed to be dedicated not to a master but the Supreme Master of all), they seem to have disapproved of it as a social institution. In fact, Cannabasava declares that the lord will not approve the unnatural suicide committed under ostantatious circumstances to fulfil a vow (*bhāṣe*); such a person is, in fact, a *vṛtageḍi* and *brahmeti-kāhi*.[65]

References to the *joḷavāḷis* occur in the works of Pampa, Ponna, Ranna, Nāgacandra, Karṇapārya, Nemicandra, Kamalabhava, Bandhuvarma, Janna and Mahābala, testifying to the immense popularity of this institution from the middle of the 10th cent. to the middle of the 13th. The greatest *joḷavāḷi* of Kannaḍa classical poets is Karṇa, who refuses to save himself, violating the *joḷa*-obligations.[66] Droṇa[67] and Bhīṣma[68] are among others who are caught up in such obligations. To please Kamsa, Cānūra declares that if he fails to salvage Pūtinī, Kharakeśi, Kāḷiya etc., by piercing the womb of Kṛṣṇa, he could be denied his subsistence (*nīm-tegeyanna-joḷamam*).[69] Common soldiers remind themselves and others of their *joḷa*-obligations; these references are scattered over the entire body of Kannaḍa literature. 'While one who fulfills the obligations of subsistance is the real hero, could others be called heroes?', asks one in Pampa's work.[70] In Ponna's words, 'one cannot be called a hero, a true servant of the master who had fed him, unless he is able to extirpate the enemy'.[71] Such sentiments and ideals are expressed by Nāgacandra, Kamalabhava, Janna, Bandhuvarma, and Mahābala.[72]

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[64] Harihara, *Basavarājadevara-Ragaḷe*, ed., Halakaṭṭi, P., (Dharwar, 1968), p. 78.

[65] *Cannabasavaṇṇanavara-Vacanagaḷu*, ed., Hiremath, R.C., (Dharwar, 1971), v. 676, Also see v. 677.

[66] Pampa, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 48, *Cf.*, Karṇapārya, *op.cit.*, XII, v. 145; Mahābalakavi, *op. cit.*, XIII, v. 2 (*vacana*).

[67] Pampa, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 15; Ranna, *op. cit.*, II, v. 11.

[68] Bandhuvarma, *op. cit.*, XII, v. 27 (*vacana*).

[69] Nemicandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, v. 62.

[70] Pampa, *op. cit.*, X, v. 42-43.

[71] Ponna, *Śāntipurāṇam*, ed., Venkatarau, A., and Iyengar, H.S., (Madras, 1929), III, v. 71.

C. Tuḷilāḷs: The philosophy of medieval chivalry is best expressed through the tenets of *vīra-siddhānta* and by a community of heroes known by a distinctive term, *tuḷil-āḷs*. The latter term, obviously derived from its Drāviḍian roots, (and known even now as meaning, 'fellow-workers') is fairly familiar to the classical writers, but strangely enough the composers of Kannaḍa inscriptions appear to be almost unaware of it. We first meet the term in Jaina works of the 10th cent.[73] Though familiar to almost all Jaina poets, from the 10th to 13th cent., its most lucid and elaborate treatment is found in Bandhuvarma's *Harivamśābhyudaya*,[74] While Mahābala reveals his familiarity with the *tuḷilāḷs* as well as the *vīra-siddhānta*;[75] Karṇapārya and Āṇḍayya appear to be familiar only with the *tuḷilāḷs*.[76] However the *tuḷilāḷs* are also referred to by Nayasena, Nāgacandra, Aggaḷa, Janna, Kēśirāja, Bandhuvarma, Bāhubali-Paṇḍita, Mahābala and others. A careful study of all these sources[77] has now revealed that this community of heroes stood above the *joḷavāḷis* and *veḷavāḷis* and personified in themselves the best of the martial traits. They were governed by the *vīra-siddhānta*, tenets that guided their thoughts and actions and gave them a coveted position in society. They were to fight but not against an unequal enemy; they could kill a foe, but not the feeble ones. A *tuḷiḷāsanda* could be a hero (*kaḷi*); but a *kali* (hero) could not be a *tuḷila*, for the latter stood for greater ideals. Besides heroism, he was to safeguard dignity, (*abhimāna*), piety (*dharmma*), sacrifice (*tyāga*), truth (*satya*), and purity (*śauca*).

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[72] Nāgacandra, *op. cit.*, XIII, v. 58; Kamalabhava, *op. cit.*, VIII, v. 75; Janna, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 76; Bandhuvarma, *Harivamśābhyudayam*, XI, v. 19 and 118; Mahābalakavi, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 135 (*vacana*) respectively.

[73] Ranna, *Sāhasabhīmavijayam*, I, v. 22; III, v. 68; V, v. 35; Ranna, *op. cit.*, VI, v. 95. Pampa refers to the *tuḷila-parake*, *op. cit.*, VI, v. 33 (*vacana*). Ponna also refers to *tuḷilasanda*, *op. cit.*, IV, v. 30 (*vacana*).

[74] Bandhuvarma, *op. cit.*, I, v. 57-58; VII, v. 11; X, v. 31 (*vacana*); XI, v. 40, 58 (*vacana*) and 121; XII, v. 7, 27 (*vacana*), 31 (*vacana*). 45 and the following *vacana*, 41-41, 33, 54 (*vacana*); XI, v. 80-107 etc.

[75] Mahābalakavi, *op. cit.*, XI, v. 134; XII, v. 149, 235, 236; XIII, v. 8.

[76] Karṇapārya, *op. cit.*, V, v. 157; IX, v. 25; X, v. 134; XII, v. 73 and 182. Cf. Āṇḍayya, *Kabbigara-kāvam*, ed., Kulkarni, R.V., (Bangalore, 1977), v. 31, 57, 131, 161, 186-87 etc.

[77] See Kalburgi, M.M., "Vīra-Siddhānta", *Sādhana* VI, (Bangalore, 1977), pp. 148-55, a rejoinder to this by Settar, S., *Ibid.*, VIII, No.3, pp. 154-156. See also Settar, S., "Tuḷilāḷ", *Sādhana*, (1980 in print).

THE HERO IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN KANNAḌA LITERATURE AND FOLK-SONGS—A GLIMPSE

PRABHU SANKAR

IN our epics, heroes seldom die. Even if they do their death does not become an occasion for elaborate commemoration. The reason is that death, with us, is not the end of life. The intensity of pathos is reduced, the poignancy of separation is mitigated, the tragic effect is softened by a glorious picture of life in the other world. However, there are exceptions, and they may be studied here.

Kumāravyāsa (C. 1400 A.D.), one of our great poets, speaks mostly in metaphors and similes in his *Mahābhārata*. His creativity and poetic imagination are at their best when he describes the fall of Bhīṣma, who fought valiantly for ten days, causing, in the process defeat and death of countless heroes. He was a tower of strength to the Kauravas. The following is the simile the poet employs to describe the fall of Bhīṣma:

paḍuvaṇa śaila vipula stambha dīpikeyante ravi-mereda[1]

It is customary, in this part of the country, to place an earthen lamp on the spot where a person breathes his last. But how could an earthen lamp commemorate the death of a person who was the head of two lines of great kings and a paragon of valour? So, the poet suggests that the western mountains became a lamp-stand, and the setting Sun, its great flame. This sublime simile powerfully conveys the significance of the fall of the illustrious hero.

Droṇa is another unchallenged hero of the same epic. He had the honour of training the heroes of both camps and preparing them for this great war. Even before he starts his fierce manoeuvres, the poet anticipates his death and its implications. While giving the details of the battles to the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sañjaya foretells, that Droṇa's days are also numbered. The poet again presses his metaphors into service and says:

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[1] *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*, Bhīṣma Parva, X, v. 42.

"*Battitaṁbudhi ninna maga hogu-*
vatta, kādudu nelanu, nṛpa tale-
gutti hogaloḷakoḷḷadaṁberavenanusuruvenu
mṛtyu ninagolidihaḷu baḷiki-
nnuttarottaravelliyadu nere
cittavisuvudu Jīya Droṇaṅgāytu hariveṅda".[2]

"The ocean gets dried up the moment your son dips his feet in it, the earth gets hot where he steps, and the sky refuses to hold his head. Death is in love with you. What future is there for you, O sire? Droṇa's span of life has come to its close".

And, after putting up a heroic fight for five days, of his own accord, Droṇa gives up his life, we are prepared to receive this news as a predestined event. The poet's metaphor lends an element of freshness to the incident:

Kolagurvina maraṇavārtā
kālasarpana taṅdu Sañjaya
heḷigeyanīḍāḍidanu Dhṛtarāṣṭranidirinali.[3]

"The home of the gods trembled, the lord of all the gods felt that his end had come, the city of the god of death cleared its old stock (to make room for fresh arrivals) and Death himself sought refuge in Maheśvara, the Lord of Lords."

II

Kumāra Rāma is one of the most popular heroes of Karnataka. He is celebrated for purity of character and valour. He paid heavily for the first and with his own life for the second. He is known as *paradārasodara*, brother to other peoples' wives. He is honoured to such an extent for the values he fought for that he has been a household name in Karnataka. Besides a number of *Kaifiyats* and folk-songs, Nañjuṇḍa (1525), Pāñcālagaṅga and Mahālinga Swāmy have made Kumāra Rāma the hero of their epic poems. Chroniclers like Baṭuta, Nuniz, Barauni, Feriṣṭa and Isāmy have made references to him. Inscriptions of Sangūr, Tīrthahaḷḷi, and Rāmaghaḍ respectively of the Dharwad, Bellary and Shimoga Dts., have praised him. A number of works have been written in his honour even during the present century. All these bear ample testimony to the popularity enjoyed by Kumāra Rāma through the centuries.

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[2] *Ibid.*, Droṇa Parva, I, v. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Karṇa Parva, I, v. 1.

Kumāra Rāma, son of Kampila Rāya, is believed to have lived before the Vijayanagara empire was founded. Their capital was Kummaṭa Durga, in the Raichur Dt. This handsome youth was endowed with unequalled prowess. The Sultan of Delhi (could it be Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq?) is said to have been disturbed by the growing strength of Kummaṭa Durga, guarded by Kampila and his son. One of Tughlaq's governors (perhaps Baha-ud-din Ghustaf) quarreled with Tughlaq and fled from his capital in disguise. But he could not get asylum anywhere, as all other kings feared the Sultan's wrath. But, urged by his son, Kampila gave shelter to the refugee. This naturally enraged the Sultan of Delhi, who immediately thought of sending his army to raze Kummaṭa Durga to the ground. But a new development deterred him from taking immediate action. Charmed by the glorious reports she had heard of his looks and valour, the Sultan's daughter, fell in love with him. The Sultan reconciled himself to the situation and offered his daughter in marriage to Kumāra Rāma. But, to the Sultan's great annoyance, the offer was bluntly rejected. The enraged Sultan sent his mighty army to conquer Kummaṭa Durga. A series of fierce battles were fought, but the ultimate victory was Kumāra Rāma's.

To Kumāra Rāma's misfortune, his step-mother fell in love with him. Poets have described graphically the queen's attempt to seduce her youthful step-son. For the young man, however, she was not a step-mother but his veritable mother, hence he vehemently refused her advances. This nearly cost him his life. Grievously insulted by this young man, the queen complained to the king that her step-son had attempted to outrage her modesty. The king, in his infatuation, believed her and ordered that Kumāra Rāma be beheaded at once. The minister, however, concealed Kumāra Rāma in a safe, place and waited for the wrath of the king to subside, giving him the impression that his orders had been promptly carried out.

The news that Kumāra Rāma had been beheaded spread far and wide. The Sultan of Delhi, who had been waiting for such a chance, immediately despatched a powerful force to conquer the fort. The troops arrived and the war began. But, to their dismay, Kumāra Rāma appeared on the battle-field. The enemy forces were terrified. Right at that moment, a lady by name Mātangī took command of the enemy and descended on Kumāra Rāma. He was about to slay his opponent, but, recognising a woman in his adversary, refused to fight with her. The lady who had no such scruples cut him to pieces. The formidable hero being out of the way, it was child's play for the enemy to raze the fort to the ground.

The poet Nañjuṇḍa brings out in beautiful relief the values of his time regarding the death of a true hero. Kumāra Rāma had fought heroically and met a hero's death. He had upheld the values honoured by his age, especially those of not coveting other women, of fighting heroically in war, of giving refuge to those who sought it, and, finally, of refusing to kill a woman. Such heroes, felt the poet, should receive the meed of their virtue. At the last moment of his life, Kumāra Rāma looked like Bhīṣma of the *Mahābhārata* and Paraśurāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, says the poet. And, according to his description, Kumāra Rāma cast off his mortal coil by his own yogic powers and became one of the *devas* in Śiva's court.

Our folk-lore is full of episodes of heroic women who voluntarily gave up their lives in a great cause. A wife's immolation on her husband's funeral pyre was considered to be an act of heroism and worthy of emulation. Erobī and Nāgavvā were such women, around whom very touching lyrics have been woven.

Kerege Hāra — 'Offering for the Tank' — is a composition by an anonymous poet. This popular folk-song narrates the death of a daughter-in-law. A tank was dug in a village but, contrary to the expectations of the villagers, no water was struck. An astrologer prophesied that the tank would fill if the daughter-in-law of the village chieftain is sacrificed. The family was not prepared to offer the first daughter-in-law as they felt she was indispensable to carry on the routine duties of the household. It was decided that Bhāgīratī, the last daughter-in-law, should be offered in the interests of the entire village.

Bhāgīratī is depicted as having conducted herself in the most heroic manner, not for a moment abandoning her feminine grace. Immediately on knowing of the decision of the family, she went to visit her parents. To the affectionate and anxious enquiries of her father, mother and sister as to her unannounced appearance, she had only one answer, which she put in the following refrain:

'nammāva nammatte byāre iḍutārante' —

"My father-in-law and mother-in-law have decided to set up a separate home for me". Her parents in turn consoled her and offered help. But she politely declined their gold, land and companions. It is very interesting to note that this young lady had not gone to her parents to complain against her-in-laws, who had taken the cruel decision. On the other hand, it was the daughter's bond of love for her mother, father and sister that had led her there. She did not speak a word about her plight, or about the tragedy which was to unfold itself very soon. It was only to an intimate friend that she confided the impending doom. The spontaneous reply that her bosom-friend gave her characterises the social values of these days:

'Koṭṭāra koḍaleḷu iṭṭanga irabeka'
'Let them offer, you be where they place you'.

Encouraged by her friend, who had but given expression to the time-honoured custom, the lady returned to her father-in-law's house. She conducted herself in a very dignified manner, carried on the routine duties of the household till the last moment. She neither wept aloud, nor created scenes, but walked majestically into her grave.

The husband, who was away on military service, rushed home troubled by disturbing dreams, only to learn that his wife had ended her life at the instance of his parents. He accused none, but being overwhelmed by his wife's action he gave up his own life!

The date of this song is not known, but its moving lyrical quality conveys in a touching manner how a helpless woman became a heroine. The values treasured by society are brought out in glowing colours. The anonymous poet has not forgotten to glorify conjugal love as illustrated in the death of the lady's husband.

In the early decades of the present century, Prof. B. M. Srikantaiah made an attempt to convert an incident of the *Mahābhārata* into a tragic play, commemorating the death of a great hero. The poet based his work on the Ajax of Sophocles.

In this play, Aśvatthāma, son of Droṇa, is out to avenge the death of his king, Duryodhana, and his brothers. He set out to avenge the death of his own father, as the latter had been a victim of the foul game played by the enemy. But, deluded by the spell cast on him by the god Rudra, Aśvatthāma ruthlessly massacred men, women, children and cattle, thinking all the while, that he was hacking down the Pāṇḍavas and eradicating their very line.

Once the spell is dispelled by Rudra, Aśvatthāma repents his rash act, feels utterly miserable and kills himself. His death is lamented by his friends. And Kṛṣṇa, the sole prop of his enemies, takes part in his obsequies.

This powerful play has held up before us a new value, that a hero who commits suicide in his master's service, also deserves to be honoured, even as the *Garuḍas* and the *Bhairavas*, who willingly laid down their lives for their kings and patrons.

One of the finest tributes paid in modern Kannaḍa poetry to the death of a hero is a poem of Dr. K.V. Puttappa, our poet-laureate. In *Tānāji*, a ballad, the poet dwelves on the siege of the Siṁhaghaḍ fort.

At Śivāji's instance, Tānāji goes to conquer the fort with five hundred soldiers. At midnight, they fight a fierce battle against the Rājputs. Tānāji is killed, but Sūryāji, who was next in command, infuses courage into the hearts of the soldiers and ultimately captures the fort. When the enemy camps are set ablaze, Śivāji, who sees the spectacle from a distance, rejoices over the victory, not knowing that his beloved lieutenant had sacrificed himself in the process. When the tragic news is conveyed to Śivāji, he pays a glowing tribute to the departed hero:

> "We got Simhaghaḍa, the lion's fort, it is true,
> but alas, the lion, my lion, is no more!

NISIDHI — IT'S MEANING

A. N. UPADHYE

AMONG the Jaina monuments of Karnataka, what is popularly known as *nisiddi*, or *nisidhi*, is seen in many places.[1] It is often a slab of stone, or a boulder, a square platform with or without corner pillars for resting a massive dome-like umbrella made of stones or bricks. On them are found foot-prints[2] and sometimes an image[3], to represent the deceased individual. There is often an inscription describing the deceased personality, the way in which he submitted himself to voluntary death, and by whom the commemoration was executed. This old custom perhaps goes back to the time of Khāravela, if not of Candragupta Maurya. Several inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa[4], Koppaḷ and other places also bear this out. In Jaina texts (like the *Bhagavatī Ārādhana*) we get descriptions of square raised seats on which the Jaina monk had observed *sallekhana*, *i.e.*, voluntary submission to death under prescribed physical and mental conditions. These *vedikas* are seen in some holy places.

There are a number of inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, and, if we turn to the Index of the revised edition of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, (Mysore, 1973), we find that this word is variously spelt.

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[1] For earlier studies on this topic, see Upadhye, A.N., "A Note on *nisidhi* (*nisīdiyā* of Khāravela Inscription)", *AROBI*, (Poona, 1933), XIV, iii-iv, pp. 264 ff; Chidanandamurti, M., *Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, (Mysore, 1977), pp. 96 ff; Desai, P.B., "Sallekhana and Nishidhi", *JKU* VI, pp. 1 ff.

[2] For instance, Jaṭāsimhanandi's footprints at Koppaḷ, see my Intro., to the *Varāngacarita*, (Bombay, 1938).

[3] For instance, Candrasena's *nisidi* at Koppaḷ, *Jayakarnāṭaka* X. 10, and that of Nāgacandra at Kāgavāḍa, see *Jinavijaya* XXVI, *i*.

[4] Plenty of details could be gathered from the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, *EC* II, (Mysore, 1973).

The variation is seen in the use of sibilant and also the ending of the form: *niśidi*, *niśidhi*, *niśīdhikā*, *niśidhige*, *niśīdhige*, *niṣadi*, *niṣidhi*, *niṣiddi*, *niṣidhige*, *niṣadyām*, *niṣadyāya*, *nisidhi*, *nisidi*, *nisidige*, *nisṭige* etc. In Sanskrit records, the forms *niṣidhi*, *niṣadyā*, *niṣadyakā*, and even *niṣadhyālayaṁ* are noticed. In some Prakrit texts, *nisīhiyā* occurs, and the Sanskrit commentator Malayagiri translates it as *niṣidā-sthānam*[5]. So, if in some Kannaḍa forms we get *dh*, it should go back to this Prakrit spelling. But in the meaning and etymology, there cannot be any appreciable difference.

This word is out of frequent occurence and naturally needs some explanation. Taking into consideration the Sanskrit forms, *niṣadyā* and *niṣadyakā*, as well as the Kannaḍa forms, like *niṣidi*, *nisiddi*, there remains no doubt that the word should be traced back to the root *sad*(*sīd*) with *ni* (note *niṣad*, *niṣīdati*, also *niṣadyā*); and there are other derivative forms like *niṣadyā*, and also with the *ka*-suffix, *niṣadyakā*, *niṣīdikā*, meaning a seat, a sitting place, a seat specially taken for some religious rite, a place of rest when one resorts to *sallekhana* or *samādhi-maraṇa*. The *nisidhi* memorials are spots where pious monks and nuns, householders and housewives took their seats while submitting themselves to voluntary death, or where they got their final rest. Thus *nisidhi* is obviously a postmortem memorial, possibly marking the spot where the pious individual breathed his last according to religious rites, or where his body was burnt, or where his bone relics etc., were buried.

From some inscriptions it is evident that the *nisidhi* was held in high respect; and even *pūja* and *pratiṣṭhā* were performed on the spot. In my village (Sadalga, Belgaum Dt.,), there is a *nisiddi* (a platform with four corner pillars and a dome to cover it) with footprints and an inscription; and every year, on the first day of the month of *Caitra*, Jains of the village, as well as some non-Jains, go in procession and worship it. This is being observed since a long time.

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[5] *Rāyapaseṇiyasutta*, *Sūtra* 28, and Malayagiri's commentary on it in the Āgamodaya edition.

THE ORIGIN OF MEMORIAL STONES

D. R. PATIL

IT is well known to anthropologists that reverence for or fear of the spirits or souls of the dead have been the innate sentiments of man ever since his appearance on this planet. The most primitive of the savages expressed these sentiments by taking care or disposing of the dead bodies of their departed in various ways they believed to be most appropriate. Thus according to their own beliefs some of the primitive peoples buried the dead in their own huts which were deserted so that the spirit of dead would continue to reside there. If the dead resided in a cave it was deserted likewise. If the dead were buried elsewhere the spot was covered and marked by an earthen mound or a heap of stone pebbles or boulders placed in some order or by large stone slabs or even by a single monolith posted vertically on the spot of the burial. Besides burial, the other practices followed for the disposal of the dead bodies included their cremation or exposure on a stake or scaffold. In case of cremation the relics of the dead bodies such as the charred bones and ashes were collected and then deposited or buried in more or less the same manner as in a burial. Thus all over the world burial caves or pits, mounds or tumuli and rude stone monuments like stone circles or posts have been found and are still being found. Modern practices of the disposal and care of dead retain evident traces of the primitive beliefs and practices so that memorials in honour of the dead such as tombs, grave-stones or tablets, cenotaphs, *samādhis* or *vṛndāvans* are being raised over the dead bodies, their relics or ashes.[1]

Stone being the most durable material, it was more commonly used for the monuments of the dead by many primitive peoples.

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[1] Tylor, E. B., *Anthropology*, II, p. 91.

Rude stone monuments, called megaliths from the large size of the stones, have survived in many parts of the world; and they are seen in various forms according to the practices and beliefs of the peoples concerned. Of these a single large slab, shaft or post, is called a menhir; while large boulders or blocks arranged and fixed in the form of a circle are known as cairns or chromleches. There is also a third type in which two or more large-sized blocks of stone are fixed on the ground with a huge slab resting on them to mark the sepulchral chamber. All these types of megaliths are found in various parts of India. Certain aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes in the country still erect such monuments.[2]

What is the origin and antiquity of stone memorials in India? No primitive or pre-historic memorial of pre-Harappan times is known as yet. Excavations at Rupar, Lothal and other contemporary sites in the country have not yielded stone memorials of any sort, though burial sites have been brought to light. Numerous megaliths, which to a certain extent approximate to stone memorials, have been found in southern India; but they have not been dated prior to 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. Besides a megalith is not, strictly speaking, a memorial. It is essentially and purely sepulchral in character, while a memorial stone, in its basic conception, is commemorative in character, raised in memory or honour of the dead, and did not form part of the actual practice of the disposal of the dead. The main purpose of a memorial is to keep alive or revive the memory of the deceased and to pay homage or respects to him on certain occasions according to the social or religious practices of the community. No such memorial either in stone or in any other form, is known to have been erected before the Vedic times in India.

The Vedic Āryans usually cremated or burnt the dead. In cases of infants, unmarried youth and *sannyāsins* they practised burial. They did not favour erection of monuments over the remains, relics, and ashes of the dead. But there are certain Vedic texts which provide for such erections. These texts prescribe four important stages in the disposal of the dead, *viz.*, (1) cremation, (2) collection of the charred bones and depositing them in an urn or throwing them into sacred waters or rivers, (3) expiatory rites called *śānti-karma*, and (4) erection of a monument over the bones or relics. The first two stages were meant only for married women or for those householders who had not set up the Vedic fires. Only those who had performed the solemn rite of *agni-cayana* (the setting up of the sacred fires) were entitled to all the four stages.[3]

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[2] *Ibid.*

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* gives interesting details regarding the fourth stage. It is worthwhile to note that the proper time prescribed for the erection of a monument should be so long after the death that the memory of the time, date, month or even the year of the event should go beyond human remembrance.[4] The directions for the selection of the site of such a monument are also specified. It should have charming objects to its north or south or waters to west or north. The site should further be not visible from the village.[5] The monument is required to take the form of a mound or clods of earth (*loṣṭa-citti*) and bricks (*eḍuka*). There is no reference to a stone pillar or to an upright as a monument. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* lays down a detailed procedure for the raising of such a mound. The ground of the site was first ceremoniously ploughed by oxen. Seeds were then sown to wish long life for the survivors and the charred bones were spread out from the jar[6] or were arranged at the site, limb by limb.[7] After this thirteen unmarked bricks, each measuring a *pāda* (*i.e.*, a human foot-print) were laid in a specified order.[8] The earth was brought from various quarters of the compass as prescribed. According to some texts, clods of earth and bricks were required to be placed layer by layer.[9] The texts prescribed the shape of the mound normally as four-cornered or quadrangular for those who follow the Vedas (*i.e.*, for the Āryans). But at the same time they say that the easterners or the followers of the *Asuras* make the mound circular or round.[10] The latter may signify the commemorative sepulchral tumulus or mound discovered in large number near Lauriya Nandangadh in north Bihar,[11] from which the Buddhist *stūpa* was possibly later derived. The Vedic *Sūtras* prescribe various measurements for the ground plan of the mounds. Even the height for the mound is laid down by them on the basis of caste, sex etc.[12]

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[3] See *Ś.Br.*, 28.4.28 and *Baudhāyana*, *P.S.*, 11.3.2; and Kane, *Dharmaśāstra* IV, p. 255. The *Brahma-Purāṇa* elucidates the position.

[4] *Ś.Br.*, XIII.8.1; 29.1.2.

[5] Kane, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 247 ff.

[6] *Ś.Br.*, XIII.8.2.4.

[7] *Vāj.Saṁ.*, 35.7.

[8] *Ś.Br.*, XIII.8.2.4.

It will thus be seen, that in some specified cases sepulchral monuments like *loṣṭa-cittis* or *eḍukas* (*i.e.*, tumuli or mounds) were erected by the Vedic Āryans partly of earth and partly of bricks over the relics of their dead. A similar practice prevailed amongst the non-Āryan societies of eastern India in those days. It should be noted that a few scattered reference to pillars are found in the *Ṛgveda* in connection with the funeral practices of the Āryans. While making mention of the *loṣṭa-citti* (*i.e.*, laying the clods of earth) the *Ṛgveda*, (X, 13, 12, and X.18.13) refers to *sthūṇa* or pillar, indicating very probably a wooden post. The verses (X. 12. 12-3) are as follows:

"O, Earth, have yourself up, do not crush it,
Be of easy approach and of easy resort to him and
O, Earth, cover him (*i.e.*, the dead person represented by the bones) first as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).
Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm,
Let the pillars in their thousands stand up supporting this house,
May these homes (*i.e.*, the clods of earth) drop him nourishment.
May they become here, for all days, the shelter for him (*i.e.*, the departed represented by the bones).

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9. *Ś.Br.*, XIII.8.1 and Kane, *op.cit.*
10. *Ś.Br.*, XIII.8.1.
11. See Patil, *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, p.236 ff.
12. Kane, *op.cit.*, and *Ś.Br.*, XXIX.1.5.6 and XIII.8.2.4.

The significance of the references to pillar or pillars as part of the sepulchral mound or *loṣṭa-citti* or *eḍuka*[13] is not very clear from the Vedic texts. Whether the pillars were mentioned in a poetic vocabulary for the house to shelter the mound or whether a pillar or pillars were erected as part of the mound, and how they were erected are not clear; and the later Vedic Sūtras are also silent presumably because it was not a normal practice followed in later days.[14] The pillars were very probably of wood and not of stone.[15] An interesting evidence is found from the excavations of the burial mounds of Lauria Nandangadh in north Bihar. Here, a wooden post was found in the centre of each of the two mounds at the spot where the bones were deposited. Whether the pillar was concealed or not, cannot be ascertained. It is certain, however, that the custom was very old, for the *Srauta Sūtras* clearly refer to it. But the Nandangadh mounds may be of post-Vedic times.[16]

Did the wooden post or *sthūṇa*, erected within the *loṣṭa-citti* or sepulchral mound of the Vedic texts, bear any link with the later stone memorials? Did the stone replace wood as it was a better and more durable material for the purpose? Though such a development

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13. *Eḍuka* in Monier William's Dictionary means "a building constructed of or enclosing rubbish or bones; a Buddhist shrine (*Buddhaiḍuka*)". The word *eḍuka* is more commonly to be found in post-Vedic literature like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. See also Kane, *op. cit.*, IV, pp.254 ff.

14. See Kane, *op. cit.*, p.200.

15. The *Ṛgveda*, X. 18 mentions placing of a stone usually on the north side of the fire at the cremation ritual to signify a demarcating barrier so that the dead are separated from the living and the latter may live for a hundred prosperous autumns. A prayer is addressed to god Yama, the God of Death, to this effect. This is the *Dharma-śilā* which figures prominently in the Satī sacrifice of later days, especially in Maharashtra as known from the details of Satī Ramabaī's sacrifice in Poona in 1772. See Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 543. It is worthwhile to note here that the word *Pāliya* in Saurashtra and Gujarat means a memorial stone as well as a boundary stone or pillar. Further *pāla* in Sanskrit means "to protect" and the word *pāliya* is thus clearly reminiscent of the Vedic belief.

16. See Patil, *op. cit.*; and Kane, IV, p. 254.

seems logical the Vedic literature throws no light on them. The Vedic ritual does not envisage a permanent monument in memory of the dead; for it held that the event of death should go beyond human memory.[17] As long as this concept held ground it was unlikely that stone was favoured for the *sthūṇa*. Nor do the Vedic or early Sanskrit texts signify *sthūṇa* as a memorial.

The earliest Tamil works of the Śangam age — variously assigned to an age between the 3rd cent. B.C., and 3rd cent. A.D., — refer to an established custom of erecting a *naḍukal* meaning an upright stone post or menhir in memory of the dead.[18] There is nothing to indicate the relationship between the *naḍukals* and the *sthūṇa* or *sthānus* of the Vedas. The Tamil works mention an established custom, but give no clue as to its possible origin.

There is, however, considerable archaeological evidence relating to the memorial pillars. It has been found from the excavations at Kausambi, one of the most important ancient sites in Uttar Pradesh, that the Buddhist monks of about the first century. B.C., were "memorialised by erection of small pillars, their relics being buried in earthen pots in floors adjoining small *stūpas*."[19] Such a pillar was called *yaṣṭi* in Sanskrit or *laṣṭi* in Prakrit.[20] A reference to *yaṣṭi* as "a memorial pillar" occurs in a copper plate written in Kharosthi dialect of the first cent. A.D. It is found in the Sui Vihār Stūpa, 16 miles south-west of Bahawalpur in West Punjab now in Pakistan. The plate was excavated from the mound of a *stūpa*. It lay embedded in the floor of burnt bricks inside a chamber of two feet in height. Coins, some pieces of iron, a few beads, fragments of ornaments, were found mixed up with ash and earth. The *yaṣṭi* mentioned in this inscription was "evidently put up in the shaft just below the place where the copper-plate was found,"

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17. See p. 3 above.

18. See *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 9 ff.

19. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1953-54, pp. 9.

20. The word *yaṣṭi*, meaning "staff", is mentioned in the latest parts of the Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, *Ś.Br.*, II, 6.2.7. A *yaṣṭi* made of *veṇu* (*i.e.*, bamboo) is mentioned in *Bṛ.Up.* and *Kaus'.Up.* See, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 188.

according to Dr. Hoernle. He further says that the "word *yaṣṭi* in the modern form *lath* is applied to monumental pillars like the well-known pillars of Allahabad, Delhi, Benares and other places; but that can hardly be the meaning here. The word is also applied to monk's staff."[21] But the word has been understood differently, including as a pillar.

The copper-plate refers to the *yaṣṭi* of Bhikku (monk) Nāgadatta, disciple of Dharmatrata, erected during the 11th regnal year (*i.e.*, 139 A.D.) of Kaniṣka.[22] According to N. G. Majumdar its patrons were some pious ladies. He says the pillar should be taken to mean, on the analogy of Andhau pillar inscription, the corporal relics of Nāgadatta.[23] He also refers to the inscription No. 9 at Kārla Caves in Poona Dt., which mentions the pillar or *thaba* (a Prakrit variant of Sanskrit *stambha*) on which "there is a hole or receptacle cut for the purpose of holding the relic (*sasarisa*) in the centre of a lotus carved on the front of the pillar just where the inscription ends."[24] Sten Konow does not take the word *yaṣṭi* to mean a memorial pillar and he states that it was raised by Nāgadatta himself.[25]

The meaning of *yaṣṭi* will probably be better understood after we examine similar monuments found elsewhere. Stone slabs or pillars standing prominently on a hillock were at Andhau in Kacch and these were removed to Bhuj in 1906. They are long and narrow slabs of stone, five in all, each bearing an inscription dated 52 of the *Śaka* era and referring to the reign of Śaka Rudradāman. The stones are called *laṣṭis* in the Prakrit inscriptions. According to R. D. Banerji *laṣṭi* here means "a funerary monument" erected by the following persons named in the inscription:[26]

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[21] See Sten Konow, *Kharosthi Inscriptions*, *CII*, II, pp. 138 ff.

[22] This portion of the record is not clear and we do not know whether the *yaṣṭi* was raised by Nāgadatta himself during his lifetime or by the ladies referred to therein, *viz*., a lady votary named Balanandī and her mother, the matron, the wife of Bala.

[23] See below.

[24] *EI* VII, p. 55.

[25] Sten Konow, *op. cit.*

[26] *EI* XVI, p. 19.

(1) By Madana, son of Sihila, in the memory of his sister Jyeṣṭavīra, daughter of Sihila (*i.e.*, Sinihila) of Opasali *gotra*.

(2) By Madana, in memory of Ṛṣabhadeva, son of Sihila (*i.e.*, brother of Madana).

(3) By Madana, in memory of his wife Yasadātā (*i.e.*, Yasadattā), daughter of Simhamitra.

(4) and (5) By Treṣṭhadatta, a Buddhist monk for his son Ṛṣabhadeva.

There is a stone *laṣṭi* in Watson Museum in Rajkot with an inscription dated 125 of the *Śaka* era, which states that it was erected for the memory of Kharapittha, son of Pratisaka, by his brothers for his happiness in the other world. Evidently it is a sepulchral stelae.[27] There is some confusion with regard to this pillar. D. C. Sarkar, while quoting Bhandarkar, states that it is in Bhuj Museum and not at Rajkot. He gives the date of the inscription as 114 and not 125. He further mentions the ruling Kṣatrapa as Rājan Mahā-Kṣatrapa Swāmi Rudrasimha. In this context Sarkar informs of one more *laṣṭi*, lying in Bhuj Museum with an inscription of 3rd cent. A.D.[28] Another *laṣṭi* was reported from Mulawasar near Dwaraka in Saurashtra. The inscription on it bears the date 122 of the *Śaka* era (*i.e.*, 200 A.D.). It was erected by the father of Vaṇijaka, "who gives his life for the sake of his friend." The record refers to the reign of Kṣatrapa Rudrasena. Here we get a true hero-stone or memorial pillar raised according to the prevailing custom in the 2nd cent. A.D. Hiranand Sastri, who brought these stones to light, is not, however, prepared to accept the *laṣṭis* from Andhau as memorial stones or hero-stones.[29]

All the above *laṣṭis* are funerary monuments and were presumably intended to commemorate the dead. Most of them died a natural death, except possibly one whose death may have occurred during the course of some struggle or fight, probably to save a friend. The above instances show that a custom of raising memorial pillars or monuments did exist in western Punjab, Saurashtra and Kucch, where the Śakas were ruling. Some of these memorials were in honour of women though the Vedic texts do not prescribe any funerary monuments to them as already seen.[30]

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[27] Bhandarkar, D. R., *PR,ASI,WC*, 1914-15, p. 68.

[28] *D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 173.

[29] Sarkar, D. C., *An. Rep., Ind. Epi.*, 1954-5, p. 43.

At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh, memorial pillars called *cāyāstambhas* have been found. Palaeographically these inscriptions can be assigned in the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., and they are thus contemporaneous with the *laṣṭis* of western Punjab, Saurashtra and Kucch, referred to above. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa memorials not only bear inscriptions but are elaborately carved. The panels represent warriors (*rathikas*) who presumably fell in some battle and whose names are mentioned in the inscription. One *cāyāstambha* was erected in the 11th regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Rudra-puruṣa-datta. It commemorates the death of a lady named Śirivainabhaṭa, a daughter of a Mahakṣatrāpa and mother of Rudra-puruṣa-datta.[31] Another is of Mahāsenāpati Śiri Cāntapāla of Kulahaka family.[32] The third pillar is in honour of Mahāsenāpati Mūlabhūta.[33] The fourth is in memory of Kodāraka, who was honoured by *yatis* (*i.e.*, ascetics) and *śravaṇas* (Buddhist monks) alike. The fifth commemorates the father of Ikṣvāku king Vīra-puruṣa-datta and it was erected by his sisters, mother and queens.[34] Instead of the word *laṣṭi* we have here the expression *cāyāstambha*, literally meaning "shadow-pillar". This conveys an idea that it was meant to represent the shadow or effigy of the deceased, reminiscent of his memory in a more visible form. The memorial character of the pillar is more aptly expressed by the term *cāyāstambha* than by *yaṣṭi* or *laṣṭi*.

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[30] See No. 3 of Andhau memorials above.

[31] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1956-7, pp. 37-8.

[32] *EI* XXXIV, p. 20.

[33] *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 14.

[34] *Ibid.*

It will be observed from the above archaeological evidence that *yaṣṭis*, *laṣṭis* or *cāyāstambhas* were raised as memorials to the dead in the early centuries of the Christian era not only in western Punjab, Saurashtra and Kucch but as far south as the Andhra country. The earliest Tamil works of the Śangam age testify to their erection in the extreme south of the country. The memorials were raised in honour of those who either died under natural circumstances or on a battle field. The persons commemorated were monks, royal personages and commoners. As seen earlier, the Vedic practice restricted the erection of a pillar (*sthūṇa*) at the site where the ashes or bone relics were buried only for those who were entitled to this honour and had set up the sacred fire.[35] Thus women, Śūdras or commoners of low caste and ascetics were excluded for the purpose. The archaeological evidence shows that women and ascetics did have memorials in their honour. Further, the *sthūṇa* of the Vedic practice was not, strictly speaking, meant to convey the idea of a memorial, for, the ritual function of the *sthūṇa* was to contain or keep fixed the spirit of the dead inside the funerary urn under the weight of the wooden pillar placed right above it so that the spirit of the deceased may not cause harm to the survivors. A hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 18.) is addressed to the *Pitṛs*, the manes or ancestors specially for this purpose. It is clear, therefore, that the *yaṣṭis*, *laṣṭis* or *cāyāstambhas* as memorial monuments were not derived from the *sthūṇas* of the Vedic Āryans. The orthodox Hindu practice on the disposal of the relics has been firmly based on the Vedic prescriptions; and it has been considered more meritorious to dispose off the relics, *i.e.*, the ashes and the charred bones, into the sacred waters of rivers or ponds especially at holy places of pilgrimage. The practice of erection of tumulus or mound with an attached post or *sthūṇa* as referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, was an exception rather than a rule and seems to have been usually disfavoured. It should be noted that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* prescribes a four-cornered or quadrangular mound for the Āryans and we have so far not found any traces of such a mound anywhere in the country. It should be noted the mounds discovered and excavated at Lauriya Nadangadh in north Bihar are circular and not quadrangular and many more such mounds are reported from this locality. They are admittedly pre-Buddhistic in date and are not known to exist in other parts of the country. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII.8.1) clearly states that the easterners or the Asuras raised such circular mounds with the intention of commemorating their dead while the Vedic Āryans were more keen on warding off the spirits of the dead with propitiatory prayers to their *pitṛs*, or manes or ancestors. In the former case the relics were regarded as objects of reference and adoration, while in the latter case they were also meant to be feared and forgotten. It is thus logical to conclude that the Buddhist *stūpa* or mound, with accompanying lithic pillars, was derived from the former; hence from the beginning, the Buddhists worshipped the relics.

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[35] See p. 2 above.

It has been seen earlier that wooden posts or *stūṇas* were also raised along with the mounds by the Āryans as well as the Asuras or easterners in Vedic times. In the pre-Buddhistic burial mounds at Nandangadh we have recovered traces of wooden posts. The Buddhists obviously inherited this practice. The wooden posts at Nandangadh were found at the centre of the mound wherein the relics were also deposited, thus indicating the importance of the post. This association of the pillar and the relics is significantly brought out by the rock-cut pillar in Kārla Caves of 2nd cent. B.C., which also contains a receptacle for the relics. The mound as well as the post were the most important features of Buddhist relic worship. Initially the Buddhists may have raised low mounds with wooden posts in the centre, perhaps projecting above the mounds. With the progress of time, during the days of Aśoka Maurya, wood was probably replaced by stone as a more durable material, and then it assumed the form of a huge monolithic pillar, standing not in the centre of the mound but detached from it, as an imposing memorial to the relics of the divine dead. The Aśokan monolithic pillar was in the nature of a memorial to the divine personality and noble preachings of the Buddha. It is in this monolithic pillar that we have to look for the origin of the later memorial stones or hero-stones. The archaeological evidence of the *yaṣṭis*, *laṣṭis* or *cāyāstambhas* fully supports this view since all of them, as we have seen, are associated only with the Buddhists. As seen from the excavations at Kausambi and Sui Vihar, the memorial consisted of a *stūpa* and a pillar. We do not know the context in which the Saurashtra and Kucch *laṣṭis* were found. It is not known whether they were part of the *stūpas* or were free standing. At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the *cāyāstambhas* are associated with the *stūpas*. The pillar at Mulavasar, which stood independently, was perhaps not associated with a *stūpa*.

This discussion leads us to believe that the erection of a memorial pillar or a hero-stone had its origin in the Buddhist practice of relic worship, which, in its turn, was derived from the funeral practices of the easterners or the Asuras of the Vedic texts. This can be asserted for north-eastern and western and northern India. But whether the *naḍukals* or hero-stones of the Tamils of the Śangam age also owe their origin and development to the same source it is difficult to say. The *cāyāstambhas* of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa do not rule out such a possibility. It is certain that this was inconsistent with the religious beliefs and practices of the Vedic Āryans and of the orthodox Hindus of later days.

ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF MEMORIAL STONES IN TAMIL-NADU

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

TRADITIONS connected with heroism are universal in spirit and content, irrespective of the country to which they belong. In a sense, therefore, they have been prized high and put on a pedestal all its own. The emotions behind the heroic act are, firstly, integrity, loyalty to a cause or to mother-earth, self-sacrifice and daring, all these to an exceptional and spectacular degree. The folklore and ballads of our country are full of the heroism of brave and courageous sons and daughters. Memorials to them, therefore, had been a fairly consistent practice. But the character and design of such memorials have the flavour of the specific genius of the country concerned. The hero-stones and other allied ancient memorials in South India follow the concepts dear to the Indian heart, both materially and symbolically.

The main concentration of these is in Karnataka and Tamil-Nadu, and only to a lesser degree, in other parts of the South. The main theme connected with them is cattle-lifting or cattle-retrieving (which is immortalised in the *Virāṭaparvā* of the *Mahābhārata*). Commemoration of heroism had a *cult* and a *folk* variation. Perhaps the oldest cult manifestation of such a trend is the *Pañca-vira* cult of the Vṛṣṇi heroes. The folk traditions centred also around the Yādava clans, like the Ābhiras, Velirs etc., and hence were seemingly inspired by the epic tradition.

I

It is interesting that stone has been selected for the medium of such expression, implying the toughness, durability and naturalness of the bravery displayed by the person commemorated. Traditions connected with the veneration and worship of such hero-stones from Tamil literature show that they have deeply exercised the heart of the society. At the same time, it is equally notable that this manifestation of exemplary gratitude for an exemplary heroic act, subsequently converted into a divine immanence has been a special trait of a specific geographical region of Tamil-Nadu at certain stages of its history. To that extent, it may be averred that ecological and chronological considerations have prevailed in their dissemination. It is also important to note that these hero-stones have no specific or substantial link with the sepulchral megalithic tomb types of the Iron Age in South India, (ranging from c. 800 B.C., to 100 A.D.,) either in symbolism or in cultural features. Even the menhirs and alignments of the megalithic variety are of a class distinguished from these hero-stones. These are primarily early-historic in inception, when the society had fully imbibed qualities of head and heart and had sought media for emulation thereof. Before we deal with the traditions referred to in Tamil literature on such hero-stones, it is essential to understand the chronology and ecology of the Śangam classics, specially in so far as they pertain to these hero-stones. These are found referred to in *Ahanānūru*, *Puranānūru*, *Ainguṛunūru*, *Peruntogai* and specially in *Malaipaḍukaḍām* (where a graphic portrayal is given of this practice) and a direct reference is also made to the very region where, today, as known to archaeology, the largest concentration of these hero-stones has been recorded. Detailed references to the *rationale* of the hero-stone cult, as an antecedent cult are furnished in *Tolkāppiam*, the oldest Tamil grammar, and the later *Purapporuḷ-Veṇbāmālai*, annotating data and features exemplified in *Tolkāppiam*. The Cengam taluk of the North Arcot Dt., a hilly tract which also conveniently provides the passes and valleys of the south-west, north-east strike, leading one into the Dharmapuri Dt., as well as to the southern Karnataka territory, is among the tracts where one witnesses these hero-stones in large measure. It is immediately perceived that this very area, and the contiguous areas on either side of the boundary line of the two states, Tamil-Nadu and Karnataka, have also produced hero-stones in historic periods under the Gangas, Noḷambas and Hoysaḷas of the latter, and the Pallavas, Coḷas and Naḷambas of the former areas. The problem, thus, restricts itself, in so far as the understanding of the earliest provenance of these memorial stones is concerned, to examining which specific area among these contains the *earliest recorded* reference, and in what sociological context. This is just what is primarily answered by the hero-stones in the Cengam and contiguous tract.

A detailed record of a large number of inscribed and sculptured hero-stones in the Cengam taluk and adjacent areas discovered in recent years has been published by the Tamil-Nadu Directorate of Archaeology, although quite a few such scattered examples in this and the adjacent Salem (now Dharmapuri) Dt., were known earlier and taken as belonging to the Ganga-Pallavas etc. By and large, the *prima facie* position arising out of the accession to our latest knowledge on these, would be that the very inception of the Pallavas of Kāñcī of the Simha Viṣṇu line witnessed this practice already. We know that this was either around the very beginning of or a few decades earlier than the 6th cent. A.D. The implication of this situation, in so far as it images upon the Śangam lore, is profound. It presents, perhaps the *first* well-recorded and datable evidence to assess the age of the Śangam classics. It is, of course, well known that the Śangam works are an anthology and, therefore, their actual age of composition, *per se*, would have to be anterior to the time they became familiar to the Tamil literary society as an anthology. At the same time, the very character of the Śangam works clearly pre-supposes not only their geographical pattern (variegating the diurnal activities of the sons of the soil, residing variously in the Kuriñji, Mullai, Marudam and Neidal tracts of the Tamil-Nadu, respectively standing from the high ranges, the valleys, the plains and the littoral), but also the absence of any strict attempt at chronicling or historigraphic recording of the annals of the society in terms of their dynasties, battles and historic land-marks as well as synchronistic events. It is to be taken, thus, that these Śangam classics are, in essence, the spontaneous outpourings of the bards and *literati* in the society, in response to the poetic or romantic or rustic elements in the environment to which they had been exposed, during their itinerary in the restricted zones of their activity. Granting the above, it became explicit forthwith that whatever is pictured in the poetry is exactly what they had occasion to see around them and is an ungarbled, *contemporary* reflection, and not in the manner of nostalgic or melancholy *odes* to a *remote* social event lost in the mists of distant antiquity. Thus, we are well-advised when we consider, first, the Śangam classic as not just idealised poetry, but realistic ballad; and, secondly, that the society, environment and characters of common life they portray are contemporary, which should lend themselves to historic analysis and synthesis, *if and when* the *key* to the unravelling of their context become available. Such a key is provided though qualified by the hero-stone inscriptions of the Cengam region, dating back at least to the Simha Viṣṇu Pallava epoch.

Now, working backwards into time, we have to examine: (1) if such a practice existed in the Pre-Pallava periods in this very tract or elsewhere, and (2) if, on the other hand, the epigraphical records of the Tamils of the earlier periods reveal any link with such a tract, on both palaeographical and historical considerations.[1] We are, therefore, inevitably led to the earlier inscribed records in Tamil of which the so-called Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (found in the various natural caverns of the Jaina monks with stone-beds), form the *largest single corpus* of written records of these times. There are also a few inscribed pottery and coins of these earlier stages. In so far as the last mentioned of the above are concerned, it is a rather rare coincidence that the very same Cengam area has revealed, in recent years, in the Andipaṭṭi coin hoard, (now acquired for the Government Museum, Egmore, Madras, by the Tamil-Nadu Government), a fairly prolific *cache* of lead coins of almost identical type, and revealing a vague Sātavāhana analogue, and also weaving itself into the era of the Śangam classics by the names involved in the coin legend. It would suffice here to state that the combined effect of the natural cavern Tamil Brāhmī records, the graffiti and the Andipaṭṭi hoard, on the one hand, and the very records on the hero-stones, the earliest of which have now been seen as going back to the time of Simha Viṣṇu, would be that we are very much in a period of *transition*, of vital change in the Tamil social matrix, in the religious inclinations and in the cultural propensities of the educated *elite* and the scribes, both lay and princely. Since we now have ample evidence to aver that the central stage of the Tamil Brāhmī records (related to Jain as well as other contexts) would be in the very opening centuries of the Christian era, and since the Simha Viṣṇu terminus *ante quem* of the Cengam and other hero-stones involves a new mode of script and literary composition born of a changed socio-political context, it is clearly in this transitional period that we should search for the moorings of the Śangam bards and their poems. It is, therefore, a fortunate circumstance that we are now in a position to fix the Śangam epoch with some validity from the 2nd and 3rd cent. to the 5th and 6th cent. A.D., with all that it would obviously imply in terms of the historic and cultural legacy of the Tamils of a later day.

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[1] Simultaneously it should be noted that we know that the earliest Pallavas of Tamil-Nadu are themselves not mentioned in any of the Śangam classics, and hence they are posterior to them. The only reference to Tiraiyar mentioned in *Aham.* 85, 340, *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* 37, and as associated with Tondaiman in *Puram.* 95 and *Kuruntogai* 260 and *Aham.* 213, all tend to suggest that these literary strata should be of the end of the 5th cent. A.D., and it would be most appropriate to equate the Toṇḍaimān Iḷantirayan himself with Simha Viṣṇu Pallava.

We referred earlier in passing to palaeographic implications. This is related to the use of 'Brāhmī' characters in the earlier Jain records and the clear Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script at the earliest Pallava stage of the hero stone inscriptions. This would indicate that the period of transition between the two was also a stage when the written script of the earlier stage was adopted and modified into (and not, be it noted, *replaced* by) the later Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script. Transitional stages of these scripts are to be found in some records. This change or transformation in the script is also of extremely far-reaching importance. For it can now be argued that the inception of the so-called Tamil Brāhmī script was essentially of colonial extraction, having been brought within the borders of the ancient Tamil country through commercial and political channels in the Sātavāhana period (as seen from the Bhaṭṭiprolu relic casket record) which was, indubitably, a great watershed period in the Deccan and the lower

South of India. The academic atmosphere around the capitals of the triple crowned heads, the Pāṇḍyas, the Coḷas and the Ceras (with the lesser ones like, the Atiyamāns etc.,)[2] not to mention the commercial interests centring around the maritime marts on coastal Tamil-Nadu, should have avidly and consistently absorbed this script-potential to varying degrees, without necessarily always impregnating the *entire* society with its impulses; and the result was the desultory occurrence, though in a markedly analogous form and context, of the Tamil Brāhmī, the graffiti and the Aṇḍipaṭṭi coin legend. Equally eloquently, the Pallavas of the Simha Viṣṇu line at Kāñcī, who were virtually the successors to the Sātavāhana legacy in this region, had themselves, brought some measure of political and cultural consolidation to this area and fully committed the local society to the cultural impulses of the Deccani and Upper Indian kingdoms; now spreading south in terms of the monarchical system, the Nāgarī script, and the artistic and architectural modes. Their impact was not felt markedly south of the Kāverī or to the west of the Cingleput Dt., in their earliest stages. Their nexus with the triple southern kingdoms, or with the Atiyamāns and the Ceras of antecedent stages, was thus, culturally speaking by no means firm or profound. The latter, however, had already been mentioned as extent in his times by Aśoka, and were themselves, directly in liaison with the Sātavāhana cultural and commercial transactions, with maritime Roman trade and diffusing Jain mendicants forming the external and internal links in this chain. Much of this activity poured into Tamil-Nadu through the passes, mainly across the hills in the North Arcot Dt., into the westerly hill zones, and thus had some tenuous immediate connections with what was going on in the Karnataka territory, around Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa or Kolār. The Jains found both the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceras (not to mention their tracts) hospitable to them, although they leaned heavily and mainly on the trade *elite* for their patronage.

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[2] There was also a cavern bed Tamil-Brāhmī inscription at Māmandūr, not far from Kāñcī. But it is difficult to aver whether Kāñcī, as capital existed at the time these Tamil-Brāhmī record of the Jain cavern at Māmandūr was inscribed.

From such a context wherein the first written usage of Tamil script was born, to one of self-confidence, originality and enduring long-range base as from the Pallava times the transition of the script in the centuries succeeding the early historic era, was of great significance, and it is interesting that the Pāṇḍyan and Cera country continued the use of the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script from the time it got without crystallised break, well into the mediaeval times. It is the Pallava and Coḷa region that dabbled in the admixture of the Nāgarī and Pallava-Grantha script, which led to the evolution of the latter-day Tamil script, after their meaningful impact with the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu stage, from about the end of the 8th cent. Before this, we have the inscriptions in the mainland Pallava territory only in Prākrit or Sanskrit. The polarisation of the Nāgarī and the latter-day Grantha Tamil script in the Pallava-Coḷa territory, and the lingering of the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script unbroken in the Pāṇḍya-Cera-Atiyamān territory, is itself revealing of the correlation of the socio-political nexus of these respective groups within themselves. During this local polarisation, both the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya-Cera territories had also *direct* access to the Deccani and Upper Indian political-cultural impulses. But, while the former dynasty (by its own Andhra moorings) was more eclectic, the latter, as the indigenous representative of the Tamil *psyche*, was content to mould its script into its own pattern and genius, in the form of the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script. The consolidation of the political picture of the Tamil-Nadu, from about the closing years of Āditya I Coḷa (c. 871-903), and the firm hold Coḷas had on the Pāṇḍyan and Cera territory *politically* during the next two centuries or more, resulted in the latter-day Tamil script having a clearly better chance of becoming a familiar script throughout the State, though the Coḷa inscriptions in the Pāṇḍyan and Cera country, even after its annexation of these areas, were in the Grantha-Tamil script, without ousting the coeval use of Vaṭṭeluṭṭu in these regions. As the North Arcot area was, specially in its western parts, the junction between the Pallava and the Atiyamān territory, on the one hand, and the border between Tamil land and Karnataka territory, on the other, the script employed in some of the hero-stone records of the Cengam tract in the Pallava period *continued* to be in Vaṭṭeluttu and not strictly in the court-script already well known and well employed by the Pallavas at metropolitan Kāñcī and other centres in the main Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Nor was Sanskrit to be even contemplated to be used for these hero-stone records in this period. This was perhaps due to two vital reasons: firstly, that the Vaṭṭeluttu was already (and *later* also) equally familiar with Sanskrit (as was later adopted for example, in the time of Jaṭila Parāntaka I or Māran Jaḍayan in his Tirupparankunram or Anamalai records, simultaneously using Sanskrit and Tamil for their records) but deliberately did not choose it as its language for a sturdy individualistic folk expression like hero-stones; and, secondly, their natural *clan* and pride was well displayed in sticking to the Tamil language and their distinctive native script as different from Sanskrit, which was linguistically difficult for them to mouth.

II

The literary references to the hero-stones in the Śangam works, *Ahanānūru*, *Puranānūru*, *Ainguruṇūru*, *Peruntogai*, and *Malai-paḍukaḍām*, express themselves clearly in respect of their features. *Tolkāppiyam*, which serves as the ancient grammar for the Śangam Tamil works, should be taken as having *succeeded* their classics. *Tolkāppiyam* itself utilises the hero-stone details, and offers several interesting data on its features, as collected at the time of its composition. These have been further expanded and detailed, as already stated in the *Purapporuḷ Veṇbāmālai.*

As we have already seen, the advent of the Pallavas of the Simha Viṣṇu line at Kāñcī and the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas under the Kaḍuṅgon, Coḷas, Ceras etc., are all after the so-called *Kaḷabra* interlude. This must have taken place broadly speaking before c. 525. Since neither *Tolkāppiyam* nor *Śilappadikāram* mentions the Pallavas of Kāñcī, as it should have if it was composed after the Simha Viṣṇu line, we should be right in placing them too before c. 525. Incidentally, it might lead to a correct appraisal of the earlier Pallavas like Śivaskandavarman etc., who had issued the Mayidavoḷu and other copper-plate charters from Kāñcī, as probably not referring to the *present* Kāñcīpuram, but to another synonymous place, perhaps located in the Nellore or Guntur territory of Andhra Pradesh. One such possible place, namely, represented by the modern villages of Cinna and Pedda Ganjam (Nellore) is already held by some scholars to have been an earlier Kāñci, a Buddhist centre and a sea-port capital town of the early Pallavas before their transfer to Kāñcī in the Cingleput Dt. A chart of the chronological situation relevant to the Śangam age, appended at the end of the paper, deals with the provenance of the early script forms of Tamil in Tamil-Nadu.

Tolkāppiyam, under its *Poruḷadhikāram* and *Purattiṇai* sections, refers to the six methods or features of the *Naḍukal*, or hero-stones — (*kātci - kālkoḷ* ... *kalloḍu puṇara - Purattinai*-5). It also refers, by implication, to Vettiyal and Podu-iyal traditions in the erection of hero-stones. The first involves a memorial for the brave dead, carrying his name engraved on the stone, and fixing the stone after offering prayers to God; the other is similar to the first, but, after the erection, looks upon the hero-stone itself as divinity. *Tolkāppiyam* under its Ahattiṇai section, deals with the contexts where heroes die fighting. These could be either at the behest of the two kings at war; or the respective commanders initiating a programme of cattle-lifting or cattle retrieving; or it could also be for protecting a fort (*eyil*); or for victory against a cavalry force (*kudirai veṟṟi*), and so on.

The *Ahanānūru* (53, 67, 131, 289) and the *Puranānūru* (206, 232, 239, 261, 263, 264, 265, and 335), refer to hero-stone traditions. *Aiṅguṟunūru*, (252), and *Malaipaḍukaḍām* (583 lines) dealing with Nannan's Malai-Nāḍu, mentions Navira-malai, Ceyyar, and Cengaṇmā (the present Cengam) and even Nîlakaṇṭha's temple — *Kāri-uṇḍi-kaḍavuḷ* on the Naviramalai. It is in the course of a description of the hill and forest topography, of the people and their food and other habits (1.357) that it mentions that the forest-paths there contain hero-stones of the enemies of Nannan's warriors who were killed. It commands the passer-by to worship these hero-stones. Naccinārkkiniyar, in his commentary on this work, calls its title descriptively as: '*Iṟaṉiamuṭṭattu-perum-kunṟūr Peruṅkouśikanār*

Palkunṟakoṭṭattu Seṅganmāttu veḷ — Nannan-Cey-Nannan pāḍiya Malaipaḍukaḍām'. *Aham*. 131, further, states that the forest tract is awesome with the large-sized hero-stones for the brave dead warriors, standing out with their peacock feather decoration, inscriptions, and spear stuck in front, and looking like the armoury in the enemy camp. *Puram*. 287, points how if the brave warriors of the king fight unflinchingly to victory, despite arrows stuck on their chests, or spears thrust, or elephants' tusk pierced, they would get the prize of fertile cultivated lands; or if they fall fighting without showing their backs to the enemy, they ascend to heaven, marry celestial maidens, and attain bliss. *Puram*. 260, refers how such a brave warrior, who died while retrieving cattle, reached heaven, and his name was engraved on a stone and decorated with peacock feathers and fixed under a cloth-canopied pavilion, virtually as a shrine of the *maṇḍapa* type. *Puram*. 261, mentions how the dead warrior's home, by its poverty, is without lustre, as his wife had lost her fair appearance, cast off her ornaments and shaven her head, the marks of widowhood. These, indeed, display customs of acculturation from the 'greater' traditions of the main Tamil society by the 'lesser'. *Puram*. 164, shows how the bodies of such cattle-lifting heroes, who die are interred amidst the rocky boulders, on the forest path, and the hero-stone is planted on the spot individually or collectively, decorated with peacock feathers, flowers etc., and inscribed with the valiant actions. It expects the traveller to worship the hero-stone and pass, in order that he may have a happy journey. That good results flow from such worship of a dead warrior who had ascended heaven and had been consecrated in a hero-stone (like what will be the result of worshipping gods in carved forms in temple) is referred to, *for the first time*, in Tamil literature in these Śangam classics.

It is also interesting in this regard to find that Tiruvalluvar, author of the great socio-cultural treatise, the *Kuṟal*, specifically refers to the 'ancients' who had already been honoured with hero-stones after their death (*Kuṟaḷ* 771 — '*Ennai munninṟu-kal-ninṟavar*'). This has its own implication on the age of this work. The yearning of a warrior's wife worshipping a hero-stone, to desire her husband also to fight and attain such a respectable status is mentioned in *Puram* 306.

It is seen that hero-stones in the Maruḍam land were subjected to the following ceremonials; washing, giving offerings, burning incense (*Puram.* 329). It is seemingly on the parallelism of the god in the temple being offered bath, *bali* or oblations, and incense, and is adopted by the forest clans without any ritual details. This parallelisim is known from the fact that the hero going to *heaven* for the brave act itself implies the concept of the people in the hill tracts and upper valleys prizing of heaven as the highest reward and wanting to honour anyone who has attained such a heavenly abode, *as a divinity*. Although the kings, who cast off their kingdom and fasted unto death (called *Vaḍakkiruttal* in early Tamil literature), are also entitled to hero-stones, as in the case of Kopperuncolan (*Puram.* 221), this is only in a few cases. The majority of the cases of the hero-stone cult honours the warriors in the forest area (Maṟavar). In later times, even those who built a temple, or dug a canal, or even Jain women who religiously fasted unto death (like Puḷiabbe, sister of Cāmuṇḍarāya, whose *niśidikai* is found inside the Candranātha temple at Vijayamanagalam-Mettupudur, Coimbatore Dt.), were honoured with memorial stones of one kind or another. The Jain *niśidikais*, which are for those performing *sallekhana* or fast unto death for religious merit, are clearly of a different ilk from the true hero-stone cult which displays secular traits like valour.[3]

Perhaps, one of the most vigorous and meaningful presentations of the social and ethno-cultural impacts of the hero-stone tradition, is the reference preciously presented in *Puram.* 335, of *Māṅgudi-Kiḻār.*

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[3] Ultimately, this cult, in so far as Tamil-Nadu is concerned, also got universalised by merging with the cults of Ayyanār, Kudiraiviran etc., and found expression in the terracotta and stucco figures for these demi-gods riding elephant, horse etc., and had essentially a protective role for the villages. They were placed near tanks and lakes, with offerings made to them in the form of such figures in terracotta form. In one such case near Dharmāpuri, such offerings were also associated with a Hanumān temple. Hanumān, it may be recalled, is also called Mahāvīra.

This presents an arresting picture of a woman of the warrior tribe, scorned, who was suckling her young one at her bosom. She weans him away from the breast, and after straightening a victorious spear of her dead husband, which had been bent by having been thrust into and pulled out from an enemy's body, and invoking the hero-stone of the dead husband, exhorts the tender infant to proceed to the battle-field with that spear and fight. This warrior wife also proclaims to the chieftain who had come to attack her husband's area with his men, that "there might be only four types of forest flowers, four types of wild food-grains, four types of clans (Tuḍiyankuḍi, Bāṇankuḍi, Parayankuḍi and Kaḍambankuḍi) in the hill and valley areas, and they might worship only the hero-stones planted for the valorous warriors (who fell dying after throwing back the enemy, confronting even a mighty tusker in the process and felling it), and they might not worship the higher gods like Indra etc., (worshipped in the towns with flowers and grains scattered on the images in the temples). The flowers, food-grains, clans and hero-stone cult of these forest clans might be inferior to the worship of divinities like Indra etc., done with decent fragrant flowers, rich paddy of two varieties, by the four-fold strata of the semi-urban society. But the Maṟava clans do not bother about such differences. They have one prized possession, namely, valour, which cannot be assailed easily by even the kings."

Tolkāppiyam, in *Purattiṇai* (33), has explained the method of divine worship followed in the 'higher' society of the plains and cities, which results in stages in *kodinilai*, *kandaẓhi* and *vaḷḷi* states of mind, thereby underscoring the somewhat advanced and sophisticated philosophic fabric of the religious faiths adopted in the 'higher' social groups. *Purattiṇai* (14) also emphasizes how the warriors who go, at the behest of the king, for cattle raids etc., worship only the *koṟṟavai* (Durgā) goddess, and, by implication, indicates that they do not worship hero-stones found in the hill tracts.

An interesting cameo is also presented by the Śangam classic *Aham*. 343 and *Paruntogai*. 701. The latter mentions warriors as sharpening their tools on hero-stones, and thereby the writing on them got blurred and was not legible to the passer-by who sometimes, therefore, misread them. The former states that, in the forest path of small hamlets on the plateau, 'there were many hero-stones in a cluster and the salt-merchant who had to take his cart through pathways in this area, had his wheels constantly rubbing the stones and erasing the words', showing how close to the pathway these had been fixed.

There is, thus, a picture emerging from these valuable references made in the Śangam classics, specially in Nannan's territory, as detailed in the *Malai-paḍukaḍām* of Perumkouśikanār, that a certain sequestration of the area where the communities who adopted and practised the hero-stone cults existed and this might have to be considered. It is seen that the provenance of the hero-stones themselves is concentrated mainly on the border areas, full of hills, forests, narrow valleys and rivers, in the western part of North Arcot, the northern part of Salem and the present Dharmapuri Dts., and the northern part of Coimbatore Dt. No hero-stone as such is found on the mainland of Toṇḍaināḍu, the lower Kāverī valley of the Vaigaī and Tāmraparaṇī valleys.[4] They are, however, found in isolated locations in the Kerala tracts as in the Wynad area, as at Pulpalli, or in the border areas between Tamil-Nadu and Andhra, as in the Cittoor and Nellore Dts., (where, under the Vaidumba and Bāṇa control, these had been extensively noticed), mostly in much later chronological contexts than the period of the Śangam classics of Tamil-Nadu.

III

The inferences and implications of all these, considered side by side with the palaeographic differences, as between Tamil-Brāhmī and Vaṭṭeluṭṭu (as found in the mainland of Tamil-Nadu around the capitals of Coḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Ceras), and the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu of the oldest hero-stones known so far (as available only in the western border areas in North Arcot, Dharmapuri, Coimbatore, and not earlier than the end of the 5th cent.), would be far-reaching and profound, affecting not only the qualitative ideas and concepts behind the hero-stone cult, as reflected in these, but also the very social matrix of the Tamil culture. This culture had, thus, seemingly a 'greater' and 'lesser' religious tradition, involving gods in temples, and immortal warriors (become godly) in the hero-stones, and mentions also worship modes, respectively by the learned and the forest Maṟava tribes. It also indicates how the concentration of the hero-stone tradition is noted as confined to some clans even specifically named (as in *Puram.* 335). We may call these trends, perhaps, as *metropolitan* and *tribal.* The references to words in the hero-stones having been blurred or erased by carts and of swords having been sharpened on them show how the tradition had already become partly obsolete or unfamiliar, at least to the mainland kings, warriors and tradesmen. There is also one precious reference to these warriors having been actually *buried* in the rocky outcrops and the hero-stone duly planted on it. The possible original sepulchral-cum-memorial stage of the hero-stones is, perhaps, highlighted by this. It is, however, clearly an original and indigenous form, and is decidedly later than the main sepulchral *megalithic* tradition of Tamil-Nadu which is comprehensively involved throughout the entire state in its modes and cultural vestiges.

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[4] See, however, note 3.

Inasmuch as *Tolkāppiyam* is dealing extensively with this hero-stone cult in its grammatical expositions, it is clear that it is taking note, *ex post facto,* of what are expressed in the Śangam classics, as mostly coeval with it or as antecedant events; and, to that extent, it should be possible for these classics themselves, together with the *Tolkāppiyam* grammar, to be placed earlier than the date of the Simha Viṣṇu Pallava dynasty of Kāñcīpuram in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. We have already stated that the *Tolkāppiyam* does not mention Kāñcī. But the earliest hero-stones of Cengam are clearly ascribable to Simha Viṣṇu's regnal years, if the names of the Pallava kings found in these hero stones are actually not to be taken as homonymous. Thus, it becomes obvious that the hero-stone traditions of the Śangam classic (which *Tolkāppiyam* is analyzing) would be an antecedent tradition of the Cengam area, which was subsequenty continued even when the chieftain of the place came under the control and jurisdiction of the Pallavas. This is further reinforced by the fact that, in many of these, amidst the engraved carvings of men and articles, either a pot of water, or *pūrṇaghaṭa*, or even what looks like Śivalinga is depicted, thereby showing that it had already been transformed into the 'higher' religious cult than what was earlier mentioned in the Śangam references. Thus, the chances of hero-stones, of a stage earlier than the advent of the Pallavas of Kāñcī would not be ruled out specially in the interior areas of this tract of Cengam.

It is interesting also, in this context, to consider the Andipaṭṭi coin hoards, which have not only the firm imitation of the Sātavāhana coin motifs and traditions, but also show local names for the chieftain of the legend, and are inscribed in the Tamil-Brāhmī script and not in Vaṭṭeluṭṭu. The context, therefore, should have warranted an independent jurisdiction without any liege-lord, and such a situation will fit in *better* with the context of the Śangam works, like *Malaipaḍukaḍām* etc., referring to Nannan of Ceṅganmā. The legend of the Cengam-Andipaṭṭi coins is, broadly speaking, taken as reading '*Tinnan-etirān-chendan-a*'. This reading, if most acceptable, would take the last letter as the possessive or genitive suffix, and hence, in keeping with the tradition of the northern Deccani coins and seal formulae, including those of the Sātavāhana. On that account, it is also suggested that the *Tolkāppiyam's sūtra* on the genitive suffix would be datable. The letter 's' in *etirān*, with its triangular form in the Andipaṭṭi hoard, would also help in the dating. It is best placed in the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., preferably in the latter, but definitely earlier than the 4th century by which time the archaeologically associated vestiges of the Sātavāhana ceramic and other traits, (like russet-coated or the curvilinear painted pottery tradition) go out of vogue in the entire North Arcot, Salem, and Coimbatore Dts. It is possible also to locate, by careful exploration, the ceramic associable with the Andipaṭṭi hoard, either in that place or in the vicinity. It is important also to note that several small chieftains had been ruling in these areas, such as Nannan, Eṟṟai, Atti, Gaṅgan, Kaṭṭi, Punṟuṟai and Kanayan, a confederacy of whom was defeated by the Coḷa king, Perumbūtcinni, as described in *Ahanānuru*, 44, at Kaḻumalam. The reference to Ganga here is significant on two counts, namely, that it places the Gangas already contemporary with the Śangam kings of Tamil-Nadu; and, secondly, the location of these valleys, nearer to Kolār than other parts of Karnataka, corroborates the thesis that the Gangas of Kolār (or Kuvaḷalapura) were perhaps the earliest among the several dynastic lines that are known.

The cardinal points that emerge from all the above data would be that (1) hero stones are not known in Tamil-Nadu before the Christian era; (2) they are not connected in any way with megalithic tombs, menhirs etc; (3) they are coeval, if not progressively overlapping, with several phases of the earliest currency of the Śangam anthology; (4) that, by the evidence afforded upon written traditions in Tamil-Nadu, they have not so far been found *earlier* than the clear advent of the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script form itself, evolving out of the Tamil-Brāhmī repertory of the earlier script stages; (5) they are not found in all parts of Tamil-Nadu, but only on the western stretches, and all the varieties of references to hero-stones, other than heroism in cattle-lifting etc., are subsequent to the oldest stage of this practice; (6) that the ceremonies connected with them are clearly patterned after the brahmanical worship tradition of divinities and their images in temples; and *ipso facto* afford a date for the corresponding inception of such divinities also in mainland Tamil-Nadu. Thus, they are one among the 'lesser' vehicles current along with the 'greater' religious tradition of Tamil-Nadu in the Śangam period; (7) that they have, at the same time, an autochthonous tribal individualism which is sturdily kept *apart* from the mainstream, which they do not either influence or affect; and, finally, (8) these single-culture communities, by their inscribed and sculptured data largely modelled as folk versions of the truly organised counterparts of the mainstream of Tamil art, culture and society of their times, and by their quoting even regnal years of the kings of the realm, voluntarily place themselves *within the ambit* of the larger Tamil polity, subject only to their *ecological* individualities in food, ethnic grouping and occupations. That they had, however, stages of independence is high-lighted by the Andipaṭṭi hoard, which is, by and large, of the *most central phase of their temporal growth*. By their direct nexus with the contiguous border tracts and their communities, they were, virtually, the *progenitor models* of the 'hero-stone' traditions so extensively found, subsequently, in the Karnataka and Andhra tracts, in the geographically contiguous as well as linked zones. They keep up this tradition virtually up to the 12th cent. in Tamil-Nadu, and are sporadically found thereafter, whereas, in Karnataka and Andhra, they have their rich further traditions well into the Vijayanagara times also. The mainland Tamil-Nadu, after the early hobnobbing with this tradition up to about the 5-6th cent. is virtually free from it as reflecting a more sophisticated and viable cultural region the lineal legatees of the brahmanical faiths and, to a lesser measure, the Jain and Buddhist with the accent on the *smṛti* code (*'smṛti-mārgam piḷaiyaḍu'* as of the early Pāṇḍyan Veḷvikkuḍi grant of Jaṭila Parāntapa), social stratification, religious polytheism, and iconographic proliferation.

The picture, thus, is positively helpful, for the first time, in understanding and integrating the proper chrono-cultural contexts of: (a) the Śangam classics, as known to us now; (b) the monarchical institution of the Śangam and post-Śangam ages; (c) the *Tolkāppiyam* grammar and even *Tirukkural* lore; (d) the early Tamil script-development; and (e) the nexus between contiguous border areas of two or three of the *Drāviḍian* states, in regard to this *single-culture taxonymy*. Above all, it shifts the Śangam lore back to the table of historians and archaeologists, from the *limbo* of literary anonymity that was its lot so far.

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TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY TAMIL CULTURAL VESTIGES

AGE	PALLAVA REGION	COLA CERA ATIYA' ZONE	PANDYA ZONE	FROM OUT SIDE TAMIL NADU (SATAVAHANA)	AGE
300 BC	—	ASOKAN REFERENCE (NO SCRIPT EXTANT)	ASOKAN REFERENCE (NO SCRIPT EXTANT)		— 300
200 —	—	—	—	(ANDHRA PRADESH) BHATTIPROLU RELIC-CASKET RECORDS DRAVIDI (OR TAMIL BRAHMI)	— 200
100 —	—	—	SITTANNAVASAL JAIN BED RECORDS TAMIL BRAHMI ARITTAPATTI MANGULAM ALAGARKOIL KONGAR PULIYANGULAM KILAVALAVU ANAIMALAI AMMACHATTIRAM, ALURUTTIMALAI ETC., TAMIL BRAHMI MUDUKUDVMI PERUVALUDI		— 100
BC 0 AD —	TAMIL BRAHMI RECORDS AT MAMANDUR				BC — 0 AD
100 —	—	URAIYUR RATNAGIRI ('VESAN') AYYAR MALAI TAMIL BRAHMI		NAGARJUNAKONDA Iksvaku RECORDS NAGARI	— 100
200 —	ARIKAMEDU GRAFFITI (TAMIL BRAHMI)	ANDIPATTI (CHENGAM) COINS WITH *TAMIL BRAHMI* SCRIPT PUGALIYUR	—NEDUNCHELIYAN OF MADURAIKANJI—	— — — — — — —	— 200
300 —	NAGARI OF EARLY PALLAVAS (MAYIDAVOLU ETC)	ARACCHALUR TRANSITION TO VATTELUTTU	SANGAM AGE KALABHRA KALI EPOCH & INTERLUDE	SAMUDRAGUPTA'S SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN	— 300
400 —	*VATTELUTTU* TIRUNATAAR KUNRU-NISIDIKAI	DHARMAPURI (IRULAPATTI HERO STONES TAMIL BRAHMI & VATTELUTTU)	(NO LET-UP IN ART OR LETTERS)		— 400
500 —		CENGAM HERO-STONES (VATTELUTTU)	KADUNGON (OF VELVI KUDI GRANT)	—	— 500
600 —	SIMHAVISNU LINE PALLAVA GRANTHA RECORDS			—	— 600
700 —	MAHABALIPURAM ATIRANACHANDA RECORDS NAGARI AND GRANTHA	HERO STONE RECORDS VATTELUTTU	VATTELUTTU RECORDS OF EARLY PANDYAN EMPIRE	—	— 700
800 —	TAMIL SCRIPT		COLA CONQUEST	—	— 800
900 —		TAMIL SCRIPT		—	— 900
1000 —		HERO STONE AND OTHER RECORDS	VATTELUTTU AS WELL AS TAMIL RECORDS	—	—1000

II

FOLK, TRIBAL, LOCAL TRADITIONS AND MEMORIALS

HERO-STONES : THE 'FOLK' AND THE 'CLASSIC'

M. S. MATE

MEMORIAL monuments are as varied and diverse as imagination permits. However, for some reason or other, they did not arouse sufficient curiosity or interest in the scholarly world. In the course of my archaeological surveys of large areas of Western Maharashtra, I noticed a number of memorials, and I take this opportunity to present my study of them.

Some scholars look upon these memorial tablets as anthropological data; some others are mainly interested in the inscriptions which many of these stones bear. As data for the anthropologists, they evoke associations with certain stages of the social and economic evolution of society. It naturally becomes a constant endeavour to search out parallels with societies in the same or very similar stages of evolution. The practices and customs prevalent today among certain tribes and castes like the Dhangars turn out to be of immense import in this context. Certain practices like cutting off one's head either as a mark of devotion or in fulfilment of a vow, the deification of an ancestor, all mentioned by Prof. Sontheimer in connection with hero-stones in the southern districts of Maharashtra, undoubtedly echo folk beliefs and traditions whose roots may go back to hoary antiquity. These may eventually throw some light on the people for whom the stones were erected.

However, it is clear that *vīragals*, both in their plastic form and essential iconography, are results of the *classic* as distinct from *folk* traditions. In this case, reference may be made to the very crude representations of human beings found on many stone tablets in Maharashtra or other adjacent areas, not to mention such distinctive objects as the wooden 'pillars' discussed by Archer. Only those which have a particular form, a good deal of sculpture on them and are spread over large areas of Western India, (especially Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh) are considered here. They fall roughly between the 10th and 14th cent. although in specific areas, they continued to be erected in later centuries.

The commonest variety of *vīragals* consists of a flat slab of stone divided into three rectangular panels. The lowest shows the scene of the battle in which the hero died. Cattle or ships are also represented, hinting that the hero died either defending cattle or in a naval action. In the middle panel, the hero is seen being carried to heaven by two bewitching *apsaras*. In the uppermost panel, he is shown worshipping a Śiva-liṅga. In very rare cases, representation of either Viṣṇu, or Devī and Jina are found in the place of the Śiva-liṅga.

On some of the more elaborately carved tablets, articles of furniture, arms, weapons, chariots and even palanquins occur. Small replicas of structures are also carved. These are in the form of square pavilions with sloping roofs, and round, staged, or faceted columns. In most cases they are quite pleasing, and in appearance, very close to the *chatri* structures. From the point of view of artistic conception or design the sculptor had in mind, the uppermost portion of the *vīragal* assumes the greatest importance. In some simple stones from Maharashtra, only a small *kalaśa* is seen as the finial. However, the more elaborate of them show a sloping roof with a slightly cyma outline, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The ones from Borivli[1] display highly decorative renderings of the same scheme. Tablets from Karnataka, especially those from Beṭigeri, Maṇṭūr, Hāngal and Murdeśvar,[2] display the most elaborate kind of temple and *śikhara* replicas. The latter apparently reflect the modelsprevalent in the particular region. In Rajasthan[3] and Himachal Pradesh[4] replicas are of the typical Indo-Āryan or Northern *śikhara*, complete with an *āmalaka* and a *kalaśa*.

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[1] Cousens, H., *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, (Calcutta, 1931), Pl. XV.

[2] Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture in the Kanarese Districts*, (Calcutta, 1926), Pls. CLIII to CLVI.

[3] Goetz, H., 'Rajput Reliefs – I', *Oriental Art*, (NS), Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 163-168.

[4] Information kindly supplied by Miss Pushpa Bindra, Simla.

Stones with carvings on all four sides, although rather infrequent, exemplify the analogy involved as clearly as possible. Here, the stone is obviously intended to look like a temple structure. Slabs from Velāpur, Beṭigeri and Hāngal[5] show multi-storeyed structures, with the upper ones smaller than the lower. Stones from Karnataka have utilised a very typical feature, the *toraṇa* with a *kīrtimukha*,[6] apart from features like faceted-pillars etc., which are common to other regions as well.

The term used in Rajasthan to denote the funerary or memorial post leaves very little to the imagination. The posts are known as *deval*, or *devaḷi*,[7] which is a corrupt form of *devālaya*. This is quite in keeping with the early medieval traditions, where the memorial as a rule took the form of a temple structure as shown by me elsewhere[8]. To summarise, the hero-stone is a miniature replica of a funerary monument; it is structural in concept, plastic in execution and miniature in size. It is a product of *classic* traditions, both conceptually and artistically.

The geographical distribution of hero-stones is significant. In Maharashtra, very well-sculptured stones are found even in remote villages. The standard of sculpture, or their plastic quality, could hardly be the handiwork of a village craftsman. These stones were carved by sculptors who were quite familiar with classic artistic traditions. In other words, those who desired to have such stones must have got them carved in the workshops of some urban sculptor, whose main profession must have been carving images and figures for the temples that were being erected. These stones were thus imported and foreign to the village, and its craftsman.

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[5] Cousens, *op. cit.*

[6] *ASMAR* 1934, Pl. XII, p. 47.

[7] Goetz, *op. cit.*

[8] Mate, M.S., and Gokhale, S., 'Aihole: an interpretation', *Studies in Indian History and Culture, P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume*, (Dharwar, 1971), pp. 501-504.

The iconographic aspect is no less significant in this context. As noted earlier, the uppermost panel depicts the hero worshipping a Śiva-liṅga. Quite obviously, this is so because Śiva is supposed to preside over Kailāsa, the ultimate abode of the dead. Śiva might be a deity of pre-historic vintage, as argued by many archaeologists and Indologists, but the particular role assigned to him is the result of his assimilation in the classic Puranic tradition. According to the theory of the great divine trinity, Brahmā was the lord of Creation, Viṣṇu of Sustenance and Śiva of Destruction. These symbolically represent *utpatti*, *sthiti* and *laya*. The depiction of Kailāsa as the last resort of the hero testifies to the fact that this classical theory was accepted by those who were responsible for the hero-stones.

Thus, artistically and iconographically, the hero-stone forms part of the classical Hindu tradition rather than of the folk-tradition of our country.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF SOME HERO-STONES OF GUJARAT

JYOTINDRA JAIN

IN this article it is not intended to develop a chronology of the hero-stones of Gujarat nor to trace the evolution of one particular cult as such. The themes of the carved panels of the hero-stones presented here are deeply rooted in the local ethnic background and throw a flood of light on the various customs, beliefs and practices which are fast becoming extinct.

A hero-stone with a man piercing daggers in his own neck (Fig. 1):

This type of hero-stones is peculiar only to Gujarat, especially the regions of Kutch and Saurashtra. Usually in such reliefs a man is shown standing, squatting or riding a horse and piercing a dagger in his own neck. In popular belief the Caran women have the status of living deities and as such they go begging for grains from place to place. Caran women are traditionally considered living goddesses and their men call themselves *devīputras*, the sons of the goddess. Their curse was dreaded very much, because of their capacity to perform *trāgu i.e.*, killing oneselves in the presence of their opponent or enemy with a dagger or a sword, and sprinkling blood over the enemy and cursing him with total destruction. *Trāgu* was considered as one of the proofs of divine powers of the Carans. Those who died such a death are worshipped as gods. This practice seems to have been also adopted by brahmin and other communities. On the occasion of such a death the above type of hero or *satī*-stones are installed.

A Satī-stone showing the identification of satī with the great goddess (Fig. 2):

It is a popular belief that *satī* is a woman who burns herself alive on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. Hundreds of *satī*-stones — scattered all over Gujarat and elsewhere, showing either the figure of a standing woman, or a woman holding in her lap the dead body of her husband, or simply a raised arm with open fingers — are associated in popular belief with such faithful wives. But an analysis of folklore of Gujarat reveals that often a woman died not only after her deceased husbands but also after the death of her father, brother or any hero who sacrificed his life to protect the village, the cattle, or their personal chastity.

Such women are described as *satī*, the divine or the truthful ones. It is believed that the great goddess herself either possesses the *satī* or inspires others to commit the act. After her death such a woman is worshipped as divinity. Every community or locality of rural Gujarat has a shrine of *satī*. She is worshipped as an independent goddess in her own name but is also identified with the great goddess at a certain level. Some of the most prominent goddesses of Gujarat, such as Bahucara, were just ordinary *satīs* before they rose to the status of the divinity.

A *satī*-stone found in Kaṇisā, in Cambay Tk., is remarkable as it shows two open palms of a *satī* in the upper section. In the central panel is an image of four armed goddess. On each side there is a squatting figure of an attendant. In the lower panel there is the figure of the goddess Ambā riding a lion and holding the *triśūla*, *ḍamaru*, and a cup of blood. It is obvious that the *satī* is deified as the great goddess. However, it is well known that the *satī* is considered to be an incarnation of the great goddess or that many a popular goddess has been elevated to the status from humble beginning as *satī*. This is unique because the stages of such an identification are actually represented on the *satī*-stone.

A hero-stone with camel riders (Fig. 3):

Usually the hero-stone in Gujarat and elsewhere bear the relief of a horse rider. The deceased and deified hero is always shown dressed as a warrior armed with weapons and riding a horse. Mainly in Kutch, but also in Saurashtra and North Gujarat, one comes across the hero-stones depicting one or more camel riders. These stones unfailingly belong to the Rabāri community. The Rabāri, the Bharvad, the Caran and the Āhir are the four major Hinduistic pastoral communities of Gujarat. Of these, the Bharvads are traditionally associated with sheep and goat rearing and the Āhirs and the Carans with cattle tending. Only the Rabāris are associated with camel breeding. The Rabāris have migrated from Sind and have lived (and are still living) in Kutch and parts of Rajasthan where camel is the most effective means of transport. Camel is also the vehicle of Mammai, the most popular goddess of the Rabāris. Although the Rabāris have also taken to cattle rearing, the figure of a camel rider continues to appear on their hero stones.

A hero-stone with a ship and sailors (*Fig.* 4):

The coastal regions of Kutch and Saurashtra are inhabited by Hindu and Muslim sailor communities like Kharva, Bhadela, Miana, Vagher. etc. When a pirate or a sailor dies an unnatural death due to cyclone or shipwreck his relatives install a memorial stone in which a ship with a sailor or sailors is depicted. In earlier stones, almost as a rule, a ship with a sailor was depicted but now-a-days often a horse rider is shown.

A hero-stone with a bullock cart and its occupants (*Fig.* 5):

The use of the bullock carts was prominent in both the main wedding processions *i.e.*, the one in which the bridegroom went to the house of the bride and the one in which the bride and the bridegroom returned to the house of the latter. In the interior of Kutch and Saurashtra this custom prevails even today. As is evident from the folklore and the British documents, the area was once constantly under the attack of the various plundering groups. Wedding parties and caravans were robbed on way to their destination. In the event of such an encounter if a person belonging to a wedding party or a caravan lost his life, a hero-stone was usually erected. In such hero-stones the figures of the dead heroes were shown occupying the bullock cart. Usually the heroes are dressed as warriors. The bullock cart used for ceremonial purposes is usually very ornate and often with a canopy. If a bride lost her life in an armed attack a *satī*-stone is erected. On such stones a standing figure of the woman is shown inside a bullock cart.

A hero stone with two riders (*Fig.* 6):

When either two brothers or any two members of the same family die together their memorial stones are erected at one place. Sometimes two separate tablets are made and placed at the site; in some cases, one large tablet is divided into two sections by an ornate border and the figures of each hero is placed in the respective niche. In south Rajasthan two coiled serpents are depicted on a hero-stone to represent two deceased persons. In this context a double hero-stone from Saurashtra provides a very interesting variation. In the present example the horse and the rider are carved in which the front figure is seen in profile and the outline of the back figure is seen in such a way as if it is the shadow of the former. As a device in relief carving this hero-stone is extremely interesting.

ON THE MEMORIALS TO THE DEAD IN THE TRIBAL AREA OF CENTRAL INDIA

GUNTHER D. SONTHEIMER

IN a volume dealing with the memorials to the dead in India a reference to the considerable variety of memorials in Middle India should find a place. Over the years a number of authors have commented on particular cases and W. Koppers especially has given a valuable synopsis of the funeral rites and hero stones to the dead amongst the Bhīls, Korkūs, Santāls and the Mādiyās;[1] E. Fischer and Haku Shah have given detailed information on the erection and worship of memorials to the dead amongst some tribal groups in Gujarat;[2] and there are many other, often incidental contributions, but the general picture remains disjointed and discordant, and the rather selective pre-occupation with either "tribal" or "Hindu" phenomena may deprive us of supplementary evidence. The present note which provides some additional material is a preliminary to a more comprehensive treatment of the subject.

Memorials in Bastar :

In the Bastar Dt., various types of memorials exist. The small Hindu kingdoms which were under the influence of the South have left their traces in the form of ruined temples at Bārsūr, Bhairamgaḍh, and Dantevāḍā. Bastar was raided from the 9th cent. by the Eastern Cālukyas, Coḷas, Western Cālukyas and

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1. Koppers, W., "Monuments to the Dead of the Bhils and Other Primitive Tribes in Central India", *Annali Lateranensi*, Vol. VI, 1942, pp. 117-206.
2. Fischer, Eberhard and Shah, Haku, "*Vetra ne Khambha*", *Memorials for the Dead*, (Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, 1973).

Hoysaḷas.[3] There was a strong Telugu influence, though the Telugu village population was eventually "tribalized" and even adopted the Goṇḍi dialects of the surrounding tribals.[4] The great temples more or less decayed. But amongst the ruins a considerable number of hero stones can be found. They generally appear to be of a pre-Muslim and pre-Rājput period. These hero stones are similar to the early hero stones found scattered all over eastern Madhya Pradesh, Andhra, Eastern Maharashtra, Orissa, and Bihar. They are heavy, thick slabs of about 1 m. to 1.2 m. in height. Sometimes they are exquisitely carved like the sculptures of the temples in the vicinity of which they may be found, but we also meet with rough versions. Both types generally depict a warrior on foot who holds a sword and a shiled (Figs. 1, and 5) or is equipped with bow, arrows, quiver and a dagger. Rarely do we find that the early stones are connected with a *satī*. However two hero stones outside Bastar in the Goṇḍ Fort at Lānjī (Balaghat Dt.,) show a miniature female figure with a prominent depiction of her hand standing behind the fighting hero. But the emphasis is on the commemoration of the hero. The custom of commemorating *satī* does not seem to have been prevalent at a time when these memorials - called here "old hero stones" - were erected. The "old" hero stones generally are a single-panelled slabs as we have indicated. In the eastern half of India they rarely have several panels unlike the hero stones of western Madhya Pradesh (Terahi, Sivapurī Dts.,), now in the Gujarī Mahal Museum in Gwalior, which are of the late Gupta period, and unlike the multi-panelled hero stones of Maharashtra and Karnataka. This does not preclude the possibility that multi-panelled *wooden* pillars carved on four sides like those of the Bisonhorn Māḍiyās might not have been more widespread. The wooden memorial tablets of the Korkūs and the wooden multi-panelled memorials in Western India indicate a wider distribution. Koppers also points out that "a change in the material of which the monuments are made (wood for stone or *vice versa*) was accepted as a matter of course".[5] However multi-panelled memorials always seem to have been concentrated in the western half of India. Occasionally we may find hero stones with more than one panel in eastern India, *e.g.*, one stone from Budhpūr (Manbhum Dt., Bihar, 10th cent. now in the Patna Museum)[6] or the stone in the State Museum at Bhubaneshwar, where we find a hero stone with two panels, in the upper panel of which the hero worships Ekapāda Bhairava.

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[3] Grigson, W.V., *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, (OUP, 1938), p. 3 ff.

[4] Grigson, *op. cit.*, p. 3. For the modern period see *e.g.*, Kalia, S. L., "Sanskritization and Tribalization", in: *The Changing Tribes of Madhya Pradesh*, ed. Naik, T. B., Govt. of Madhya Pradesh, Dept. of Tribal Welfare, (Indore, 1961).

Two hero stones at Bārsūr show royal heroes on horse back. Both of the heroes have a royal parasol; one stone shows the hero with an attendant who holds the *chatrī* over him, similar to depictions of Revanta for which hero stones are sometimes mistaken.[7] One of the "old" hero stones at Bārsūr shows the hero with shaven forehead and short pig-tail still common amongst the Māḍiyās and also found on the more recent wooden "*urasgatta*" pillars erected for prominent Bisonhorn Māḍiyās. At the bottom of the stone a small seated figure is carved representing probably the son or the wife of the hero, who may have arranged for the erection of the stone. Bārsūr also has a memorial of a chieftain with sword, shield, *chatrī*, and his dog (Fig. 1). The hero wears as usual big ear-rings, and a bead head-band. This type of head-band is still characteristic of the Muriyās. Two longish sculptures, c. 1.20 m. high, showing warriors with a "Muriyā" bead head-band and their hand resting on a spear appear to be memorials, but may have been part of a temple (Figs. 25 and 26). In Dantevāḍa the connection with the South is clear: here we find a hero offering his head, probably to the goddess Danteśvarī, because the stone is found at the entrance gate to the precincts of the Danteśvarī temple. I have not seen such stones elsewhere in Madhya Pradesh. The representation is similar to the hero stones from Nalgoṇḍa (now in Hyderabad) except that the hero holds the sword on his neck and not on his throat[8]. In the old temple complex of Mārkaṇḍī in the Candrapur Dt., of Maharashtra adjacent to Bastar a similar depiction of head-offering can be seen[9]. Mārkaṇḍī also houses a few remarkable "old" hero stones. S. B. Deo assigns these temples on stylistic and other grounds to the late 11th cent.[10] which must be also the approximate date of these hero stones. They suggest a tribal context. At Bārsūr a singular *satī* stone is available (Fig. 4). But it does not appear very old and compares with the stones from Baḍeḍongar and Capkā (Bastar Dt.), described below. Ajit Mookerji describes it as a specimen of folk-art and assigns it approximately to the 18th cent.[11] It shows a couple sitting in a pyre pit, and two water-pots; on one of them the wife rests her right hand. Over the couple a *kīrtimukha*, the ornamented left arm and hand of the *satī*, and the sun and the moon are shown.

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[5] Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[6] Thakur, Upendra, *The History of Suicide in India*, (New Delhi, 1963), 151 ff. Plates I-IV. Slides of the hero stones in the Patna Museum were shown to me by H. Kulke.

[7] Sharma, B.N., *Iconography of Revanta*, (New Delhi, 1975), Fig. 33. The monument showing "Kaśyapa(?) and Revanta" (Fig. 33) resembles memorials in the Gujarī Mahal Museum in the Gwalior fort. There the stones are crowned with the busts of the heroes exactly in the same way as in Fig. 33. The horseman in Fig. 33 is again the hero rather than Revanta. A similar depiction of the hero occurs on the double-panelled hero stone from Budhpūr–see Thakur, *op. cit.*, Plate IV, No. 2. The sculpture of Fig. 33 is of c. 10th cent., according to B. N. Sharma. The hero stones in the Gujarī Mahal Museum are probably of the 8th–10th cent., according to H. Goetz, "Rājput Reliefs", *Oriental Art*, X, 3, (Autumn, 1964), p. 166. The earliest hero stone in the Gujarī Mahal Museum is of the 6th cent.

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[8] For illustrations and the literary background see Filliozat, Jean, "L'abandon de la vie par le sage et les suicides du criminel et du heros dans la tradition indienne", *Arts. Asiatiques*, Tome XV, 1967, S. 65 ff. Figs. 10–15. See also M. L. K. Murty's essay in this volume.

[9] Deo, Shantaram Bhalchandra, *Mārkaṇḍī Temples*, (Nagpur, 1973), Pl. XLVII, Fig. 3.

[10] Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 57. V. V. Mirashi dates them in the 8-9th cent. Mirashi, V. V., *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, (New Delhi, 1975), S. 239 ff., 253.

[11] Mookerjee, Ajit, *Indian Primitive Art*, (New Delhi, 1953), Pl. XXVI.

Baḍeḍongar, in the northern part of Bastar, also was an ancient headquarters of a Hindu ruler. We find "old" hero stones without the hero's wife, besides others which are smaller in height; they are topped by the arm of the *satī* and show the couple seated in a pose similar to that of Umāmaheśvara, the wife holding her arm and hand (with a pot?) upwards. Often *linga* and *yoni* are present (Fig. 6). In one case the horse of the hero is added in a relief below (Fig. 7). In another stone an undulating *chatrī*-like roof with pillars, similar to Rājput memorials in northwestern India, frames the couple and indicates northern influence. One rectangular stone shows a "Revanta" hero with the *satī* facing the horse (Fig. 27). A water-pot is in her raised hand. Besides there are some more memorials in Baḍeḍongar which are *satī*-memorials as found in northwestern Madhya Pradesh, *e.g.*, on the way to Udaygiri, at Vidiśā near Sāñcī on the river Betuā. About 1.50 m. high, they depict the *satī's* arm and hand, various symbols like the sun and the moon, a water-pot, and five humps (*pañcalingas*). The couple would be standing in a relief below, the *satī* holding a water-pot (Figs. 8 and 9).

In an *āśram* at Capka, not far from the road between Jagdalpur and Koṇḍagaon, we find a number of small memorials for heroes with their *satīs*.[12] Though smaller they resemble those stones at Baḍeḍongar which show seated couples. In one case the deceased is flanked by two wives (Fig. 11). Another shows the couple seated on a lotus pedestal in a kind of temple which has three or four storeys (Fig. 10). The top of the temple seems to have been moulded with the help of plaster into a pointed dome at the time when these stones were found in the surrounding fields and set up in the precincts of the *āśram*. The *satī* seated to the left of her husband is resting her right arm on what seems to be the usual *kalaśa*. Two stones show horsemen. In one case it is definitely a *rājā* who is charging with his horse (Fig. 12). He holds a spear and is surmounted by a *chatrī* flanked by the moon and the sun. Apart from northern, Rājput influence, the stones at

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[12] Mr. Rajendra Kaicker drew my attention to these stones and also visited Capkā with me.

Capka remind us of hero stones at Jajpur in Orissa and they may be similarly attributed to Rājput influence, as also a series of stones in the District of Durg.[13]

The best-known memorials of Bastar are the wooden *urasgattas*, as Grigson has called these funeral pillars, but which are now called simply *mūnde* or *khaṁba.*[14] According to Verrier Elwin they are not substitutes for the stone menhirs (*uras-kal*) but are erected in association with them; an important man gets his stone to rest his uneasy ghost in the next world and his pillar to promote his reputation in this.[15] The upright stone pillars or menhirs (*uras-kal*) are erected by some of the Māḍiyā clans. Others have instead the socalled *danya-kals*. These large horizontal slabs are supported by a number of smaller stones. At the head of such burial places we may find wooden pillars which roughly resemble the shape of human beings and have at times horns similar to the headdress of the Bisonhorn Māḍiyās.[16] Sometimes only small stones are erected, but they are expected to grow in course of time. The erection of the menhir is necessary to placate or lay at rest the *hanal*, the departed. The laying at rest of the "shadowy soul" or the "erecting of the power" of the deceased in a stone monument which is worshipped as if it were a living being is a widespread custom of popular belief in the sourthern half of India and has already found expression in the early hero stones mentioned in the Śangam literature. These were not only "memorials", but were worshipped as if they were "gods" and, in fact, it is said that for some communities they were the only "gods".[17] The worship of the hero stone involved its decoration with peacock feathers, and spears were erected around it like a fence. The bow and the shield were added. Toddy was poured over the stone and a ram sacrificed.[18] The aid of the hero stone could be enlisted by worshipping it for victory in war, for rain and fertility.[19] The worship of the hero stones (actually *naṭu-kal* = "the stone which has been erected") mentioned in the Śangam literature resembles the bilateral relationship and interdependence of the living with the dead prevalent in the Bastar area and adjacent tribal parts.[20]

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[13] Slides pertaining to Jajpur were shown to me by H. Kulke.

[14] Elwin, Verrier, *Maria Murder and Suicide*, (OUP, repr. 1977), p. 32.

[15] Elwin, Verrier, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, (OUP, 1951), p. 91. Figs. 101–102.

[16] See the note by W. Knabe in this Volume.

[17] *Puranānūru* 335: the inhabitants of the *mullai* (pastoral) region consider the hero stones as the only gods.

The memorial which proclaims the fame of a particular person in this world is the wooden *urasgatta* or *khamba*. It gives a kind of biography of the deceased. Longish, vertical panels show the fauna surrounding the deceased, *e.g.*, the animals he hunted. Another base panel shows only acquatic animals–ducks, frogs, fish, tortoise, crocodile etc. Others show the objects used by the deceased *e.g.*, the typical tribal knife, the headgear of a Bison Māḍiyā and the drum. Other panels show the dance of the Bisonhorn Māḍiyās with their drums and their typical hair style, and the dancing tribal women. Invariably *lāndā*, the rice beer, is being prepared or procured. The deceased might be shown seated on an elephant, ploughing a field, or with a *triśūl*. At Bastenar, near Gidam, a swing is shown, indicating that the deceased was a shaman (Figs. 14-18).

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[18] *Akanānūrū* 35 (hero stones are decorated with peacock feathers, offerings of ram with toddy). *Paṭṭinappālai* 78-80, *Akanānūrū* 131 (around the hero stones a shield is kept and spears form a kind of a fence for the hero stone). *Pur.* 268: a stone under a thatched roof is erected on the 7th day after the death of the hero (the phrase is *kallukku vaippatu* — to plant a stone). *Pur.* 268: a nomad asks the bard to worship the stone implying that it will cause rain. See Mahadevan, V., "The Worship of Hero Stones" (in Tamil), Nagaswamy, R., (ed.), *Seminar on Hero Stones*, State Govt. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu, (Madras 1974).

[19] *Puranānūru* 329: the relatives of the dead consider him as a wargod and worship him at dawn. *Pur.* 306: a woman worships a hero stone for the success of her husband in the war. *Akanānūrū* 297: warriors sharpen their arrows on the stones. *Malaipaṭukaṭām* 394 – 6: people believe that "gods" (*kāṭavuḷ*) are living in the hero stone.

[20] See the discussion by Louis Dumont (in connection with the Guar ceremony —the second obsequies—amongst the Saoras as described by Verrier Elwin—*The Religion of an Indian Tribe*, (OUP, 1955), in: *Contributions on Indian Sociology*, Vol. III, 1959, pp. 68 ff.

These pillars are not many and are mainly found between Jagdalpur and Gidam and between Jagdalpur and Citrakoṭ. There are three carved panels on the four sides which resemble the wooden, quadrilaterally carved pillars, found in Western India.[21] Koppers as well as Elwin hold that the *urasgattas* were made under "Hindu influence" and were, in any case, prepared by extra-tribal craftsmen.[22] This may well be so considering that they are worshipped as actual "memorials". They are erected in honour of important people and *prima facie* do not seem to have the same function as the *uraskals* or the early *naṭukals* of the Śangam literature, namely the worship of the dead to appease them and to enlist their co-operation in the world of the living, or, in the case of the *naṭukals*, to enlist their help for victory in a battle.

The Korkū Memorials :

There are different types of memorials, called *mūndas*, which are attributed to the Korkūs. Firstly we come accross the wooden memorial tablets with panels, *e.g.*, near Pañcmaḍhī in the Pancmadhi Dt., of Madhya Pradesh. They are upto 1.20 m. in height, but we find also very small ones, about 25 cms. in height, said to be for women. The panels show the sun and the moon, and the waning moon is carved above the sun and encircles half of it. This is said to be a sign of death. "The panels show horsemen, men dancing and the sides are cut with a chevron pattern" (D. H. Gordon).[23] Often a tree is carved on the reverse. Sometimes the names of the deceased are carved on the top of the tablet. At the bottom (presumably) the son responsible for the erection of the tablet is depicted. Sometimes identical horsemen are carved in different panels. It may be that several deceased are commemorated by one tablet in the case of poor persons as suggested by Russell and Hiralal.[24] Nowadays the

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[21] See Koppers, *op. cit.*, Figs. 38, 39 and 40.

[22] Elwin, Verrier, *The Tribal Art . . .*, pp. 93 ff.

[23] Gordon, D.H., "Korku Memorial Tablets", *Man*, (London, 1936), No. 19.

[24] Russell and Hiralal, *The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces of India*, (Delhi 1975) (reprint), Vol. III, p. 565.

mūndas at Pañcmaḍhī and Tāmiā are apparently just dumped on one heap, which may suggest a togetherness of the ancestors who lived as one family; it may also reflect neglect, because the pointed tablets are supposed to be planted into the soil (Figs. 21 and 22).

Gordon and Koppers also refer to the stone pillars at Pañcmaḍhī and Tāmiā.[25] Though the wooden tablets have several panels, Gordon is inclined to derive them from these stone pillars. But only two of the stone pillars at Pañcmaḍhī have several panels and the others are very similar to the *kīrtistambhas* known in Rajasthan from as early as the 8th cent.[26] (Figs. 19 and 20). They are also found between the Narmadā and Taptī rivers, *e.g.*, at Dhumkal with inscriptions dated in the 13th–14th cent. Some of them simultaneously commemorate Bhīl chiefs and their *satīs*.[27] The pillars at Pañcmaḍhī must have similarly originated in the context of memorials for chieftains. Similar memorials are also found in the Museum at Chindvāḍā. The hero is shown on horseback, fighting against an enemy horseman, or he is fighting with sword and shield against a bowman. The pillars are otherwise shaped like the pillars of temples deriving ultimately from, or being reminiscent of, the ornate pillars of the Gupta period and, as we said, of the (*govardhana-*) *kīrtistambhas* in Rajasthan.

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[25] Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[26] See Sontheimer, G.D., "Some Memorials of Western India", *German Scholars on India*, ed., by the Cultural Department of the Federal Republic of Germany, (New Delhi, 1976), p. 269 and Pl. III, Figs. 1 and 2. See also R. C. Agarwal's contribution on the *Kīrtistambhas* in this volume.

[27] Pandya, A.V., "Some Newly Discovered Inscriptions From Gujarat", *Vallabh Vidyanagar Research Bulletin*, Vol. 1, issue 2 (International Language Section), pp. 1 ff., p. 11: Dhumkal inscriptions 10 and 11 on *satī pāliyās*, A.D., 1323 and A.D., 1387 (Plate 15 B shows, however, a *kīrtistambha* pillar and in another figure, a cluster of memorial pillars, again in the style of *kīrtistambhas*), p. 19 f.: Two inscriptions (16 - 17) at Maṇḍālā for Bhīl headmen, A.D., 1354, and A.D., 1458. Another inscription (18) also relates to a Bhīl headman and is of A.D., 1420. See Plate 16 A which shows a *multipanelled pillar* depicting incidents of his life. Inscription 19 is from Paṭāvalī near the Dhāmaṇmāḷ peak of the Satpuras. Date A.D. 1425. Plate XXI A, shows the Bhīl chief with sword and shield and his wife, obviously a *satī*. She holds a water-pot in her right hand and in her left hand she carries what *could be a marriage pole*.

The *mūndas* of the Korkūs (made sometimes by Goṇḍs) in the former Berār region of Maharashtra *e.g.*, at Cikaldā (described by Koppers)[28], are again different. Being thin stakes carved on four sides they very much resemble what was described to me as a marriage pole in the Chindvāḍā Museum. The marriage pole is a very widespread, essential item of the marriage ceremony in Central India. The upper storey of the two-storeyed memorial pillars frequently have, though not invariably, the forms of a wedding hut.[29] Much of the *sidoli* (the celebrations accompanying the erection of the *mūnda*) is connected with the wife of the deceased or some near female relative and reflects incidents of the marriage ceremony.[30] Life after death is very much the same as life in the world of living amongst the Korkūs[31] and the Rāj Goṇḍs.[32] Amongst the Rāj Goṇḍs every man and woman is believed to live with his or her original marriage-partner, even though there is remarriage of widows. A woman can be married only once with full wedding rites and it is these rites which determine her status in the society of the departed.[33] In this context the very widespread *satī*-pillars with the arm and the hand of the *satī* may actually be considered as identical with the marriage pole, though *satī* amongst tribals was confined to chieftains who were under the influence of "kṣatriyazation" or "rājputization". The "marriage pole" frequently appears on hero stones in Western India upto Karnataka, and sometimes the couple is seated beside it as in a marriage ceremony.

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[28] Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[29] Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
Cf. also the wooden mortuary monuments (*bṛṣakāṭh*) in Bengal. Mookerjee, Ajit, *Folk Art of Bengal*, (University of Calcutta, 1946), p. 47 and Pl. XIII, Figs. 18 and 19 and Pl. IV, Fig. 20. Chaudhuri, B.K., "A Preliminary Study on the Bṛṣakāṣṭha of Bengal", *Proc. of the 25th Indian Science, Congress, Calcutta* 1938.

[30] Koppers, *op. cit.*, p. 179 f., gives evidence from the Bhīls and Korkūs.

[31] Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, 566.

[32] Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph v., "The After-Life in Indian Tribal Belief", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 83, 1953, pp. 37-49; p. 39.

[33] v. Fürer-Haimendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
Cf. also Elwin, Verrier, *The Religion of a Tribe*, (OUP, 1955), p. 282 on the influence of the deceased husband on the living widow and her new husband; pp. 250 ff on the demand of the deceased to have his widow with him in the underworld.

The close connection between the marriage bond of the couple in this world and the continuing bond of the couple based on the first marriage in some ancestral world or Land of the Dead suggests that the marriage pole and the memorial pillar are identifiable. The marriage pole is a symbol of the lasting bond between husband and wife, and in fact it represents bridegroom. The wife's arm and hand emerging from the pole indicate her immolation and blessings. In a *satī*-stone relating to a Bhīl chief the wife is carrying what seems to be a marriage pole.

As the couple is reunited amongst the ancestors the *satī* is reunited with her husband in heaven[34] and some features of the

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[34] See *e.g.*, Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 2nd ed., (Poona, 1974), p. 631: *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya: Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, *viz*., 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels, sports with her husband for as long as fourteen reigns of Indra. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brahmana or of a friend, or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin) . . . ' This contrasts considerably with the view of the Goṇḍs. Though according to tribal belief the deceased husband may still have a claim on his wife on account of his marriage with her, there is no question that she could "purify" him from his "sins". At the most she could look for his material wellbeing in his afterlife by taking care that he is properly fed and by trying to appease his restless spirit from causing nuisance as a *bhūt* to the living. But the notion of "purification" as stated above must have been attractive for those attempting to rise in spiritual and social status

The *Mitākṣarā* significantly adds that *satī* was a *sādhāraṇa dharma* to all castes from brahmaṇa down to cāṇḍāla. But there were many other commentators who disapproved *satī*.

satī immolation reflect a marriage ceremony.[35]

The *satī* pillar is not only found on the *vīragalas* in Western India, but a tall *satī* pillar of about 2.50 m. may be seen in the Museum at Rāypur (in the Mahant Ghāsīdās Smārak Samgrahālaya). It resembles a temple pillar and has *kīrtimukha* and goose motifs. The bangles on the top two right hands remind us that it is a *satī* memorial for two wives. The memorial has been classified as belonging to the period of the Goṇḍ *rājās*.[36]

The Memorials of the Goṇḍ Rājās :

Finally we should refer briefly to the memorials of the Goṇḍ *rājās*. Some of them were in the Museum of Rāypur and have been shifted to the State Museum at Bhopal.[37] A Goṇḍ ancestor complex may be found near the village of Bhānutola at Gāthadongrī near Lānjī in the Balaghat Dt.; these memorials are in an advanced state of decay. Yet one may still discern the vigorous popular folk style and attention to detail in these hero memorials, many of which are associated with *satīs* if the hero was a royal personage. Simpler stones without *satī* seem to have been erected for Goṇḍ soldiers.

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[35] See Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 366 for the importance of the *kalaśa* in the marriage ceremony: ... "In front of the wedding procession are carried *kalaśa* or earthen jars filled to the brim with water, and with green shoots and branches floating on the top. The *kalaśa* is said to represent the universe and to contain the principal gods and divine mothers, while the waters in it are the seven seas. All these are witnesses to the wedding." The water-pot is ubiquitous in the *satī* and other memorial stones. Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, S. 371 (on *satī*): ... "The widow next walks round the pyre seven times, as she did round the marriage-post at the wedding ... "

For the marriage pillar standing in a water-pot — this arrangement is said to be a modern introduction — see John Irwin, "Aśokan Pillars: a reassessment of the evidence", Part IV: Symposium, *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CXVIII, (November 1976), p. 734 ff., at p. 742.

[36] See Bālcandra Jain, *Purātatva Upavibhāga meṃ saṁgrahīta vastuoṁ kā sūcīpatra bhāg 2*, Mahaṃta Ghāsīdās Smārak Samgrahālay, (Rāypur, 1960), p. 40 f. and Plates 22 and 23.

[37] See publication cited. in fn. 36 for plates of these memorial stones.

One stone shows shield and spear set up besides the soldier who sits with his hands folded in worship (Figs. 23 - 24).[38]

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[38] I wish to express my thanks to the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) which provided financial assistance for visiting some of the locations mentioned in this note. I am also grateful to Mr. Rajendra Kaicker, New Delhi, and Professor B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for accompanying me on a trip to Bastar in 1974.

TRIBAL MEMORIALS IN GUJARAT

HAKU SHAH

I ONCE went to a settlement of the *Rathva* people in central Gujarat, in Chhoṭa Udaipur near Panvāḍ village.

"Where is your father?", I asked a man who was playing a metre-long flute very beautifully.

"Well, he is in our field. Would you like to come and see him?", he asked. He took with him a hen, a gourdful of *toddy* (fermented palm juice), some clay lamps, oil, a twig, *dahabu* (a small clay house), a clay horse, rice, and a small white flag. We went to the field. Standing before a tall wooden figure, about 3.5 m. high, he said: "Here is my father."

To my astonishment, I found a human figure carved realistically in wood. It was the *khatri* (a memorial) of his father! The image was clad in a big turban, a jacket, a *dhoti* and shoes; it had a gun in its hand. It was painted yellow, blue and red, and placed near a well, at the edge of the field. At its feet were some old clay horses. At these, as also at the *asava* wooden memorials, passers-by offer whatever they have. These include *biḍis*, jowar, wheat, pulses and cereals. Thus, the living share their possessions with the dead.

I

The tribals erect memorials for heroes. They may have died a natural or accidental death; they may have been priests, or commoners. In the Coudhari tribe, each individual is installed as an orange-coloured figure on a stone, under a clay dome, which is about 1 to 2 m. high. In this area, I witnessed a ritual connected with the installation of a memorial, *Agniyo bhūt* (fire-ghost).

The memorials are named differently in different parts of Gujarat. The following are noteworthy:

1. *Gatla* — Panchamahals — *Bhils*
2. *Khambha* — Nizar area — *Vasavas*
3. *Rihama* — Banaskantha Sabarkantha — *Garasias*
4. *Sokli* — for Women ,, — ,,
5. *Agath* — for Men ,, — ,,
6. *Vetra* — Surat area — *Coudhari Gamits*
7. *Cira* — Panchamahals — *Bhils*
8. *Khatri* — Baroda area — *Rathwas, Naiks*
9. *Paliya-Khambhi* — Saurashtra, Kutch
10. *Khatru* — Surat area — *Coudharis, Gamits*

Installation of Vasava Memorials:

Nandaria Devalia Vasava died in June 1972. Here is an account given by Khataria Pukhia of Tokarva village and a close relative of Nandaria, who took an important part in installing the *khambha* memorial:

Comasama mari gayelo;
Kataskuva ma;
dāru gali ne jatto;
kotardama thi galine;
pandu polis male lo restama;
polise pakdo;
ghado muki ne bhagyo;
jhad upar dori bandhi ne;
gale fanso khai lidho;
bap ma gal ape;
uchhal joyeli nahi evo;
jiv kadhi lidho;
panca divas pacchi khabar padi;
kutra Tai ne sasala pakadva jaie;
ne evi rite 25-30 manso;
niklya ne pacchi dunger pase thi;
malyo; funki didhelo.

In the monsoon (he) died
in Kaṭaskuva (village)
going after brewing wine
in a marsh-land;
met the police man, Pāṇḍu on the way;
the policeman caught him;
(he) left the pot and ran away;
(and) hung himself by a rope from a tree;
lest his father or mother scold him!
He ended his life.
Without even seeing Uchhal
(he was so innocent that although Uchhal was a neighbouring village,
he had not seen it in his lifetime).
After five days we came to know of it, as we
went out with our dog to catch rabbits;
in the same way 25 to 30 people
started a search, and we found him near a hill
(He was) already burnt off.

Nandariya was a nice fellow. He was dumb and deaf, but was loved by all the villagers. He was the son of Devlya. People thought of placing a *khambha* in his memory. The work was assigned to Barkyo, who resides in the Tokarva village. Barkyo was famous in this area for making *khambhas*. On the 16th of January '72, the *khambha* was ready at Barkyo's residence. It was brought to Devlya's house on 20th January. When it was brought, everybody started crying, uttering: (*daya daya betha, ekad daken kharab kari nakhe etle tyaj behva pade marad ī*). The old men sat guarding it, for there was a fear that a witch might spoil it. They spent the night looking after the *khambha*. It was early morning when I reached Tokarva, 13 km. south of Nizar, between Surat and Uchhal. I went to Devlya's house, located in the southern part of the village. Some women were sitting in front of a *khambha*; one of them was fanning it, while some were singing. Most of them were young and wore colourful costumes. It was dark inside. The atmosphere was tense and gloomy. Still men were congregating outside; some rested here and there. One was beating a drum; the *pavarivālo* was fixing his musical instrument. Some men were dancing with sticks in their hands at the entrance of the house, in front of the *khambha*. Two men were about to sacrifice a chicken. One had gone to fetch a cart and bullocks.

khete jahale
khole nihale

Nondaria bapa, apu jode nerane
Kudi podyo ka

udi podyo ra
Nondaria bapa apu jode nerane

Gao jahale
baa jahale
Nondaria bapa apu jode nerane

budi moayo ka
kudi podyo ra
Nondaria bapa apu jode nerane

O Nandaria Bāpa
We would go together to the field, to the village, going home and even out
O Bāpa Nandaria! Whether you have flown away, or jumped off, or got drowned —
Oh Nandāria Bāpa, we would go together . . .

Jokha gulo rakha khambulo deva
hana arti lave khambulo dev
nachta knunta javura dev

We present our offerings of rice and red powder. We have brought you golden flames. We have come dancing and jumping.

jova nay ale ra khambulya dev
tote kam ale ra khambulya dev
lili hangane ning thokyu
   Telyo khamb rasay re
lili hangane telyo khamb
   Telyo khamb rasay re
kheti vadi chodi deti
   Telyo khamb rasay re
gharbar chhodi deta
   Telyo khamb rasay re
Bhai pavule chhodi deta

We have not come just to see you.
We have come to work for you.
Of teakwood the idol is carved
(your) oily memorial is being installed.
you have left the field, your oily memorial is being installed.
you have left the house ,, ,,
you have left brother,
sister and father ,, ,,

Telyo khamb rasay re	you have left mother
maya bape chhodi deta	and father ,, ,,
Telyo khamb rasay re	
chheelyo piple chhelyo pipale	Chhelyo, you have died
bapa chhelyo pipale	you move about in this world
juga rove ne	you make a house
junga rove ne	O Bāpa, you make a house
bapa juge rove ne	
medi bandhave	
bapa medi bandhave	
Khambhulya Dev to ubba ra dev	O *khambha* god
ubha ra merali yahaki milva ave dev	O god, O *khambha* god, you stand upright
khambulya Dev to ubhao ra, deva ubha ra	your mother has come to see you
	you have a sword in your hand
hathama, tarvar ubha re dev ubha re	you have an *ārati* in your hand
hathme arti ubha re deva ubha re	O *khambha* god, you stand right,
khambhula Dev to ubha ra dev ubha ra	O god, stand upright.

The singing stopped when the cart arrived. A thick mat was spread on the cart, and the men brought the *khambha* out, lifting it horizontally. The face was kept towards the east and the legs towards the bull, to the west. The *khambha* was covered with a new *dhoti*. Some women sat on either side of it, some sat wherever space was available. They continued their songs. The *Pavāri* had begun to blow his pipe. Thus, to the accompaniment of the *dhol*, (drum), the *khokhḍi* (dancing stick), the *pavāri* and the women's songs, the cart moved along the road. The procession was led by the *Bhagat* (the priest). His colleagues led the musicians. Behind the cart walked the women; the men followed at the end. A breakable rope (*kaco-doro*) led the cart. Within a distance of 300 metres, the procession stopped twice, and the men took to dancing. The priest got into a trance. Chanting something, he moved his head in quick circles; some others also fell into a trance. Only this group went on. The others stopped at a place found suitable for the installation of the memorial. A man started digging, and word was sent to the party with the *khambha*. The party arrived, accompanied by the singing women and musicians. The bulls were released from the cart, and Uttam a carpenter, (Barakya's assistant), reached the *khambha* and began to bore a hole for the *jīv* — soul. This was done with a piece of wood, about 3 to 4 cms. long. Some men were examining the pit with a measuring tape. Now the priest uttered some words, and the *pūja* was offered from a small heap of rice placed near the pit. A few grains of rice, some water and some liquor were also thrown into it. The priest offered twenty paise, others made similar offerings. Then, the men lifted the *khambha* from the ground, inserted it into the pit, at a slight angle, facing the road to the east, so that it could be easily seen by passers-by. Somebody then thought that the *jīv* (the soul) should have been on the right side of the breast. So, the memorial was laid down — the carpenter's assistant made another hole and sealed the first. The singing continued. The *pavāri*, being old, stopped playing his flute now and then, although the convention demanded that it should be played all the time. This flute is made of bamboo, gourd and a hollow horn. By this time, nearly the whole village had gathered here. Boys and girls were around the *khambha*. The *songaḍia* (dancers) were taking rest. The memorial was all the time covered with a white *dhoti* except during the time when the *jīv* was filled in. The goat, which had been standing quiety until then, seemed to get impatient. There was also a chicken. Nandariya's mother, who was present, suggested that the space in the pit be filled with sand and clay. She insisted that eight unmarried girls should bring sand. The girls went and came hand in hand, singing, and carrying sand on their head in *potli*, or bundles made of their head-covering or *oḍhana*.

They sang in chorus:

reti reti karta aiva	O brother, we come saying *reti*, *reti*,
reti chhe re bhaya	O brother, this is the sand,
reti reti li la gaya	O brother, we went to take the sand
bhai reti nai parai	O brother, the sand is not ours
	It is someone else's.

Then water was sprinkled into the pit. Rice and coins were thrown in. Rice was also sprinkled around the pit. The memorial was placed into the pit and all the girls put sand into it. The *khambha* was firmly installed with pebbles, sand etc.

The women settled behind the memorial; the men occupied the space in front. A priest emptied the contents of a small basket into a brass dish; another priest tied a pebble in a piece of cloth (about 2 cms. in size), and, placing it in his right hand, pointed it towards the first priest. By this time, the latter was ready with his brass dish. First, he poured a little milk in the rice, mixed it, and then poured the milk and cow's urine (*gaynu mutar*) on the stone, which is the *jīv*. Bhagat Davo, one of the priests, immediately fell into a trance, and Nandariya's mother burst into tears. Others joined her. Bhagat Davo, who sat to the left of the memorial, started shaking his head and body. Bhagat Kakhmo, another priest, sat facing both of them. Davo uttered something which made Nandariya's mother move in front of him, still crying. Bhagat Davo, supposedly in trance, talked about two cows (probably a family affair), and, then, placing his hand on the mother's head, he spoke something at which the mother cried bitterly (*bole, man ni andar avi re etle mari ma chhe tu mara ben chhe em kari bum mare*). "You are my mother, my sister", the priest uttered. The mother kept on crying. She leaned forward with folded hands, and then embraced the Bhagat for a moment. The other Bhagat made a mark on her forehead with moistened rice. Against the background of the *Pavāri*'s unceasing music and the rythmic cry of the people, the utterances of the priests intensified and filled the atmosphere. Helped by others, the mother slowly moved to the right of the *khambha*, where the other women were sitting. One by one, the women came, embraced or bowed to the *Bhagat*, and cried. Then came the men: the old and the young. These were followed by children with their mothers and relatives. The process was the same: they moved slowly, sat and cried in front of the Bhagat, the Bhagat embraced or patted some, put his hand on some others, and merely bowed to the rest. When he embraced a person, the latter cried bitterly. He hugged some for a long time, because the dead had a lot of affection for him. During all this period, he continued to be under a trance. This went on until 12-30 noon. The other Bhagat attended to the ceremony: he placed rice on the forehead of the visitors, and the latter left coins near him.

The rest of the account, given by the Barkyo, is as follows:
Ghumto Ghumto jay jiv ghale ne mistri daglo mari ape
In a trance (the Bhagat) goes and puts the *jīv* (soul) into the hole of the *khambha* and the carpenter fixes the wooden piece (in the hole).
Jiv ghale etle radvanu bandh. Rade to ansu gare ne modhu kalu thai jay etle radvanu bandh, jiv bharai gio etle.
The soul is inserted, so no more crying; if one cries, then tears would fall on the face of the memorial, which becomes black, that is why crying has to be stopped as soon as the *jīv* has entered its place.

Marghu fervate pahela dudh ni sakh
Before offering a hen, milk has to be offered.
Marghu lai ne nav fera fare .. pachhi chhodi de, be hat ma pakdi ne ubho fare

(The priest) takes the hen and takes it nine times around the *khambha*, and then leaves off; then holds two hens in his hands, moves round and stands at the same place.
Jiv ni margu etle jiv etle ene maray nahi ane vechay nahi marghina bachcha thay te pachhi punjanma maray
The hen is '*jīv*' that is why the *jīv* can't be killed or sold when she breeds; then she can be placed in worship and killed.
Biju marghu pander ne apelu (marinakhelu)
Another hen (offered as a sacrifice) was given to the goddess Paṇḍar.
Triju marghu gav devti ne apelyu.
Yet another was given to the Gav Devtī (the village goddess).
Pahela daru ni sakh pade tamne bakro apu chhu mane kai barkat apjo — Tane hu ful bakdo apu chhu mane thodok bhet api jaje, sakh padi jaine ena bal updi ne muki de
First, I offer you country wine and also a goat. Give me some benefit. I give you the goat, you give me a portion of it as gift. The rites having been performed, a lock of hair is placed there.
Tari barkat mate apu chhu sir api didho
For your benefit the head is being given.

Kotadda pase lei jay randhe ne kaluju tyathi j cadhave ape, marghu ne sak cokha sathe, pachhi badha jame pachhi ghare jay.
(The slain goat) is taken to Kotadda and cooked, and the liver is offered. The hen and the rice are cooked together. Then all dine and go home.

II

Nandariya's Khambha: Description of the Memorial: The base of the *khambha* measures 46 cms. Its sides are plain, but the slab is quite thick compared with the other *khambhas* of this area. The lowest part has two vertical arches. They are broad at the top and narrow at the bottom. On top of the arches, a horizontal strip has been carved. The whole figure is in high relief, so that it gives the impression of a figure in the round. The face has a big oval shape; the crown on the head is divided in the middle and the ridge of the nose almost continues the division of the crown. Two big semi-circular forms mark the ears; the trunk looks like a massive trapesium. Two stretched out arms are parallel to the horizontal strip, and the left hand has the indication of an elbow. A slightly broader end makes the hand. The right arm becomes thin at the end and meets the sword. The sword, flat at the top, is a little bigger than the stretched arm. The leg is as long as the upper body, broad at the thigh, but thin at the ankle. The contours of the leg are quite realistic. Where the upper part of the body meets the lower half, there is a round belt-like strip. The cheeks, chin, mouth, eyes are realistically modelled and painted. For instance, the eyes have two black balls which do not touch the white part, and so the expression becomes curious; the crown has just a few dots, there is a mark on the forehead, and the tight jacket-like garment on the chest is suggested with a cross mark. The horse has a long tail, long legs, all of them bent at the knees and not parallel to each other, giving the impression of motion. Its face is painted dark. A horizontal band painted a little higher, and two others a little below it, suggest the reins. The saddle is also shown in colour. On the top of the horsemen, an arch has been made in a leaf-like form, which ends sharply and splits into two strips, below, which look like supporters of the pillars. Again, a horizontal line goes from where the sun is carved. On the top arch, to the left side, the name of the tribe, Vasava, of the person Nandariya who died, and of the name of the village, Vataskuva are carved. The sun and moon are carved in two compartments divided by a strip on which the name of the person who died and of his father are painted: *Nandariabhai Devalia.* Only the ends of the top rectangular side have been trimmed. It forms a circular arc on top; on two sides it goes like a strip; in the middle of the sun it ends, and the strip has been cut again, only a small portion being kept hanging. There is a five-petalled flower-like form which Barkyo calls *candani* or the moon. In the lower compartment, two big circles are drawn, the bigger circle being carved a little lower. The upper circle has also been carved, because it shows the projected nose of the sun; the eyes are painted and the rays go down as in the lower relief.

The figure has a small moustache; its sides are trimmed upwards.

III

Khatris: There are erected in honour of those: (1) who died an accidental death; (2) who were murdered; and (3) who were distinguished persons such as priests, heads of villages etc. They are worshipped on all festivals: *tevare tevare pujay.* They are offered either a coconut, a hen, or a goat. Metario Alpo, of the Manka village is a good carver of *Khatris.* He carves round figures for the dead.[1]

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[1] Here are the details of one of his works. The Khatri is 120 × 32 × 15 cms. The different parts of the body are named as follows: *anti* = folds of the turban, *nayana* = eyelids, *dolo* = eye-ball, *nickhoroy* = nose, *fifca* = nostrils, *kan* = ear, *mo* = mouth, *hoth* = lips, *dant* = teeth, *dadhi* = chin, *cavany* = cheeks, *kaan ghughlya* = earholes, *buteer* = ear-lobes, *nud* = neck, *khohi* = shoulder, *bahalu kadu* = bracelet, *dedhri* = elbow, *kanda bhryo* = bangles, *hatherin* = palm, *anglya* = fingers, *peru* = *vedh*, *nokh* = nail, *niya* = upper part of the nail, *sati* = breast, *bandh* = jacket, *pet* = stomach, *kamar* = waist, *hatul* = thigh, *kuhudo* = wrist ornament, *ghutani* = *ghuti*, *mando* = *ghutan*, *potadi* = *dhoti*, *gher* = folds, *but* = shoes, *nimala* = hair, *shirlu* = tattoo.

Talking about *Khatri* figures which are installed in Garadhia near his house and which were made by his father, Gulsing, he said "that one with a child, is a woman whom I knew; she died outside (*bahar mari gayela nadva lagi*). She began to haunt us and so this was installed. She said: (*Bhagvane mane hangri ni etle mane ghato nakhi apo*). God did not keep me, so install me." There is another *Khatri* in Ghelvat. It is of Namio made by Thavavio, of the Manka village. It is very simple, raised at the horse sanctuary. For eyes it has round seeds of *aritha* (a kind of wild fruit), which make it quite lively. There is only one colour, green, and a little geometrical design (*citren*) in silver.

Ukad Bhura is a priest from the Foz area. He tells that:
Khatrij, devne puja kare em bapne puja kare.
"As we worship our god, so we worship our ancestors."
Marobahal Khatrij.
"My father is a *Khatri*."
Khatri be ghodo dhabu cade.
"A clay horse and a clay house are offered to *Khatrij*".
Nariyel khatri par make, ne pacchi dhune he ename utari de.
He puts a coconut on a *Khatri* wooden figure and then goes into a trance and infuses life (the "wind") into it.

Khatru Memorial for a common man by 'Codhris' in South Gujarat:

Khatru or memorial stones are generally around 10 to 30 cms. in size. They are installed in memory of an individual in the Codhri tribe. Gamits also instal *khatru* for the dead; formerly they installed elaborately carved stones. Each family had its own sanctuary. In a village, one may come across two or three sanctuaries at a time; or there can also be one for many villages. For example, Borakhdi, in the Surat Dt., has hundreds of *khatru* stones, perhaps because this is an old sanctuary. Mainly, there are two types: 1) with clay domes; and 2) without domes. For each elderly individual a clay dome has to be installed. It may be large or small. The dome is made by a potter and painted white. It has two open windows and an open door. The ornamentation on top is made with fingers, thumbing or by making a relief with hand or mould. Designs, figures of birds and petals and such other things are depicted.

The stone is installed in the clay dome for the dead. A long ceremony to commemorate the dead follows. Three or four days after the cremation, the priest and a few people go to the river-bed to find a stone around twenty to thirty cms. in size. The stone should not be very soft nor very hard; it should not break easily. The Bhagat decides even the shape of the stone. They bring and keep it outside the hut, covered with a cloth piece, in a basket. The day the *khatru* has to be installed, people come one by one, men and women. The family of the dead mourn right from the morning. Then the *pavaḍi* (a musical instrument) is played. The priest starts his ceremony. He washes the stone with clean water drawn from a well. He makes an 'x' mark with a sickle. By this, they think, no evil spirit can cast its spell on him. Here they say: *tankara e tankyo* which means "carver carved." Then the priest strikes a spark with a stroke of the sickle, just to show that the 'spirit' is in the stone. Then the figure of the dead is painted with *sindūr* and oil. The priest takes a date twig, 3 cms. in length and draws slowly. Sometimes he draws a line around the sun and moon. At the end, he writes some letters and numbers which do not convey anything in particular, but tribals say 'our account is done'. After the painting is over, they place silver ornaments on it. The priest goes into a trance and everybody cries. Thinking that the dead has possessed the priest, everybody comes and embraces him. Once again, the *khatru* stone is fed by all. Finally, they put the stone in a basket, dance at the door of the hut and go to the sanctuary. Offerings of hen, rice, clay horse and clay figure are made; then they light the lamp. Before placing the dome, the Bhagat dances on it just to see that the house is in order. They cook liver. After it is offered to the memorial, it is eaten by those who have gathered. Then they disperse.

IV

Gaṭla: These are mostly carved in the Ratlām area. One sees *gaṭlas* in the Pahcmahal Dt., of Gujarat. They are in stone, erected not only for those who met an accidental death but also for those who die of ripe old age. Sometimes, a *gaṭla* is installed to appease the spirit, which haunts a person.

Vetra: These are installed only after the death of a pregnant woman, or when the spirit of a dead woman is believed to haunt. Goccbhai, a Bhagat priest from Kalamkui, explains this:

Andhan vali mare to vetri bane

When a pregnant woman dies, she becomes a *vetri*.

Valge etle mari nakhe

(If she) catches you then you are (almost) dead.

Kutumbvali ne nade

(She) casts spells on the family members.

Harta farta ne gabdavi pade

People moving about fall (*i.e.*, people who are in good health are suddenly taken ill).

Jya tya rakhde pela bar hagavala ne tya, tya ho dhar ni pade to pota ne tya baj he.

Here and there she wanders, first in the homes of relatives, and if dissatisfied, she moves into her own household.

Ra bandh karva ave etlu pavar cne

She arrests the breath, that much power she has.

Then he explains the process:

Bhagat ke vetru cce, vacan thi dado bandhi le, etle vacan thi pelu saf thia jay, naram padi jay etle pela loko jane ke nade ce, etle vidhi karvi pade.

Bhagat, the priest, says: "(It) is *vetru* (which has affected the patient). By a spell (*vacan*) the day is fixed, and on that day, the spirit will disappear." The patient calms down, and the evil influence of the *vetru* is confirmed. So the rite has to be performed.

Khatru ke vetru, hathe jode nakhi ne badhu hamjavavu pade.

Khatru, the stone for the dead and the wooden image have to be kept together.

Pathar uper bacu muke pacci e lakda upar muke etle bacu ap mela mari jay. Pathar ma ne lakda ma marnarno jiv than.

The hen is to be placed between the stone and wood, so that it dies automatically. The *jīv* of the dead goes into the stone and then into the wood.

Be baca joje, be pathar joje, pathar thi pela akda ne hoy ne ema amarama ke jiv valvano, te bacu thi kari ne jiv valvano.

Two hens should be there. Two stones should be there. We say in our language, if soul is to be transferred it is to be transferred through a hen.

Be bhog ape tyare te hathu thay.

With two sacrifices she sits (comes?).

We should know where she wants to go, then only can we instal her.

Tamare je vaso banavi ape ema rahevanu.

Whatever place has been given, there you have to stay.

Dhor ma, manas ma, khati ma, mal ma, bheta ma, nadtar ma ni avavu

She has not to come in the way of cattle, men, agriculture, wealth or food.

Khavai jay etle vaso khasi jay.

When eaten away (by white-ants) existence (moves away).

Here are the chantings, (which three *Bhaṭs*, priests from different areas) uttered during the installation of *vetras*.

Mañjibhai (Codhri tribe) from Kosambia village:

Hate goni	Have you gone to the market?
Vate goni	Have you gone on the road?
Veva goni	Have you gone to the wedding?
Vajan goni	Have you gone to the music party?
Khet ke kholi e goni	Have you gone to the field? or
Khadi ke kotaddi e goni	have you gone to the river? or
Kola kutray heda dedkay veh	will you come in the disguise of a
nai he tu avhe ne	fox, dog or frog?
Lehri vayray ccodi didha tuy	Have you left the wind Lehari?
Bhogi vayray kay?	Also the Bhogi wind?
Bar man no kḥicdo kidho	Twelve maunds of *khicaḍi* (rice pulse) have been given.
Sava man no podulo	A 'podulo' of 1/4 maund.
Jivte jivade vah apyo	With a living creature an abode has been given.
Khano apyo	Food has been given.
Piuo apyo	Water has been given.

Paiso apyo	Money has been given.
Tako apyo	A coin has been given.
Loto apyo	A pot has been given.
Majuri apo	Wages have been given.
Mahenat apo	Labour has been given.
Ccodi dehe kay	Would you leave?
Hujur, Vali jaje	(She) who is present, away with you?
Sati made pujne padi	Mother *Satī* is being worshipped
Javab deta aghra padi	Difficult to give a reply

Then he says:

Make your stomach as big as a skirt.
Make your ears as big as a goat.
Leave the evil thought.
O unhappy soul, be happy (rest in peace).

Goccabhai (Codri tribe), a Bhagat from Kalamkui, chants:

Ghumti khatran	Wandering *khatran*.
Ghumti vertan	Wandering *vetran*.
Ramak ni	Don't play.
Farvu ni	Don't move about.
Koi na banna thokva ni	Don't knock at somebody's door.
Arvu ni	Don't go here and there.
Farvu ni	Don't move about.
Menat karvu	Do work hard.
Dhandha karvu	Do some job.
Darvaja ma besvu	Sit at the entrance.
Bar kathe javu ni	Go anywhere outside.
Paten na hath ni sahi	Signed by Patel
Zulu male	Get clothes.
Bi bivdu male	Get seeds.
Vane tane bhet apvanu	Occasionally we will give you a gift.
Tipnu mari aipu	(That sort of) writing is done.
Tenathi hamji jay	That you understand (and be wise).

The third Bhagat-priest, Bajia Velia (Kokni tribe), from Vyara, Tk., further says:

Haki thoki ne hurja hama fekta jahu
Scolding and beating (we will) go throwing you at the sun.
Kaga rodo pet karje
Fill the stomach like a crow.
Hupda hoda kan karje
Make the ears as big as a winnowing-fan.
Vah bhog kholi khaje
Search and eat the food you need.
Undi Vavdi ma ramti mandje
In the deep step well you settle for your play.

The chantings show how the priests view the *vetra*, how they deal with her, how they would like her to go, and how they please her with their power.

The offerings made to *vetras*, depend upon her liking, but while installing her permanently near the sanctuary of the dead, they offer these things: a fire-stand, a pot, bangles, a coloured cloth, a dish, a comb, a coat, a bowl, a calabash ladle, a mirror, a black bead necklace, a tika-mark for the forehead, a broom, a brass utensil mainly used as a water container, a babul twig to brush teeth, water, cooked rice, snuff, a grinding wheel of twelve maunds weight, a sickle of twelve maunds weight, a fishing-net, a basket, a rolling-pin, fried cereals, rice, a coconut, jowar, seeds, a hen, liquor, a clay lamp, incense, and a flag.

Gocabhai Bhagat gave two instances of how he cured patients and installed the *vetras*. Madhi fell ill and she developed stiffness from the left elbow. She just lay down in bed all the time. He examined her and she started moving. Madhi was possessed by Jaman Kuvana (a *vetri* from the village Jamankuva). *Gharej besadyu*, the *vetra*, has been installed at home (in Madhi's village).

Vajaria, Mangalia's wife, could not open her mouth the whole night; and her mother and father thought she was on the verge of death. At that moment, he was called. He examined her for an hour and made her speak. An evil spirit had possessed her. They were massaging her veins. He performed the ritual and came home. She started cleaning her teeth in the morning.

TWO MĀSTI TEMPLES IN KARNATAKA

M. CHIDANANDAMURTI

WE have many writings on the practice of *satī*. The Smṛti texts, literary works in Sanskrit and regional languages, inscriptions and foreign travellers' accounts, supply us with rich data. Because of the human tragedy and sense of awe which the act of *sahagamana* evokes, the subject becomes interesting and moving. It is well known that there exist a large number of temples erected to commemorate the names of *māstis*. But, as far as I am aware, no case-study of any Māsti temples has been done in Karnataka. I give below a report of my study of two such temples in the Channagiri Tk., Shimoga Dt.

I

Koṇḍadahaḷḷi and Cikkahuḍevu (Cikkuḍevu) are two small villages not far from the road which connects Chitradurga and Shimoga via Santhebennūr. The distance between the two villages is about half a mile. A tiny *māsti* temple stands at the entrance of each of these villages.

The observations in the temple at Koṇḍadahaḷḷi runs as follows: The Māstyamma[1] was a daughter of a Lingāyat chief of the village Dummi, which is about eight miles from Koṇḍadahaḷḷi. She was married to the son of a rich farmer of Kammaraghaṭṭa, not far from Koṇḍadahaḷḷi. Because of his involvement in the management of his vast property, her husband found little time to see his wife during the day. He would come late at night and leave early. When the girl became pregnant, her character was seriously questioned by all those who were unaware of the consummation of the marriage. Though her husband had left behind many signs of his regular meetings, the villagers could not be convinced. When she gave birth to a child her parents bluntly told her that they were not prepared to keep her with them any more. Her husband came himself in broad daylight and took her and the child home. An untouchable servant (*mādiga*) accompanied them. On the way, they came across a small stream, Hirehaḷḷa, which still flows nearby. Feeling thirsty, her husband dug out a small pit in the sand and as he was drinking the fresh water, the servant took out a weapon and cut off his head, and compelled the widowed lady to become his wife. She readily agreed to the proposal and said that she was also feeling thristy and would like to drink water. The servant cleared the spring of the blood and asked her to drink. She replied that she would prefer to drink the water left over by her new husband. Pleased with this remark, he bent down to drink the water and the bold lady cut off his head with the same weapon which had severed the head of her husband. She took the head of her husband in her arms, tied the villain's head to her foot and walked to Koṇḍadahaḷḷi. There she bought a piece of land, got a fire pit made and entered it. (The village, according to the tale, is named after this *Koṇḍa*). After some time, she appeared in the dream of one of the villagers and ordered him to build a temple for her. The temple in the village is identified with the one built by him.

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[1] "*Māsti*" is the corrupt form of Sanskrit "*Mahāsati*", the widow who enters the funeral pyre; "*amma*" means mother. The "*Māsti*", after being elevated to the status of a goddess, comes to be called "Māstyamma" by the villagers.

The present temple is very small, about six feet long, six feet wide and seven feet high. It has a small compound, and, because of regular white-washing it has an attractive appearance. Inside the temple are two crude stones, representing the husband and the wife. The former is called *gaṇḍana tale* (husband's head). It is roughly triangular in shape, almost resembling a neolithic stone-axe with the butt-end pointing upwards. To its left is the *ammana kallu*, (stone of the goddess), representing Māstyamma. It is also triangular, though more flattened at the top and small in size. The position and relative height of the two stones approximate well to the concept of a Hindu couple — the wife always sitting to the left and smaller in size than the husband. The temple and the two stones are of later origin. Its narrow entrance has no doors. It is said that the goddess firmly warned the devotees not to fix any door or gate to the temple and to the compound; hence it is now an open temple. But it is taboo for a girl who has attained puberty and for a married man to enter the temple. As a result, only children and bachelors enter the temple and the services are conducted by an unmarried man.

There is a crude stone called *mādigana kallu* (the untouchable's stone) in front of the temple. People believe that the head of the servant was buried there and the *taḷavārs* of the village apply some white colour to the stone on the festival day. It seems as if the servant — the villain of the tragedy — is still a servant guarding the temple.

To the west of the temple and almost adjacent to it is the land which Māstyamma is supposed to have bought. It is now owned by the temple, and the present cultivator gives a portion of the produce to the temple. Right in the centre of the field is the real *māsti* stone, which the villagers call *makkaḷa kallu* (children's stonē). How it attained this name is not clear. It is a small regular *māsti* stone, with the reliefs of the husband and wife, the wife streching her left arm up-wards, instead of the right arm. The lower portion of the stone lies hidden in the ground and we could not ascertain whether it bears the relief of a child. (What happened to the infant of Māstyamma is not clear in the story). But that this *māsti* stone was erected soon after the immolation of the lady is beyond doubt.

On the other side of the land, almost near the pond, is the *gaṇḍana kallu* (the husband's stone). The villagers believe that the husband's head was buried there. Why it was buried and not burnt along with the widow's body becomes clear when we remember that the couple were Lingāyats, who generally bury their dead. Māstyamma, perhaps, chose to enter fire because that was the established procedure for the *satis*.

Adjacent to the land, alsmost touching it, is a small pond which, according to tradition, was the pit into which the widow had plunged to death. It was originally a small pond. There are some taboos attached to the pond. Any male person can enter the pond, drink or wash in it. Women, in general, do not wash in it but they use its water for cooking. Women in menstruation, and lower-caste people, do not enter it, even when it goes dry during summer. Those who drink its water speak ill of it at the risk of their lives. The pond has magical significance, and is dreaded by even male adults.

The festival takes place once a year after the Hindu New Year's day (*Yugādi*). A suitable Tuesday after *Yugādi* is chosen for celebrations. In the morning, the villagers go to the *ammana-hola* (mothers'-field) accompanied by Siddharāmeśvara, the presiding deity of the village, and five married women (*muttaides*), taking along with them the *gari-sūtra* (*bāsinga*), or the marriage-badge, prepared by the village carpenter. The women have to lead an austere life for three days; eat once a day, wash their clothes from the filled pot (*tumbida koḍa* or *pūrṇa-kumbha*)[2] and dry them in the shade. On the morning of the festival day, the villagers go to the 'husband's stone' and to the *makkaḷa kallu* and worship in hundred and one different ways (*nūrondu pūje*). After decorating 'the husband's stone' with the *garisūtra*, they come to the temple where a regular marriage is performed between husband and wife. The *ammana kallu* is decorated with jewels, *mukhapadma* and the *garisūtra*, of the 'husband's stone'. Since it is a marriage between the husband's head and a lady who is living, only the decorated *ammana kallu* is made to bear a human face and the husband's head is left alone. This is reminiscent of the *māsti* wearing jewels before entering the fire. Any person may offer his jewels for decoration purposes, and he can take them back the same evening. Women sing songs in praise of the lady and her ascension to Heaven. I was told that most of the women who used to sing lengthy songs are dead and gone. I could hear the following few lines from a centenarian woman:

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2. Many *Māsti* sculptures are pictured as holding a filled pot in their left hand. A filled pot is a symbol of purity, prosperity and holiness, and many *māstis* are depicted as holding a filled pot in their left hand. This motif is frequently come across in *māsti* sculptures.

akka māstyakka madumagaḷe dumminda
akki hombāḷe barabēku
("O! bride Māstyakka, auspicious things like rice and flowers are
yet to come from Dummi")
Purusariddu uridāḷe
("Burnt herself to death before men")
Siḍidu hodāḷe gaganakke
("Shot like an arrow to Heaven")
Koṇḍadahaḷḷige bandu nelegoṇḍu
("Came from outside and settled in Koṇḍadahaḷḷi")

It is unfortunate that these songs have been lost for ever; but the unconnected bits which I was able to hear tell us, in verse form, the deep affection with which people held the lady and some historical detail.

The festival ends up with mass-feeding (*parevu:* Sans. *parvan* 'festival') arranged outside the temple.

What takes place in the evening is important for the farmers. The presiding deity of the village points out the farmer who would be first to plough the field in the year, (*honnāru*, lit. 'the golden plough'). Until then no farmer dares to undertake ploughing. Those who begin the ploughing before the festival will be severely punished by Māstyamma, and the villagers have many miracles to tell in this regard. Even though the temple is controlled by the Lingāyats, the goddess holds her sway over the entire village. All the villagers, irrespective of caste, take part in the festival.

It is a different story with the *Māsti* temple in the nearby village Chikkuḍevu, where the local goddess is worshipped only by the members of the *Beḍa* caste. Others either ignore or pay a nominal attention to its existence.

The tale of Māstyamma as told by the priestess of the temple, an old widow of the village, is as follows: The home-town of this Māstyamma was Hoḷalkere, now the headquarters of a taluk in the Chitradurga Dt. She was a *Beḍa* by caste, and was betrothed to one Kariyappa of Chikkuḍevu. Even before the marriage took place, her lover died in a battle. His comrades in the army wrote a letter and tied it to the neck of a crow which came to the bride's place and dropped the letter before her. Other things belonging to her warrior-lover soon arrived and the news of his death was confirmed. She decided to perform *satī*. She asked her parents to give her 'bride's rice', (*uḍiyakki*), five pieces of charcoal and other things, which they refused saying that she was not married. They implored her to marry some one else and lead a happy life. She not only refused to marry, but, instead, cursed her parents. The same thing was repeated in the warrior's village, *i.e.*, Chikkuḍevu. She became desperate and went to Thyāvaṇige, a village about ten miles from Chikkuḍevu, where the headman gave her 'bride's rice' and other auspicious things and thus made her a regular wife of the deceased warrior. She was now entitled to become a *satī*. She came to Chikkuḍevu and announced her decision. The villagers refused to make arrangements for her *sahagamana*, and even refused to witness the spectacle. Through a sheer miracle, she got eight cart-loads of sandalwood. Before immolating herself she announced to the villagers that her death would be signalled by the fall of three objects from Heaven near two tamarind trees at the entrance to the village. She entered the fire, and a silver lemon, a mirror and a sword fell from Heaven near the place where the temple stands at present. Convinced that she was a real wife and had been united with her 'husband' in Heaven, the villagers built the present temple in her memory. The three objects which are believed to have fallen from Heaven are now preserved in a house and worshipped. The place where she underwent *sahagamana* is still identified with a low ash mound and the ash is considered holy.

The temple is a small structure, a little below ground level, and dome-shaped, its roofing is of stone and mud. The object of worship is a large *māsti* stone with the relief of a woman standing to the left of her husband with her right hand raised. She seems to be holding something like a lemon, a motif which is very common on *māsti* stones. In her left hand she seems to hold a mirror. She is an 'eight-day goddess' (*eṇṭu-dinadoḷu*), for the services take place only on Monday. Anybody can enter the temple, and its doors are never closed. However, only a widow can perform the services.

According to the present priestess, 'she is a poor goddess', for the temple owns no property. Before any marriage takes place among the forty *Beḍa* families of the village, the bride or the bride groom visits the temple and invokes Māstyamma's blessings. Unlike the goddess at Koṇḍadahaḷḷi, this goddess speaks through the priestess. According to the priestess, it was the goddess that made her a widow at a very young age. Besides, there are six widows in her family, all because of Māstyamma, she says. This has resulted in a peculiar situation: while people from other villages are prepared to take girls of the village in marriage, they refuse to give their daughters in marriage in this village, fearing that the goddess will take away their husbands. There is no annual festival of the goddess.

I visited the house in which the "Heaven sent articles" are preserved. I was shown only the sword. The mirror and the silver lemon were said to be wrapped in a piece of cloth. Since it was not a Monday, they were not shown to me. It is difficult to believe the miracle attached to them. That a lemon and a mirror are always associated with a *Māsti* is attested by early Kannaḍa literature, *māsti* sculptures, and foreign travellers like Pietro della Valle. It is possible that the mirror and the silver lemon were given by the head-man of the Thyāvaṇige village to the woman and that they were preserved by later generations as holy things. The sword may have belonged to her warrior-husband.

What strikes us most in these two *sthaḷa-purāṇas* is the preservation of the material in all its details. It is true that there are no written records to prove the historicity of the incidents, and some of the supernatural elements associated with them make the narration suspect. May be, in India, the miraculous element is a good preservative. There are a few supernatural elements and miracles introduced into the stories, and miracles were the means through which greatness was understood by earlier people. Some of the unnatural or supernatural elements can be satisfactorily explained. The husband of the Koṇḍadahaḷḷi Māstyamma found little time to visit his wife during daytime was probably intended to emphasize his aristocratic preoccupations. One of the signs which he left behind was a heavy wheel which he alone could lift from the well, and place it on the ground. This was meant to picture him as a man of extraordinary physical strength, and, we know from almost all folk-tales that the hero is usually both rich and courageous. Whether the 'Heaven sent gifts' of the Chikkuḍevu story are later fabrications or were really given to Māstyamma by the neighbouring village headman is difficult to decide. That they are still preserved as holy articles prove their symbolic importance. The temples and the regular worship reveal the high regard with which the *māstis* are held by society. The names of villages, rivers, people and the *māsti* stones all have an aura of truth. The Koṇḍadahaḷḷi episode is a case of *sahagamana* (going along with the husband) or dying on the husband's body, while the Chikkuḍevu episode is that of *anugamana* (following the husband) or dying alone on hearing of the death of one's husband in some distant place. It is impossible to guess the dates of these immolations but we feel that they may have taken place in the last two to three hundred years ago.

The *mādigana kallu* which stands in front of the temple at Koṇḍadahaḷḷi deserves some notice. The fact that the women brought the head of the servant along with her husband's was to prove her innocence. The villain's head is buried in a prominent place. There is a similar story narrated in the Kolar Dt. The servant kills his master and tries to woo his mistress, called Thimmamma, who in turn kills the servant and then kills herself. People have erected two stones — one to commemorate the chastity and bravery of "Yiradimmamma," and the other as a reminder of the servant's treacherous act. Devotees who visit the place buy some *pān* first and spit at the villain (the stone) and then offer respect to the heroine. The *mādigana kallu* of Koṇḍadahaḷḷi reminds us of this stone. Even if people do not spit at it, they curse the servant before entering the temple.

The taboos in both places are varied and interesting. The people are afraid that the Māstyamma may cast an evil spell, kill either the wife or the husband, and break up the family. As a result, only an eunuch or a widow is chosen to perform the services. In Koṇḍadahaḷḷi, the taboos are more pronounced and severe. A married man and an adoloscent girl cannot enter the temple. The same fear mentioned above seems to operate here too. The water in the pond has a magical property, because it is mixed up with the ashes of Māstyamma. The self-killing by fire and the agony of the widows have all made the goddesses more malevolent than any other mythical goddesses of the village. Māstyamma is a goddess, no doubt, but she was an unfortunate sufferer. It is the suffering of the innocent and the chaste that makes people hold her in great esteem. They would rather ignore God, not Māstyamma. Fear could be another motive for great veneration. Māstyamma did not descend from Heaven; she is a local girl, one among them, but raised to the status of divinity. She is now as much dreaded as loved, for, she is more *ugra* (fear evoking) than *saumya* (serene). While agreeing that the *satī* system has taken a heavy toll of precious life, we cannot but respect the courage, will power, and idealism of the *māstis*. This is evident in the attitude of villagers who revere her more than any other divine forces. A *māsti*, to them, is a perfect symbol of fidelity. chastity and self-sacrifice.

II

A survey of references to the *satī* institution in Kannaḍa literature and folklore throws some light on various points of interest. For example, in Pampa's *Vikramārjuna-Vijaya* (10th cent., A.D.), there is a reference to a young innocent wife who says she will end her life soon after hearing the news of the death of her husband and hasten to welcome him in Heaven before the heavenly damsels seize him (X, 45). This shows that the institution of *satī* was an accepted thing in the 10th cent. Ranna, another poet of the same cent., describes at length Guṇḍamabbe's self-immolation with her husband (*Ajitanāthapurāṇa* I.46-7). Attimabbe and Guṇḍamabbe were sisters married to Nāgadeva. Attimabbe had a son and Guṇḍamabbe had no children. When Nāgadeva died, Guṇḍamabbe requested her sister to allow her to become *satī* and asked her to live on to take care of her son. Attimabbe agreed to the proposal and spent the rest of her life in penance and self-sacrifice. This is one of many cases to show that *sahagamana* was never thrust upon a widow; it was optional; and we read in both literary works and inscriptions that there were efforts by relatives and friends to disuade the widow from self-immolation. In Janna's *Anantanāthapurāṇa* (XII, 12, 14 and 20) there is a clear reference to the *satī* institution as well as to the *garuḍa* institution. When Caṇḍasasana dies, many of his wives and servants die along with him. But the most elaborate descriptions of the practice are found in Virakta Toṇṭadārya's *Siddheśvarapurāṇa* (XII, 35-7) and in Nañjuṇḍa's *Rāmanāthacarite*, both composed in the 16th cent. In *Siddheśvarapurāṇa*, there is a description of a widow preparing for *sahagamana* after getting the permission of the king. She was dressed in a yellow garment and decked in all kinds of ornaments, perfumes and flowers. Her hair was adorned with trinkets and flowers. She held a lemon (*jambīra*) in one hand and a mirror in the other. Innumerable people had joined the procession going to the burning-place: there was a great din of musical instruments and exclamations, and she actually danced with joy. She was on the way to the burning-place when the saint Toṇṭada Siddhalinga blessed her saying that she would be reunited with her husband in three days. So the story goes on . . . The description of the *sahagamana* is more elaborate in *Rāmanāthacarite* (XXXVI, 121-164). When the wives of Kumārarāma come to know of the execution of their husband, they decide to perform *sahagamana* and press their mother-in-law to get for them their husband's head. They also compel their mother-in-law to 'get the fire prepared for them' (*koḍisu namage kicca*).[3]

The minister gets the head of the dead husband and gives orders to prepare a burning pit. Fragrants, like camphor, musk, scent and flowers are thrown into the fire. The wives deck themselves with a variety of ornaments; and hold a lemon in one hand and a mirror in the other. The mother-in-law blesses them. They are taken in a procession to the fire-pit, where a curtain is placed between them and the fire. Before entering the fire, they bless one and all, and the people weep bitterly.

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[3] Earlier and later stories are unanimous in saying that the permission of the king or of the officials was to be obtained before a woman performed *satī*. This is confirmed by a *sannad* kept in the Tk., Office of T. Narasipur, Mysore Dt., (published in *ASMAR* 1938). It belongs to the time of Diwān Pūrṇayya. In *Māḍidduṇṇo mahārāya*, a novel by M. S. Puttanna, it is told that when the Government sanctioned permission the palace sent costly dresses and other auspicious things as a token of respect to the widow.

The reference to the curtain in this episode is worth noting. Many travellers like Caesar Frederick (c. 1567 A.D.,) and Nuniz have recorded the curtain between the women and the fire, so that the lady on seeing the fire at close quarters should not change her mind at the last moment. It seems some bold women tore off the screen, saying that they were not afraid. They stood on a pedastal for some time blessing the people around and then entered the fire.

We have at least two folk-songs on immolation. The one, entitled "Īrobi" (collected and published by Dr. G. S. Paramashivaiah) describes the death of a widow named Īrobi on hearing of the death of her husband, Seṭṭi Śankararāya, somewhere in South Kanara (*'ghaṭṭada keḷage'*). She believed the news of her warrior-husband's death only after receiving his sword and blood-stained clothes. When everybody tried to stop her from immolation, she argued that "she would rather enter fire than remain a widow and be a neglected thing in others' houses throughout her life." She came to the fire-pit, playing with twelve lemons and carrying a full pot on her head. We are told elsewhere that the pot was sometimes used to carry oil, and the widow jumped into fire along with the pot.

In another version of the same folk-song, the women is depicted as dressed in a blue saree, holding the fronds of a wild date palm (*Īcalu mara*) and a lemon along with a mirror. Reference to the leaves of a wild date palm is interesting in the sense that a *māsti* stone from Hoskote Tk., Bangalore Dt., depicts a woman holding leaves of the *Īcalu* tree in her hand (published in my *Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sāmskrtika Adhyayana*, p. 319). The *Īcalu* tree is considered auspicious, and the vehicle carrying toddy drawn from the *Īcalu* is still considered a good omen in villages.

Another folk-song, collected and published by Shri Kalegauda Nagavara, relates to the death of a widow called Vaḍḍagere Nāgamma. Nāgamma's husband dies a heroic death while she was still young, and she decides to 'become one with the fire in the pit' (*keṇḍa-koṇḍa āgu*). She refuses to listen to anybody's advice and persists in her decision. Before she enters the fire, she blesses both her parents' and her husband's home with her right arm (*bāṣe koṭṭāḷe balagaiya*). She declares that a temple would be built for her by her tribe (*okkalu*). After her death, people did build it. The song ends invoking Nāgamma to bless the women with children. She is promised that both male and female children would be named after Nāgamma. This is confirmed from other sources. There is a college teacher in Bangalore in whose family one Lakṣmīdevamma committed *sahagamana* in Kaidala, Tumkur Dt., before the British officials from Tumkur could stop her. A small memorial (*bṛndāvana*) is still worshipped in her name. There is a custom in the family to name eldest daughter Lakṣmī *i.e.*, Subbalakṣammā, Lakṣmīnarasammā etc.

III

Many *Māsti* temples have been worshipped by their own group of families (*okkalu*), for generations. I came across a person in Bangalore, who recounted the *sahagamana* committed by one of his ancestors. He belongs to the Māstyamma *okkalu*, and her story is unique. The *māsti* was not yet married. She was a Vokkaliga by caste. When a *Beḍa* chief of the Chitradurga region was forcing her to marry him, she came down to Tumkur Dt., along with her family and committed suicide. She is called *Vīra Māstyamma* (heroic-Māstyamma), and a raised hand which represents her is worshipped by her devotees to this day.

The lemon fruit (*nimbe*) motif, which we see in *māsti* sculptures, has so far evaded satisfactory explanation. In classics like *Śivatattvacintāmaṇi* (31-26), there are clear references to the bridegroom holding a lemon fruit in his right hand. It is very clear that the fruit had a special significance in marriage ceremonies. That the *māstis* used to carry the fruit in their hands assumes some meaning in the light of the above reference. Ritualistically, the lemon is not listed among auspicious things like the coconut, betel leaves, or rice. Though we cannot list it as inauspicious either, its

JYOTINDRA JAIN:
Ethnic Background of some Hero-stones of Gujarat

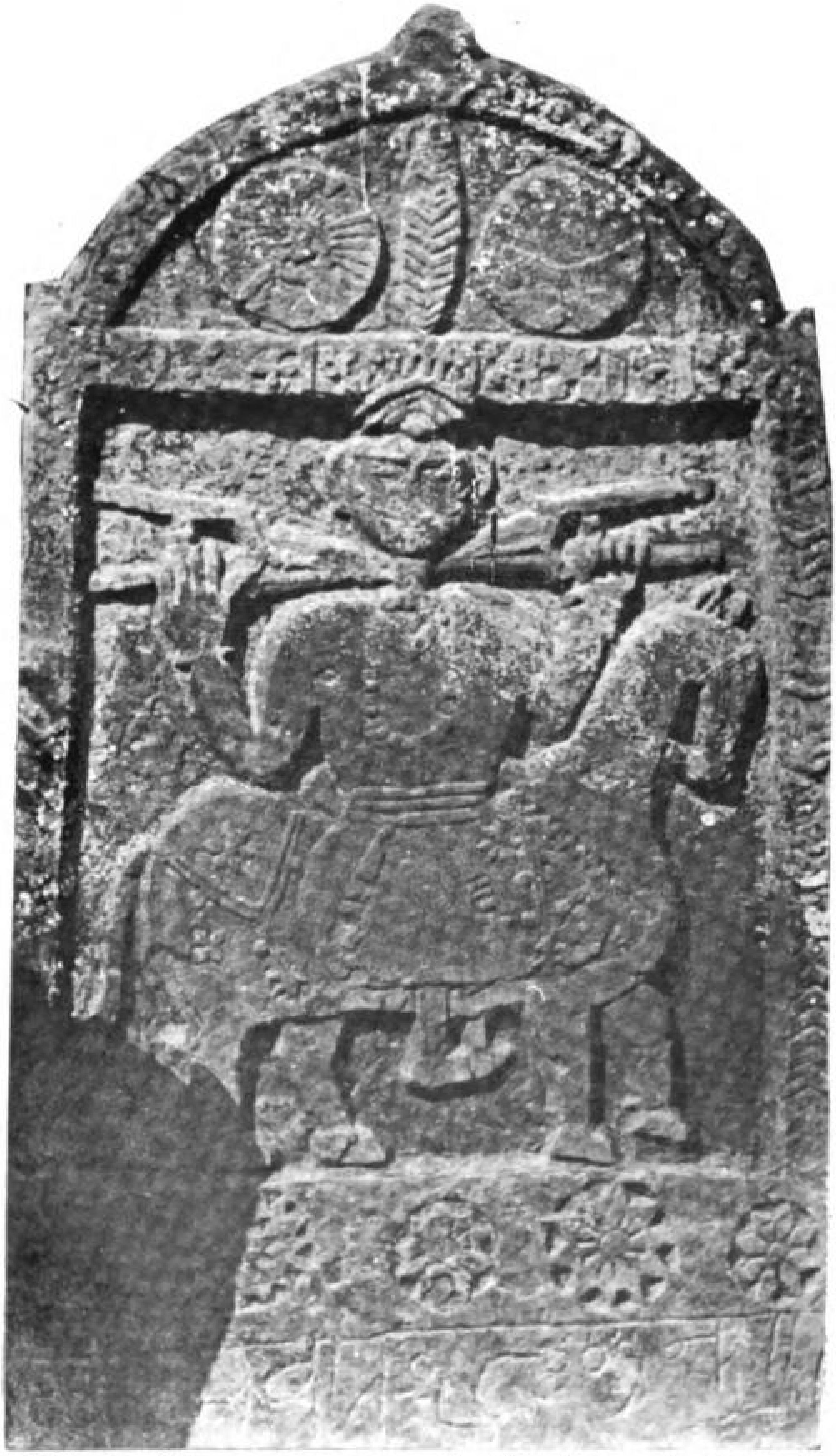

Fig. 1. Hero-stone: a man piercing daggers in his neck

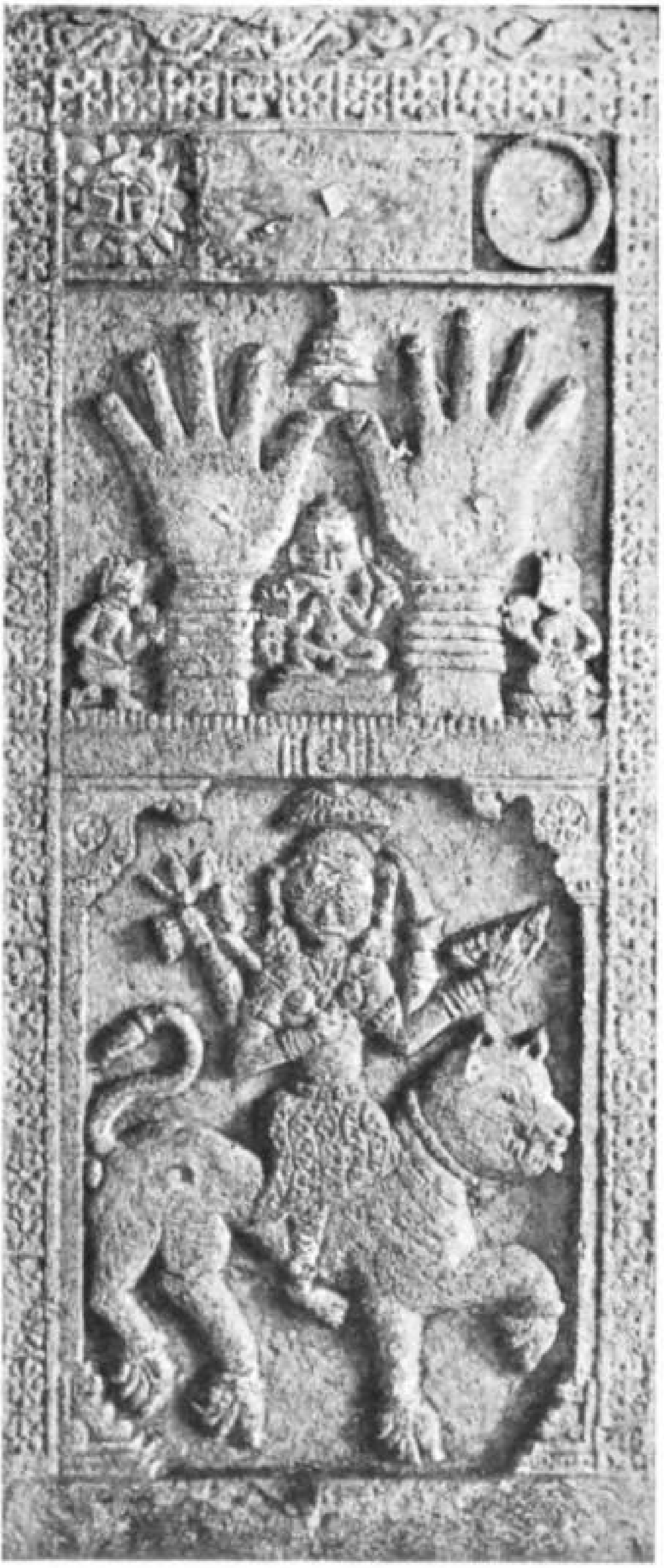

Fig. 2. *Satī*-stone from Kaṇisā

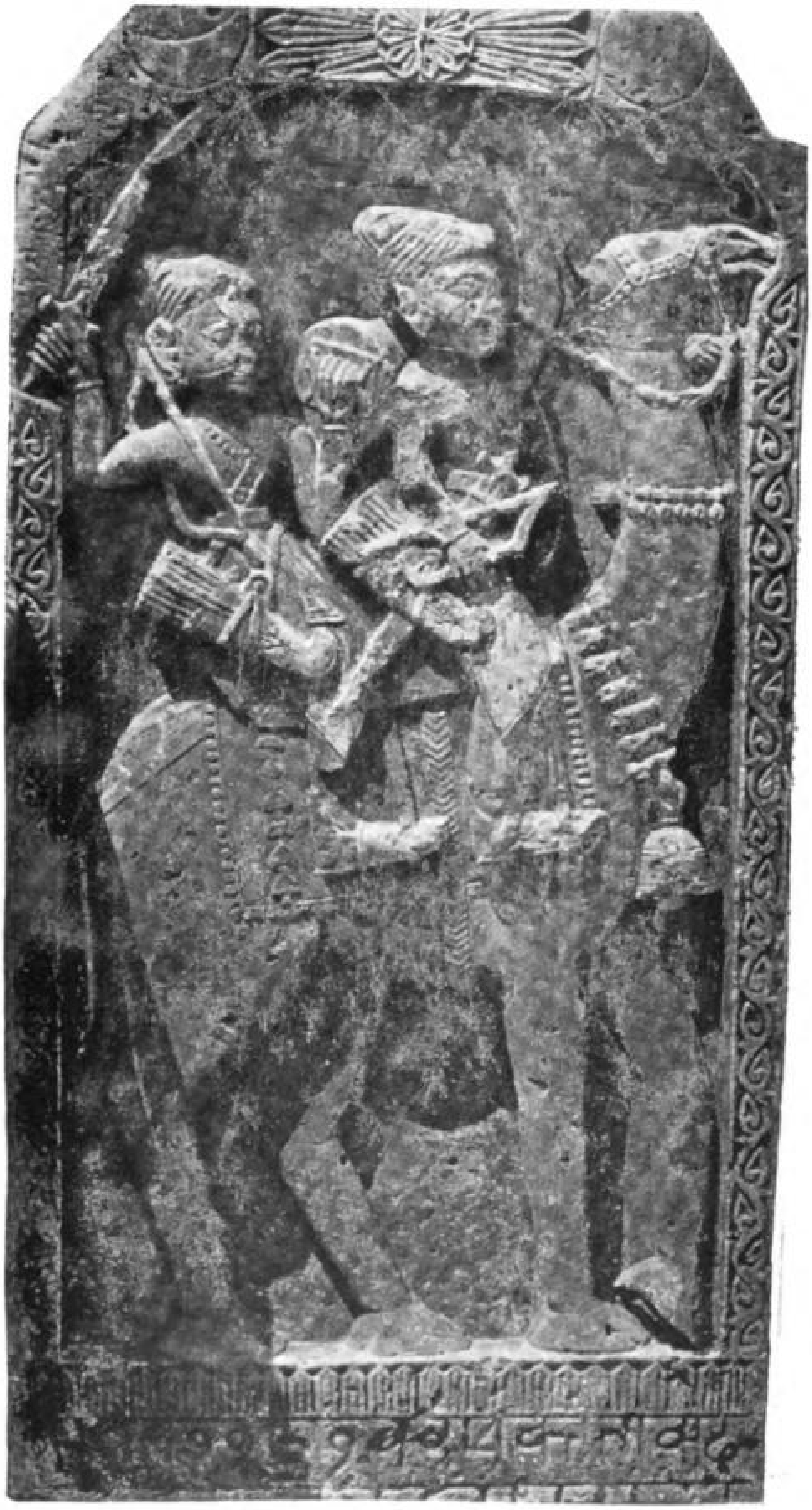

Fig. 3. Hero-stone: camel riders

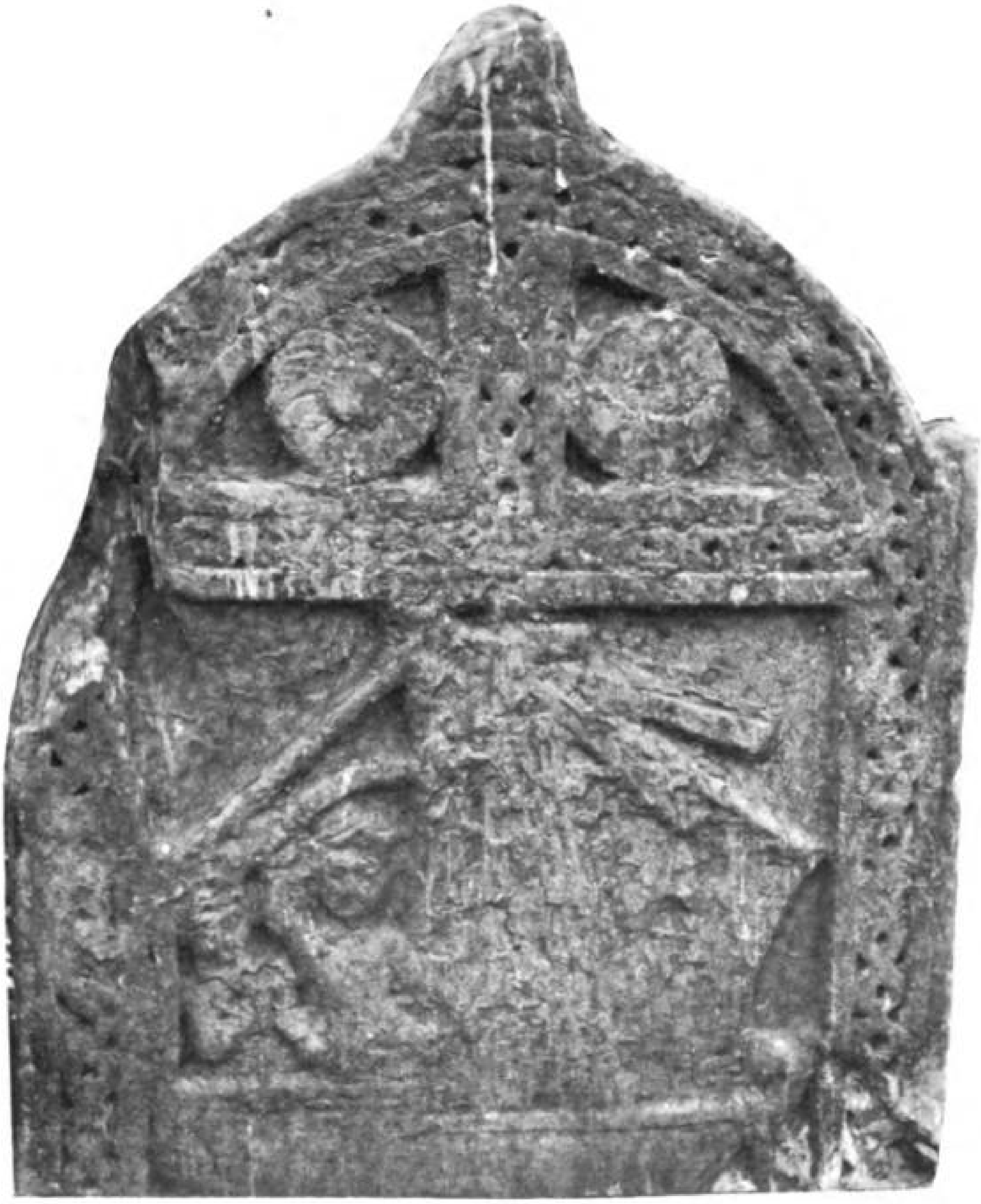

Fig. 4. Hero-stone: a ship and sailors

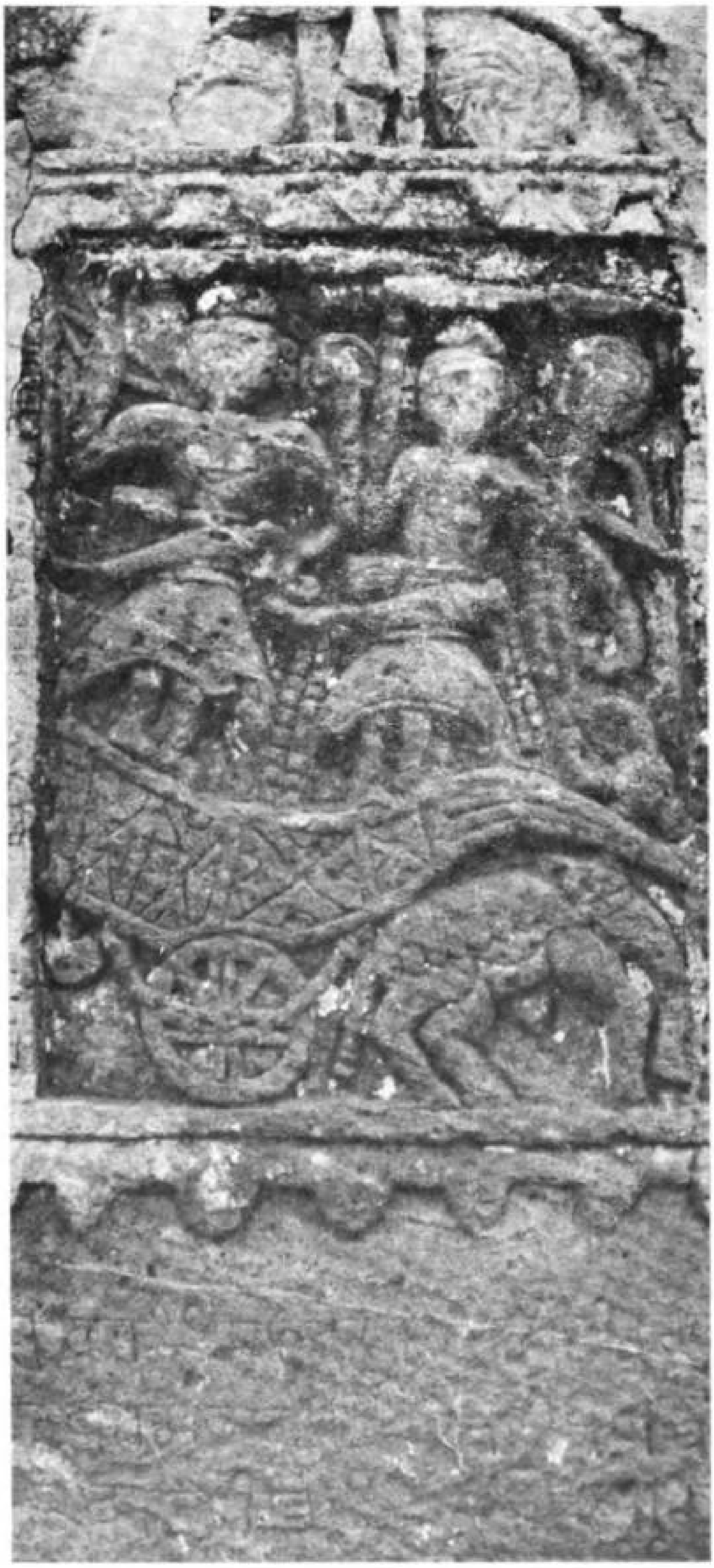

Fig. 5. Hero-stone: a bullock-cart and its occupants

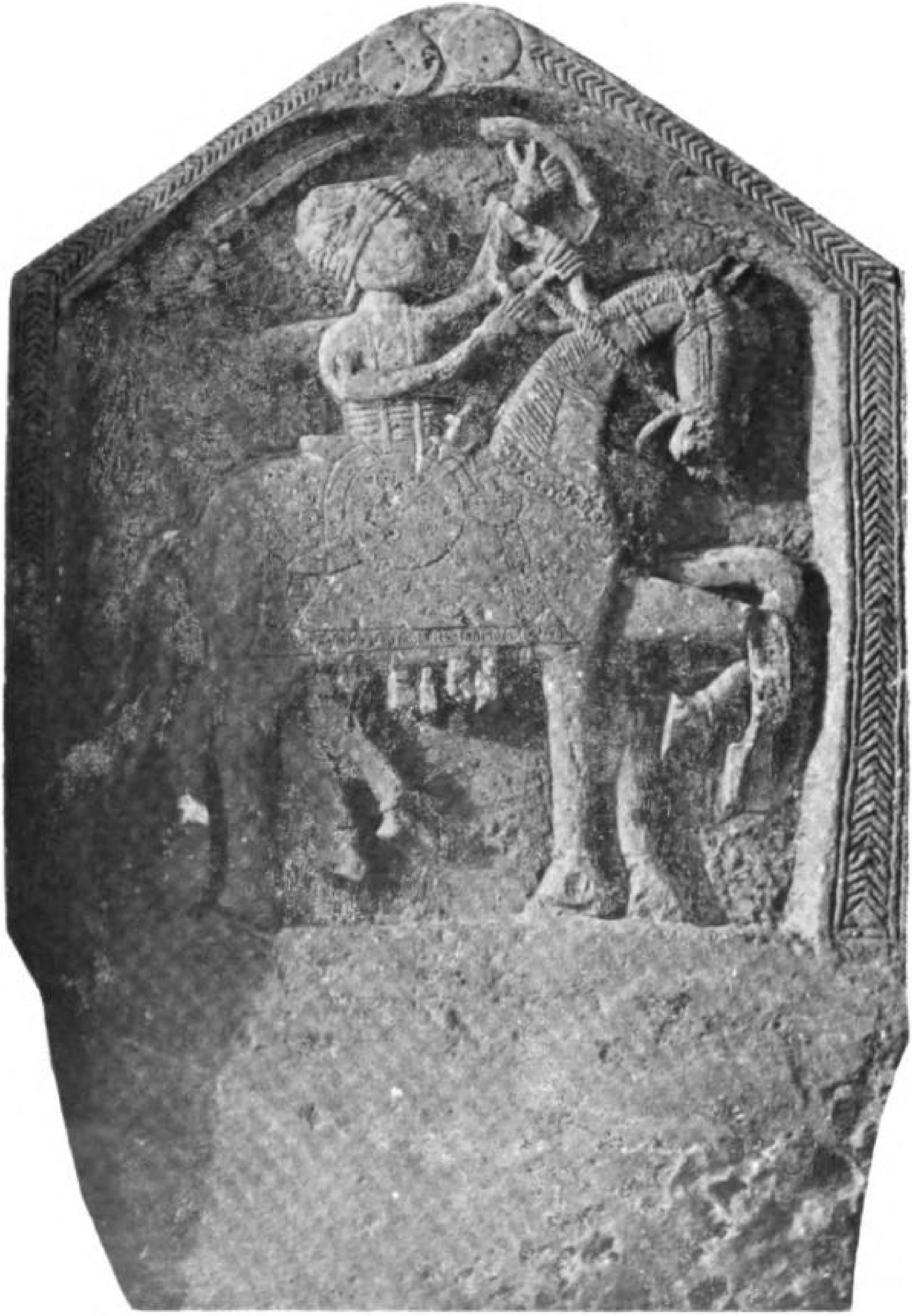

Fig. 6. Hero-stone: riders on the horse back

GUNTHER D. SONTHEIMER:

On the Memorials to the Dead in the Tribal Area of Central India

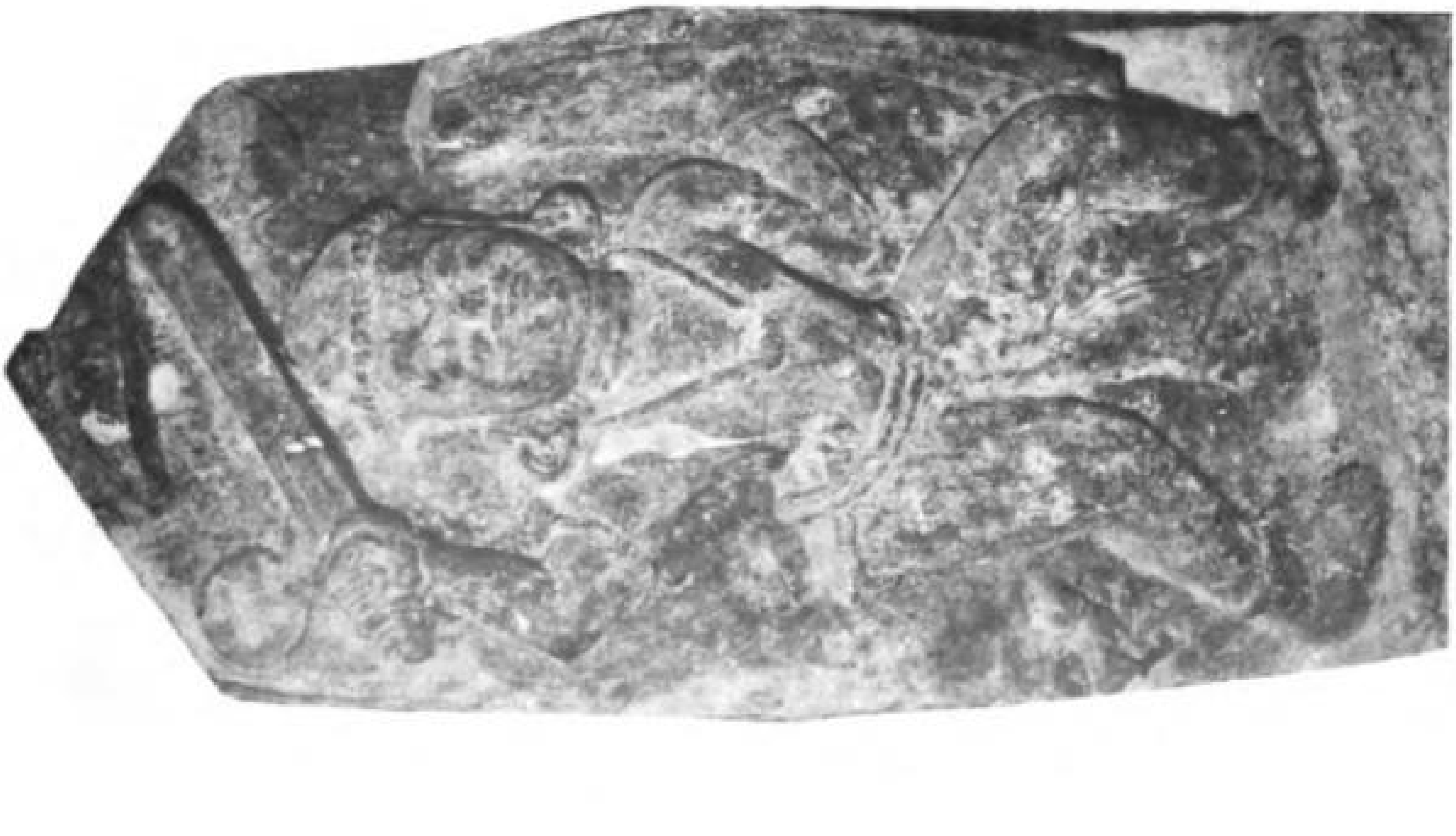
Fig. 1. "Old" hero-stone, Bārsūr (Bastar Dt.). C. 10th-11th cent.

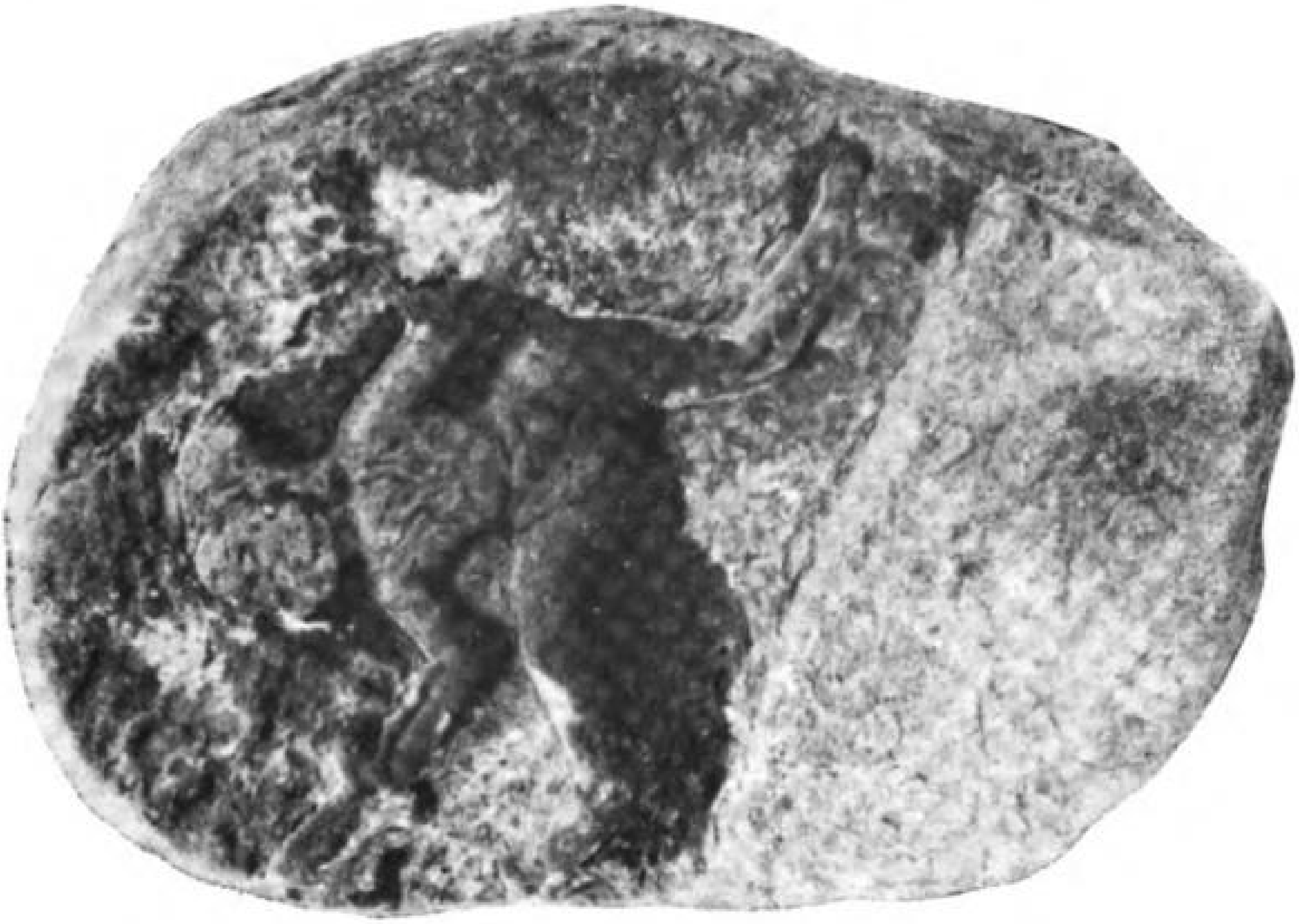
Fig. 2. A hero-stone, Bārsūr.

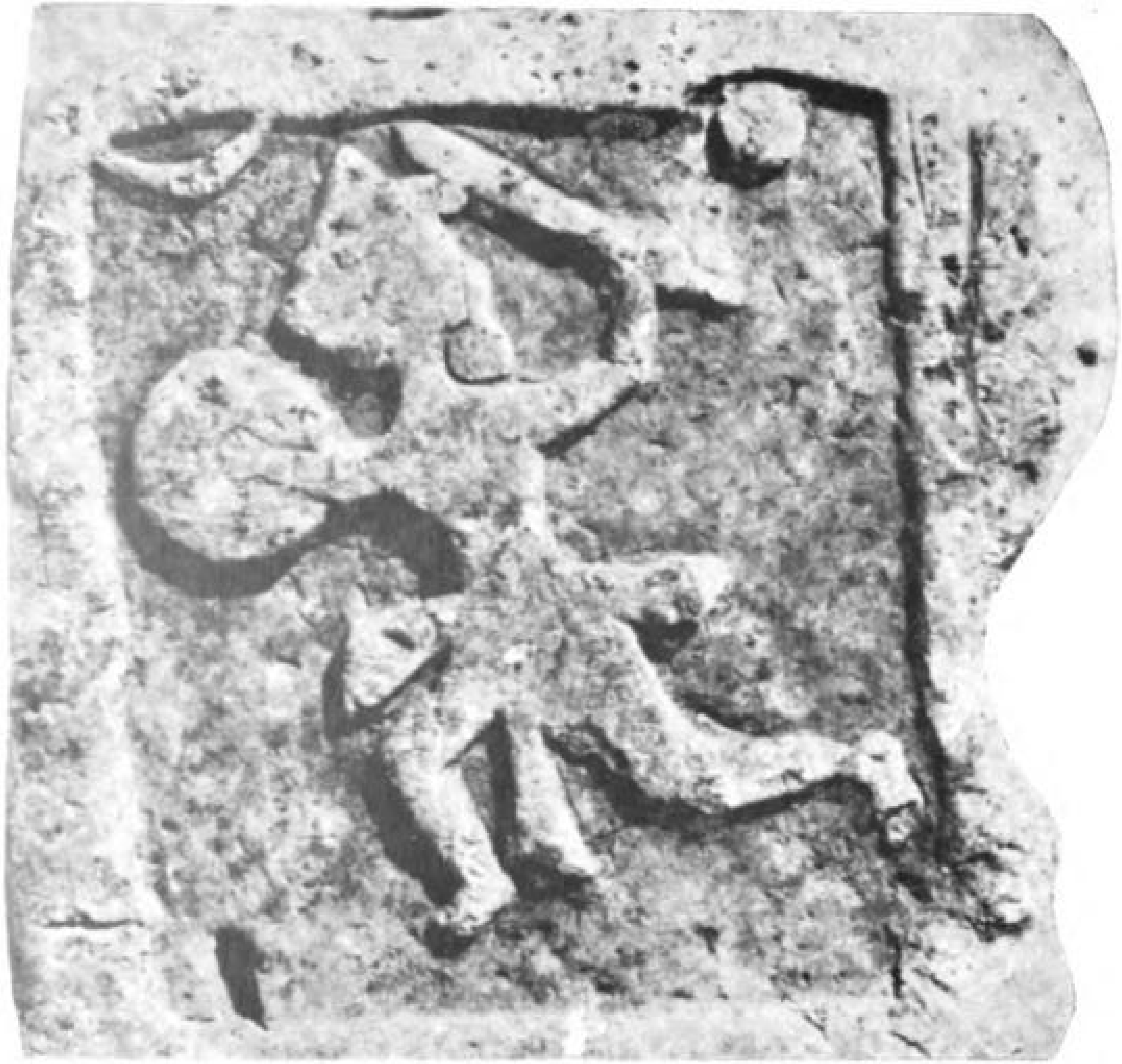

Fig. 3. A hero-stone, Bārsūr

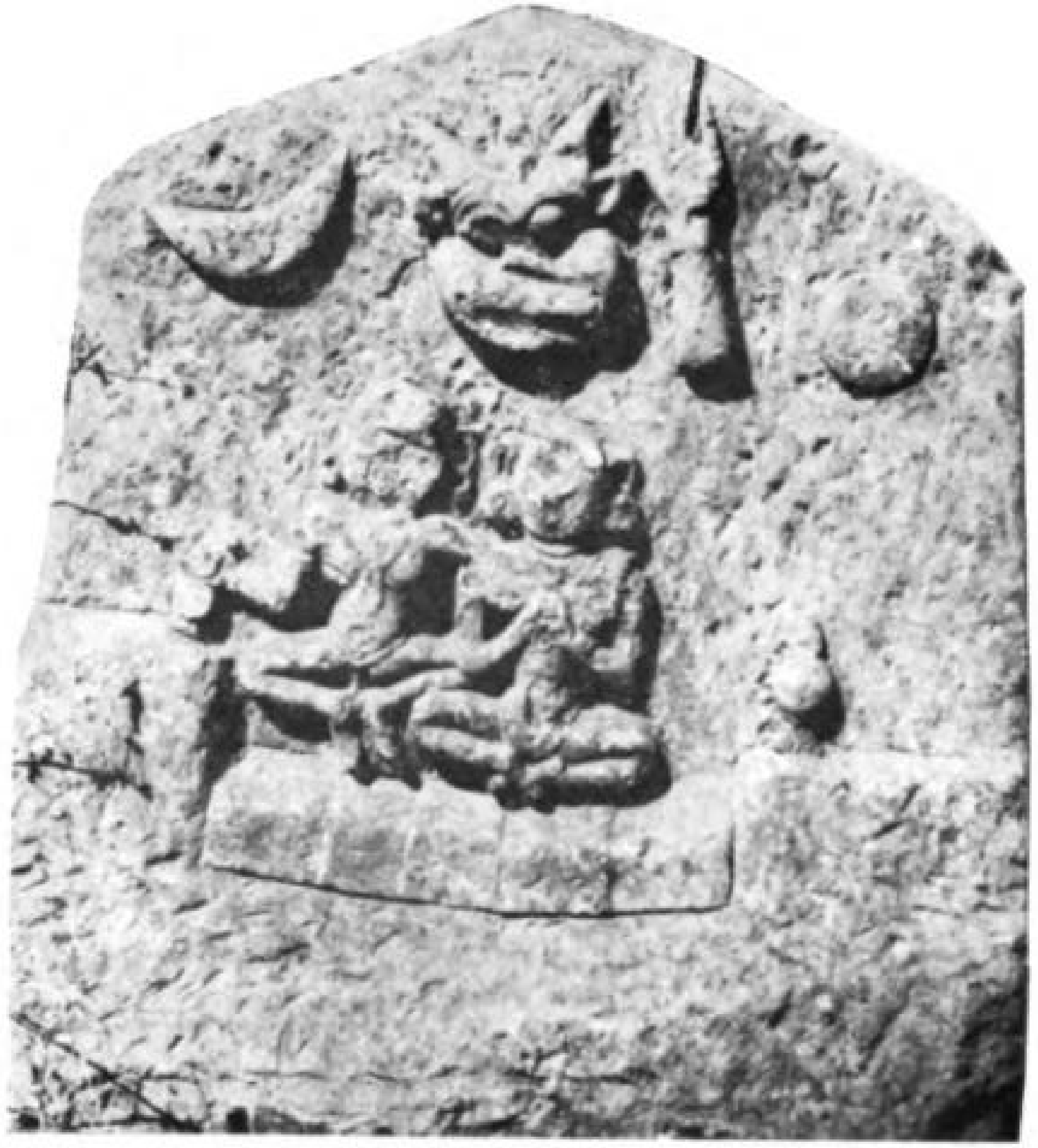

Fig. 4. *Satī*-stone, Bārsūr. C. 18th cent.

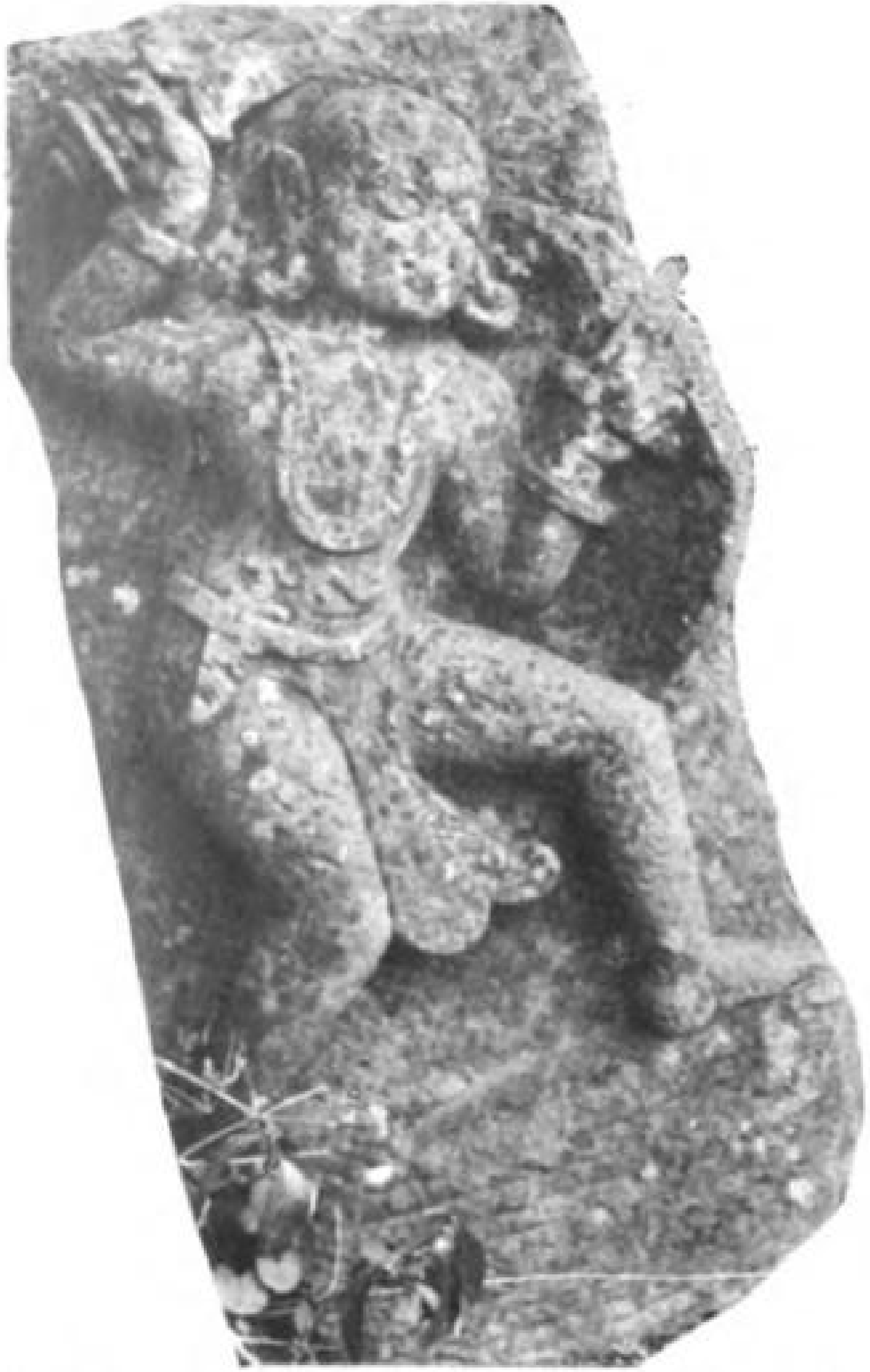

Fig. 5. "Old" hero-stone, Baḍeḍongar, (Bastar Dt.)

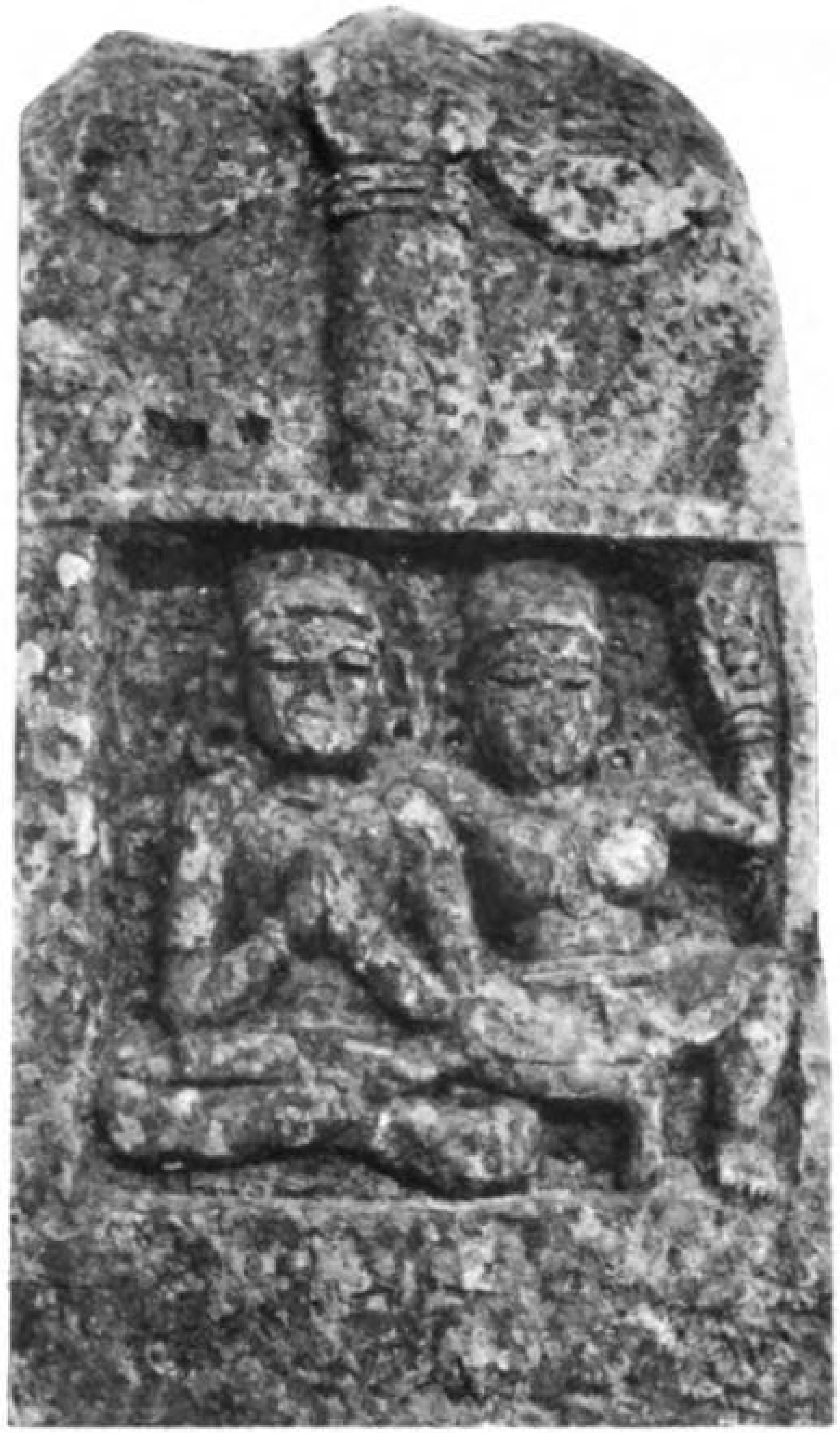

Fig. 6. Hero-stone with the *satī* (in imitation of Umāmaheśvara) Baḍeḍongar

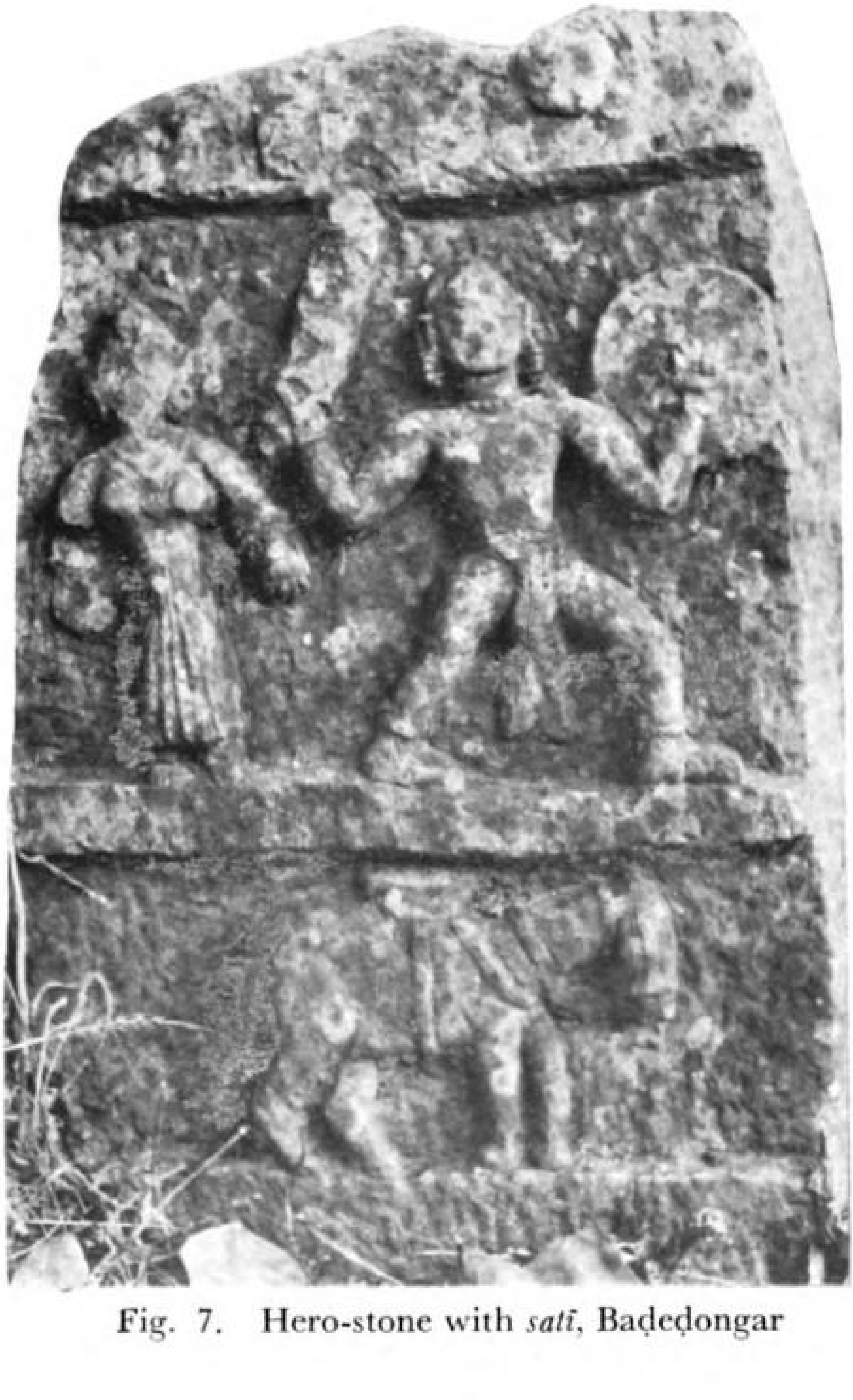

Fig. 7. Hero-stone with *satī*, Baḍeḍongar

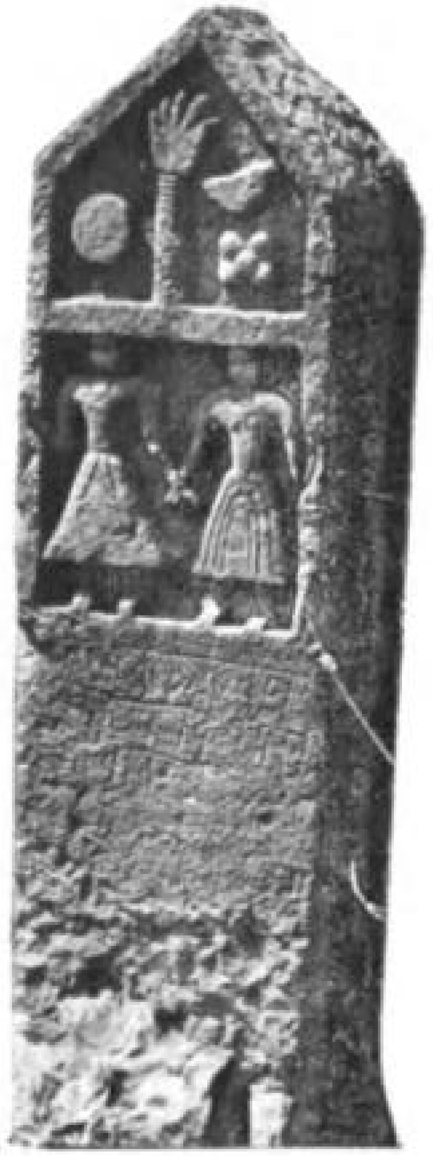

Fig. 8. *Satī*-stone, Vidiśā near Sānchī. C. 18th cent.

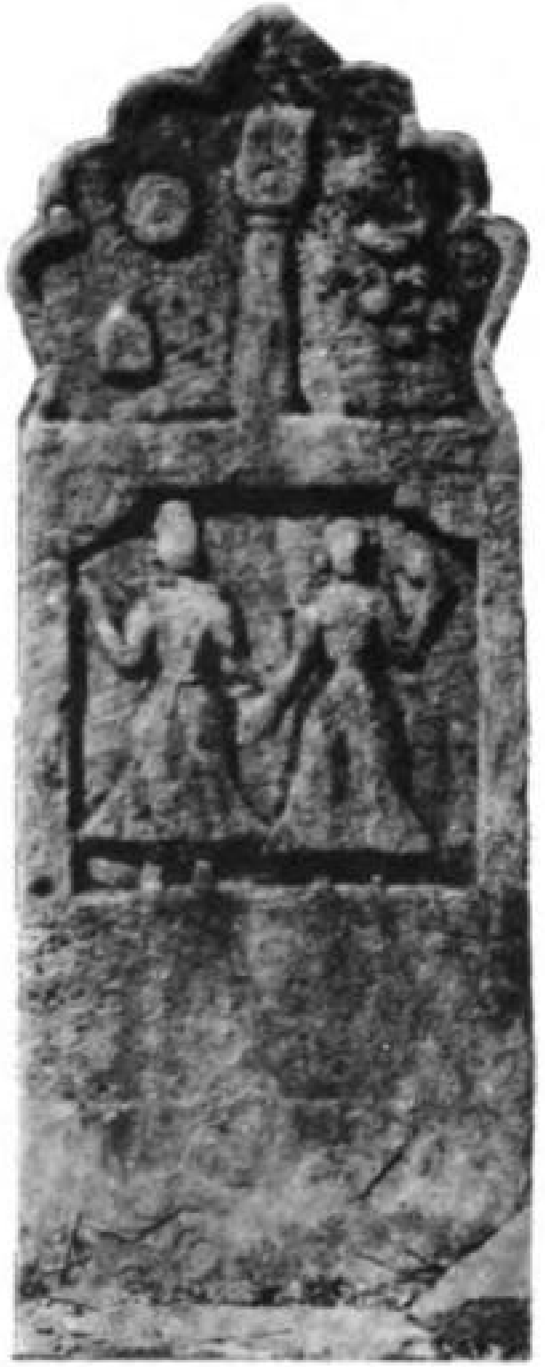

Fig. 9. *Satī*-stone, Vidiśā. C. 18th cent.

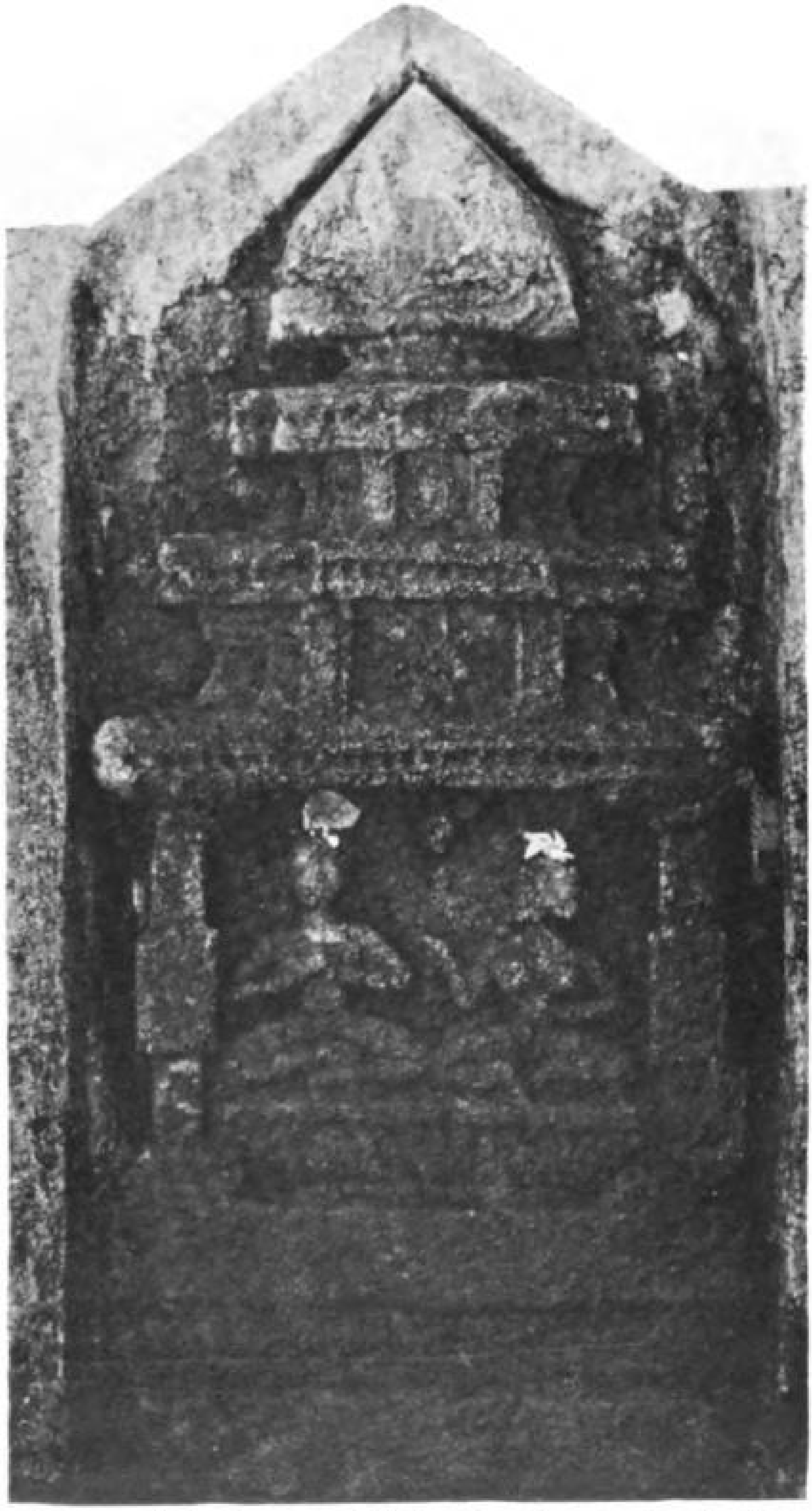

Fig. 10. Memorial of a *satī* with her husband, Capkā (Bastar Dt.)

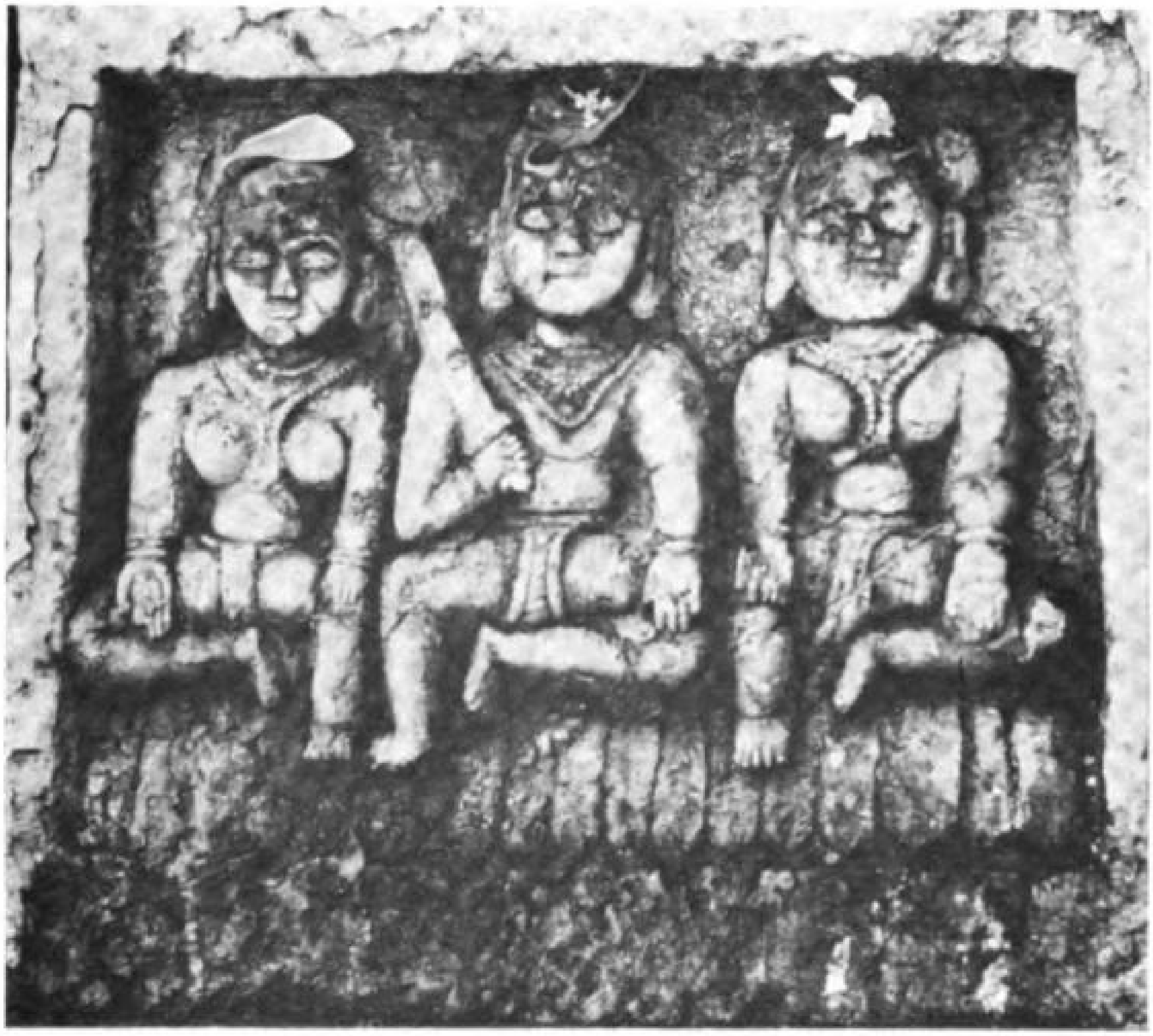

Fig. 11. Memorial of a hero with two *satī*, Capkā

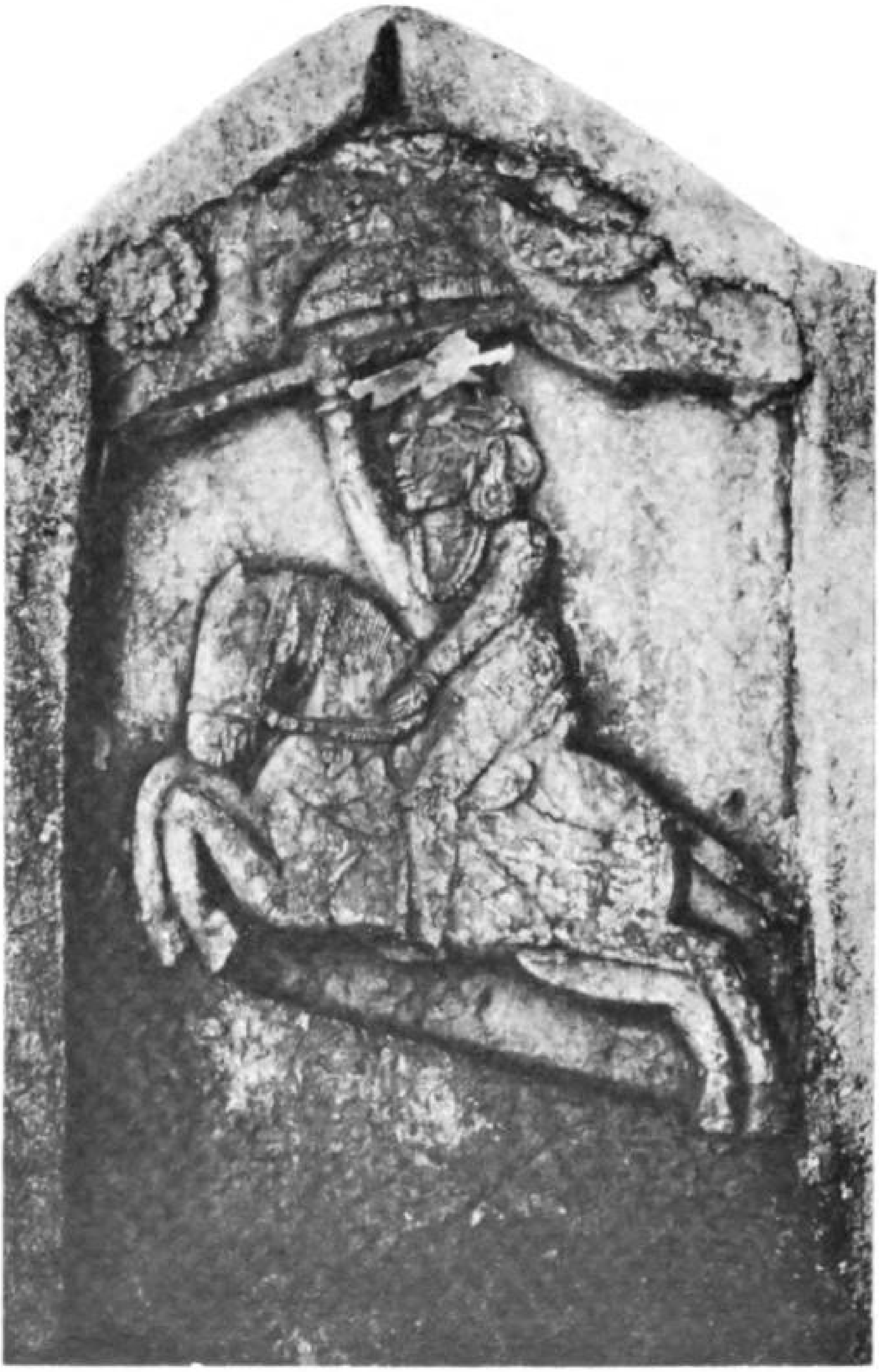

Fig. 12. Memorial of a *rājā* or chieftain, Capkā

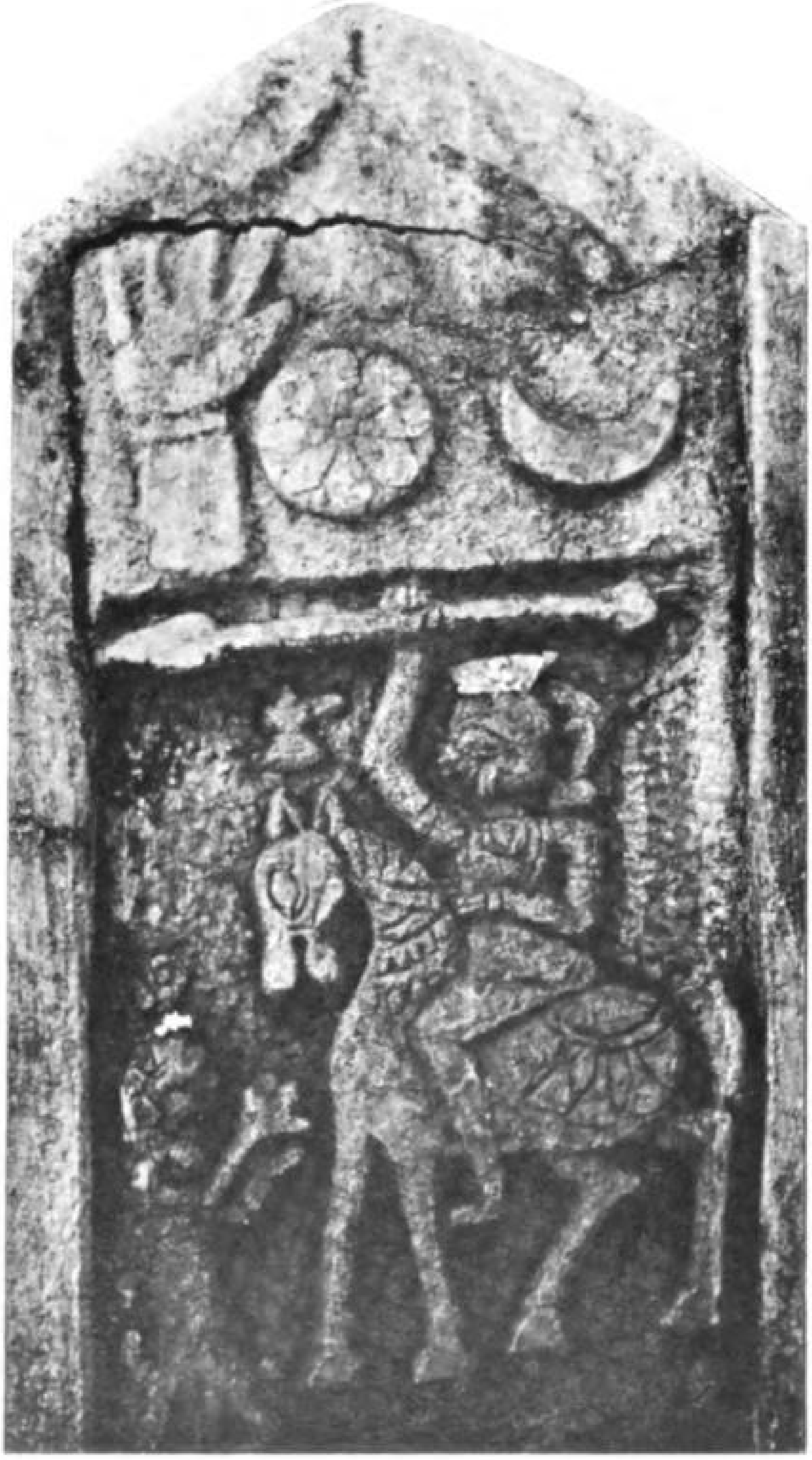

Fig. 13. *Satī*-memorial, Capkā

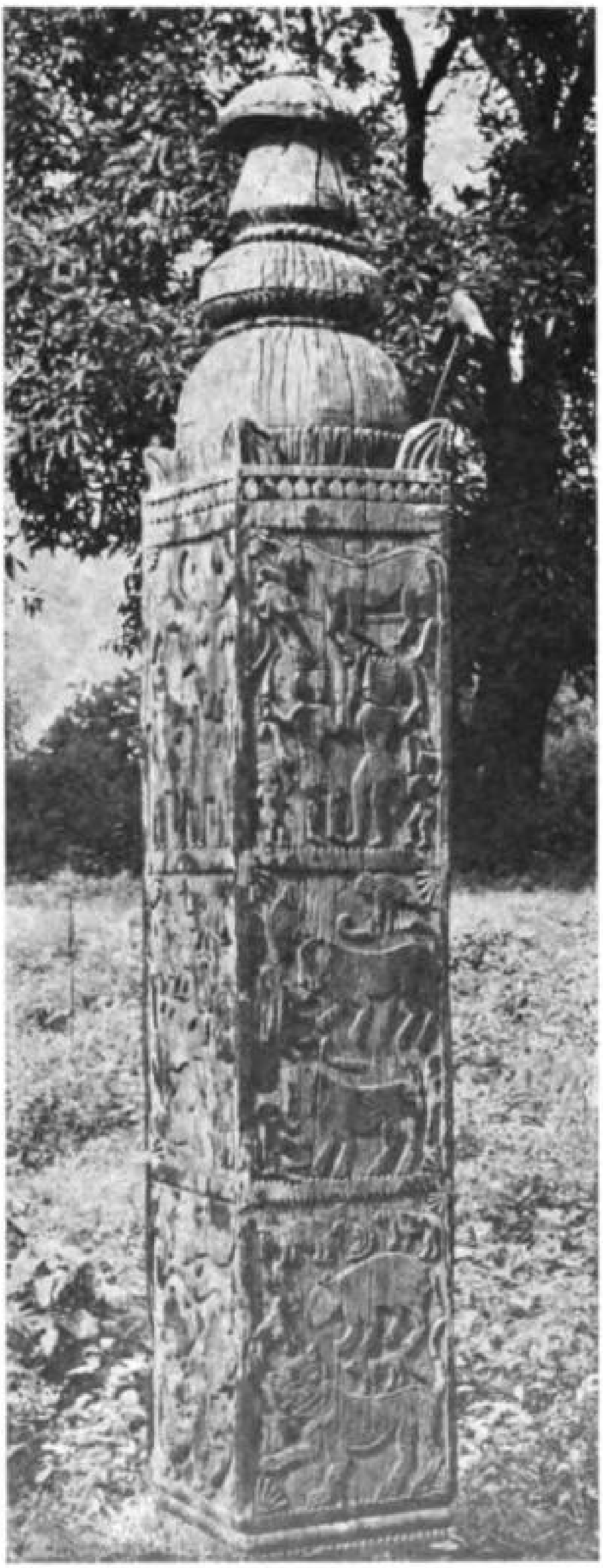

Fig. 14. Wooden memorial of the Bisonhorn Māḍiyās (Marias) on the Jagdālpur-Gidam Road, (Bastar Dt.)

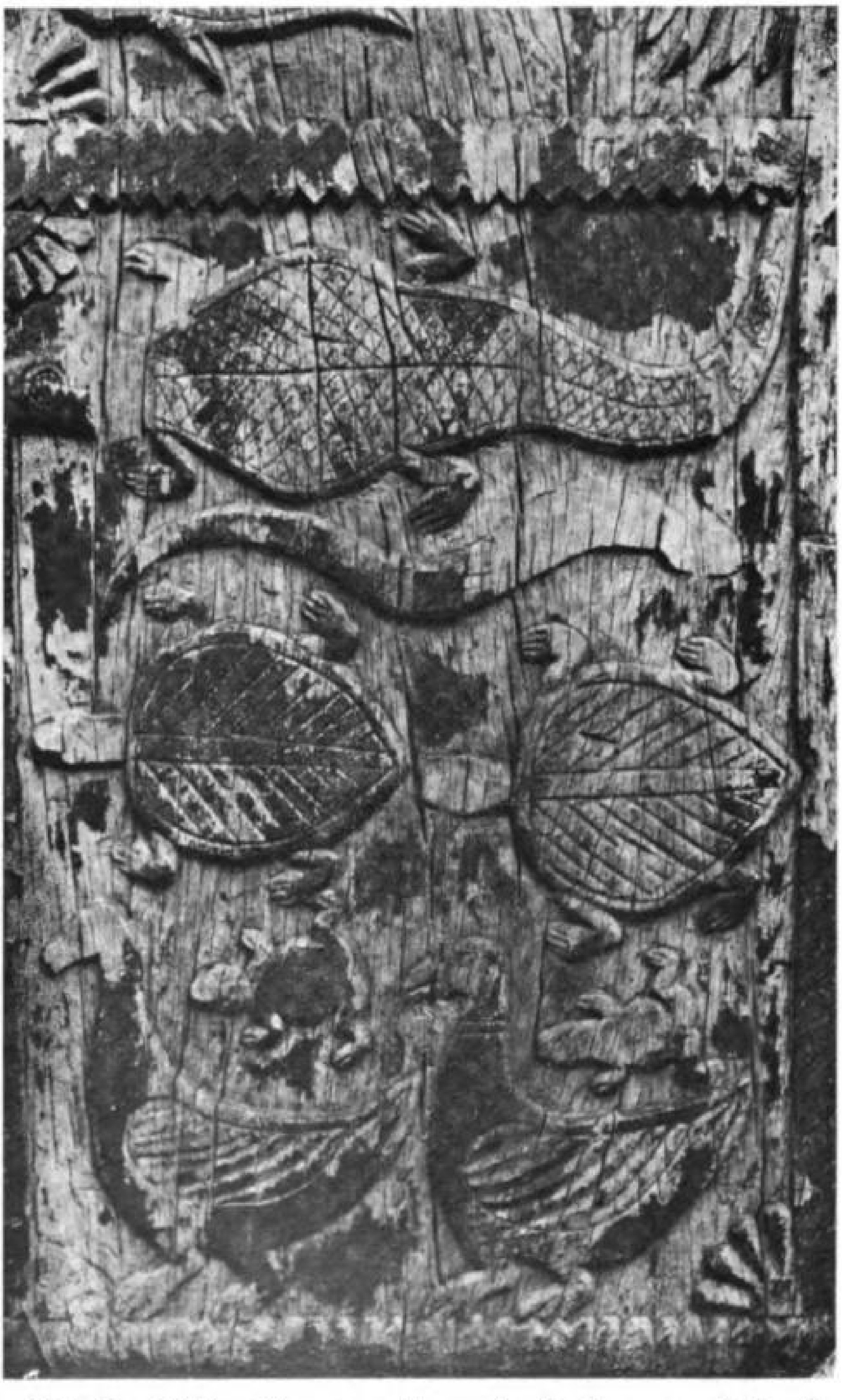

Fig. 15. Detail of Fig. 14: aquatic animals in one of the base-reliefs of the pillar

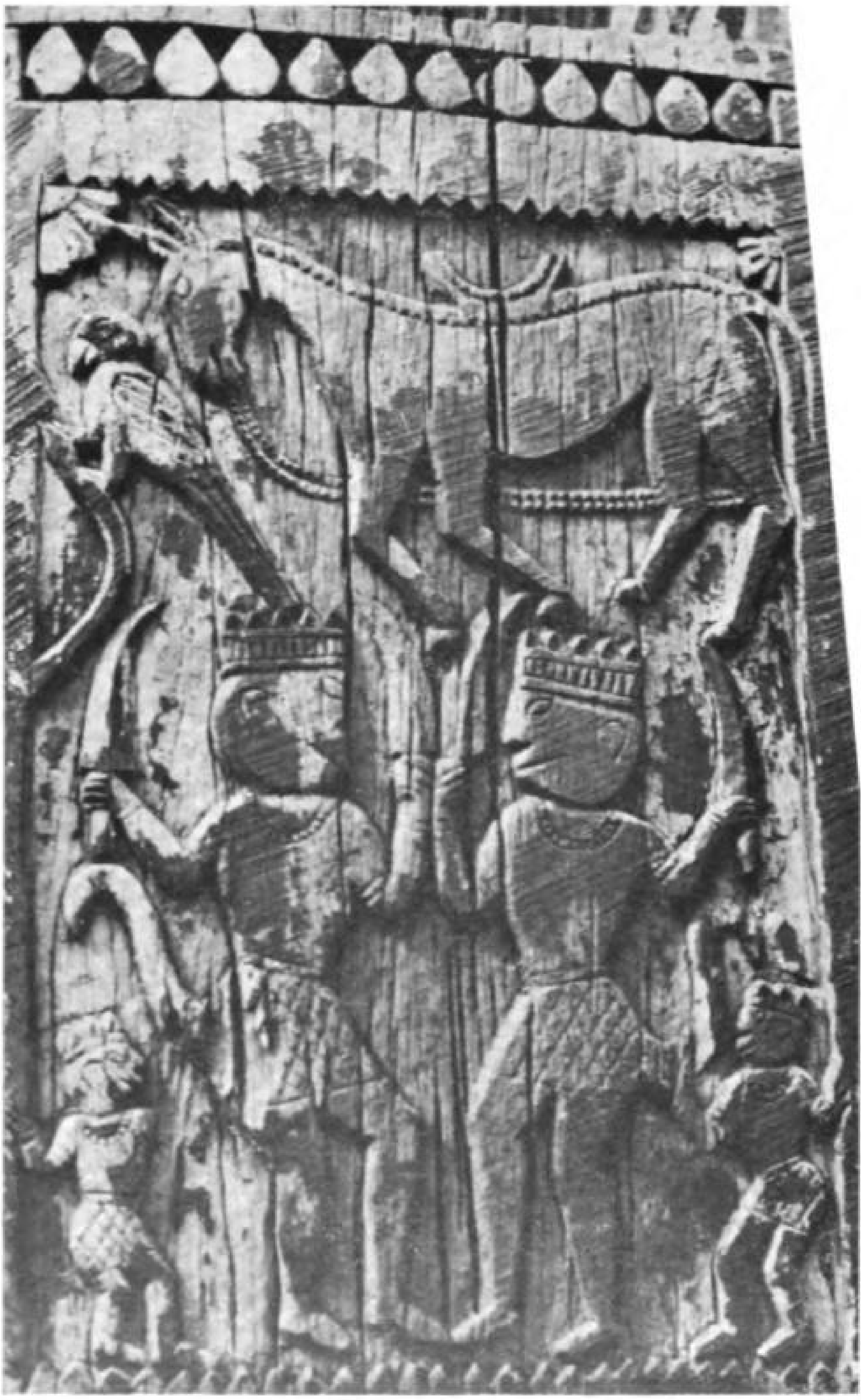

Fig. 16. Detail of Fig. 14

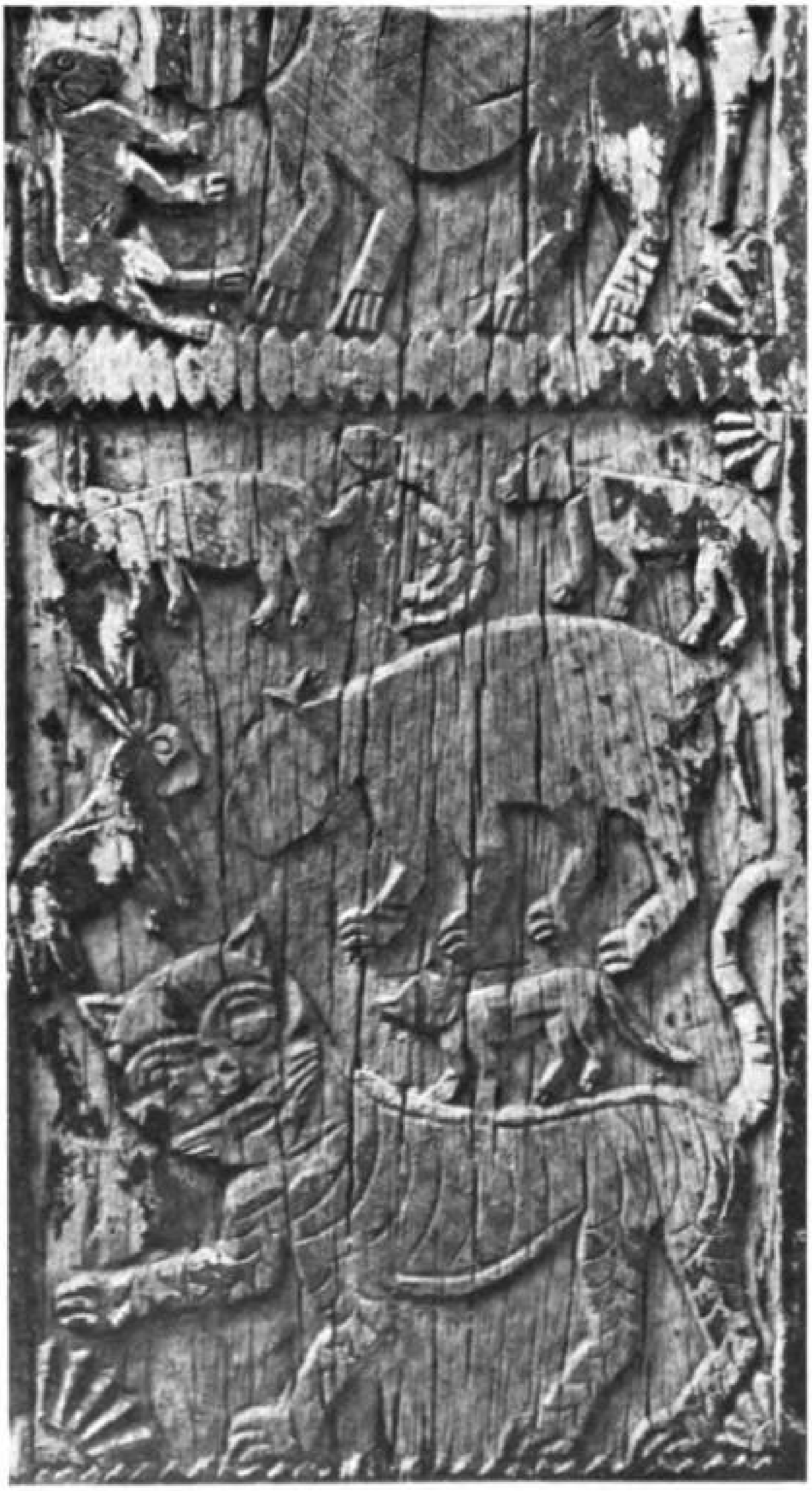

Fig. 17. Detail of Fig. 14

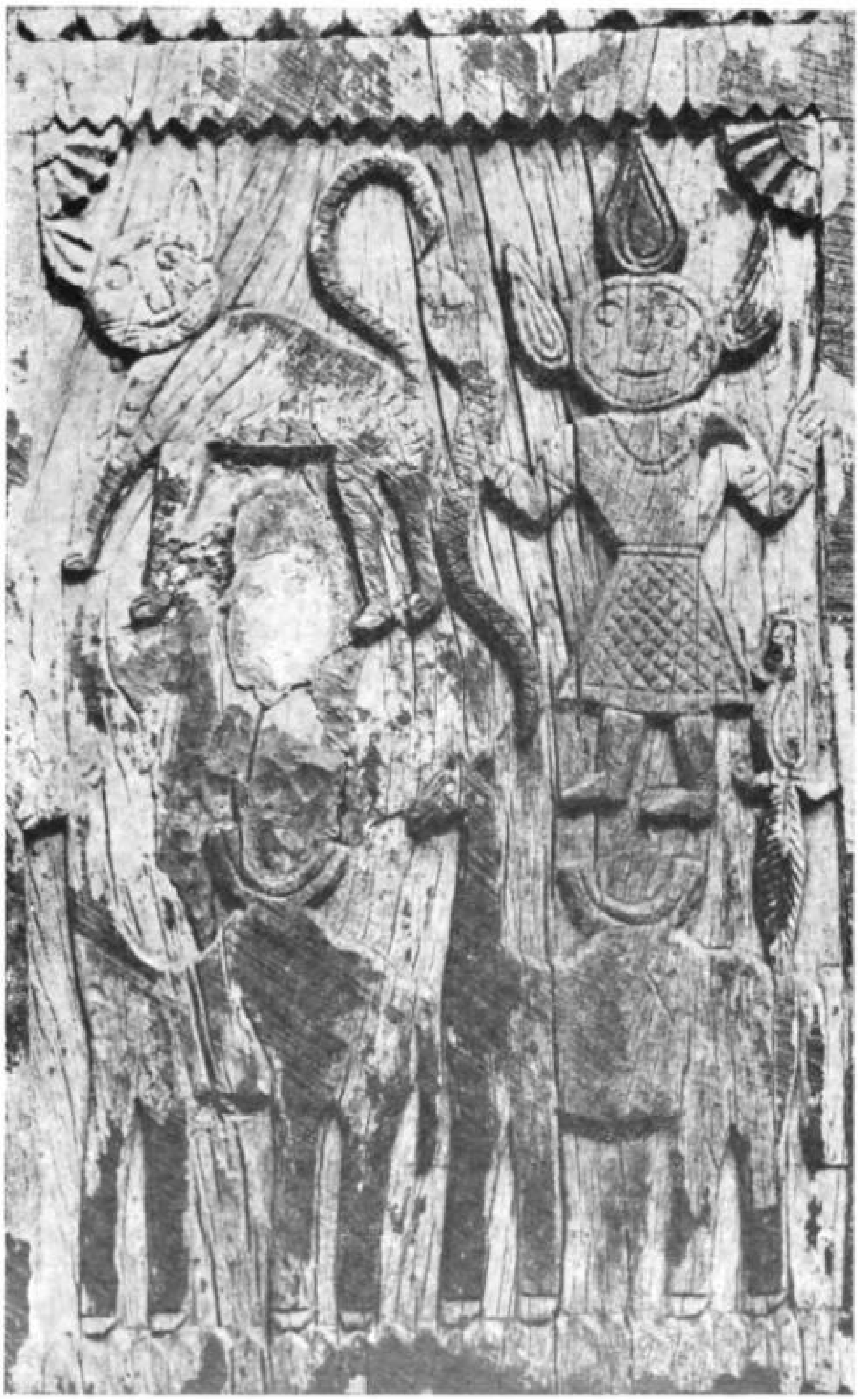

Fig. 18. Detail of Fig. 14

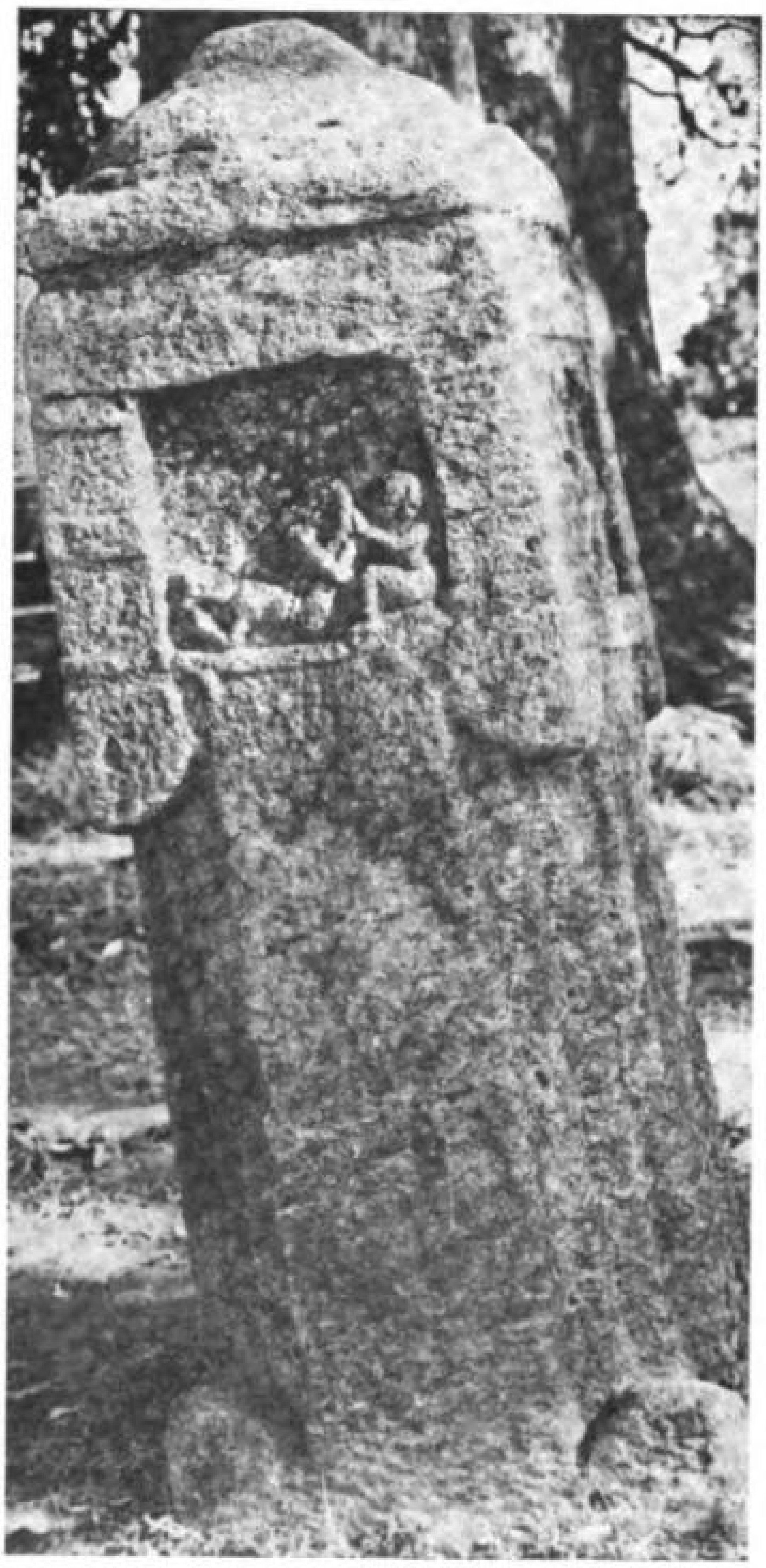

Fig. 19. Memorial pillar, Pañcmaḍhi, (Pañcmaḍhi Dt.)

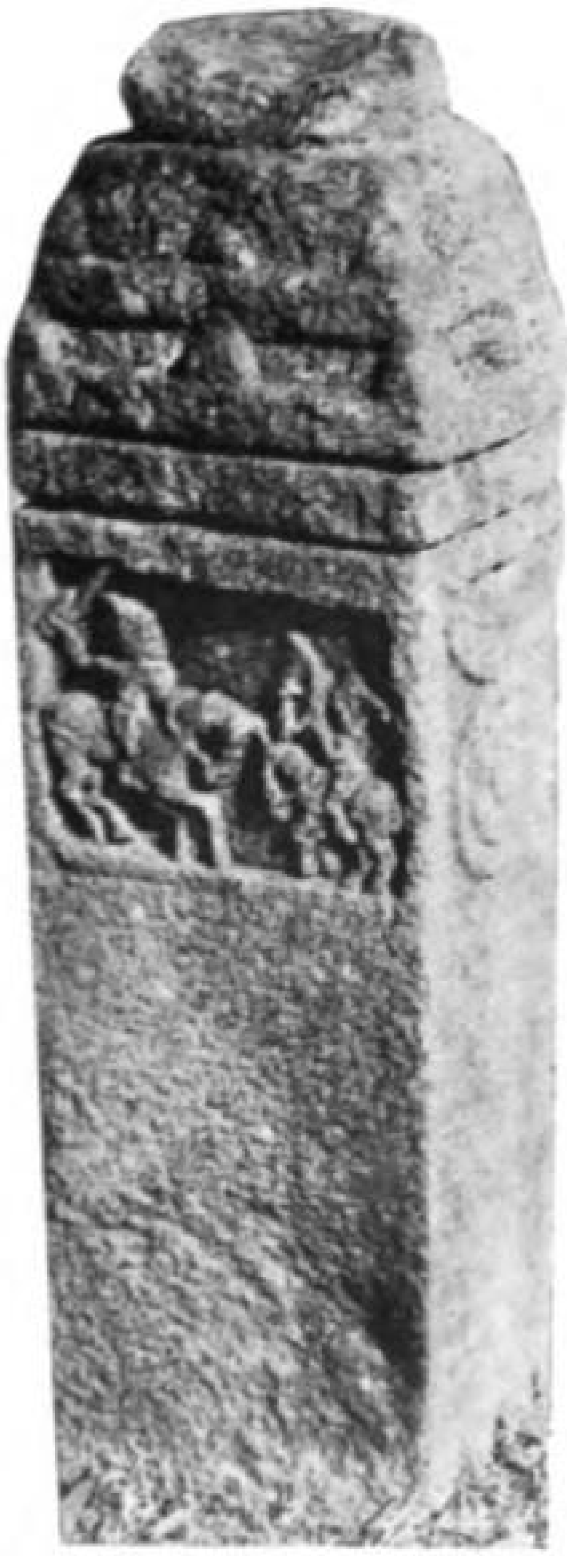

Fig. 20. A Memorial, Pañcmaḍhi. C. 10th cent.

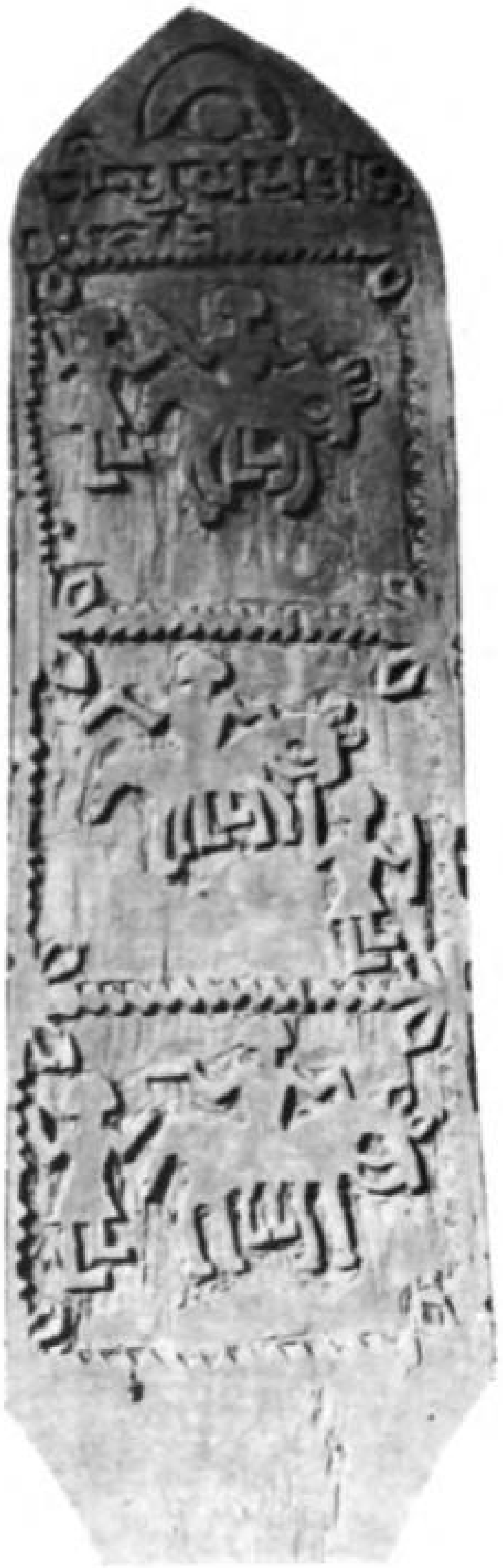

Fig. 21. Memorial tablet (*mūnda*) of the Korkū tribe, (Pañcmaḍhi)

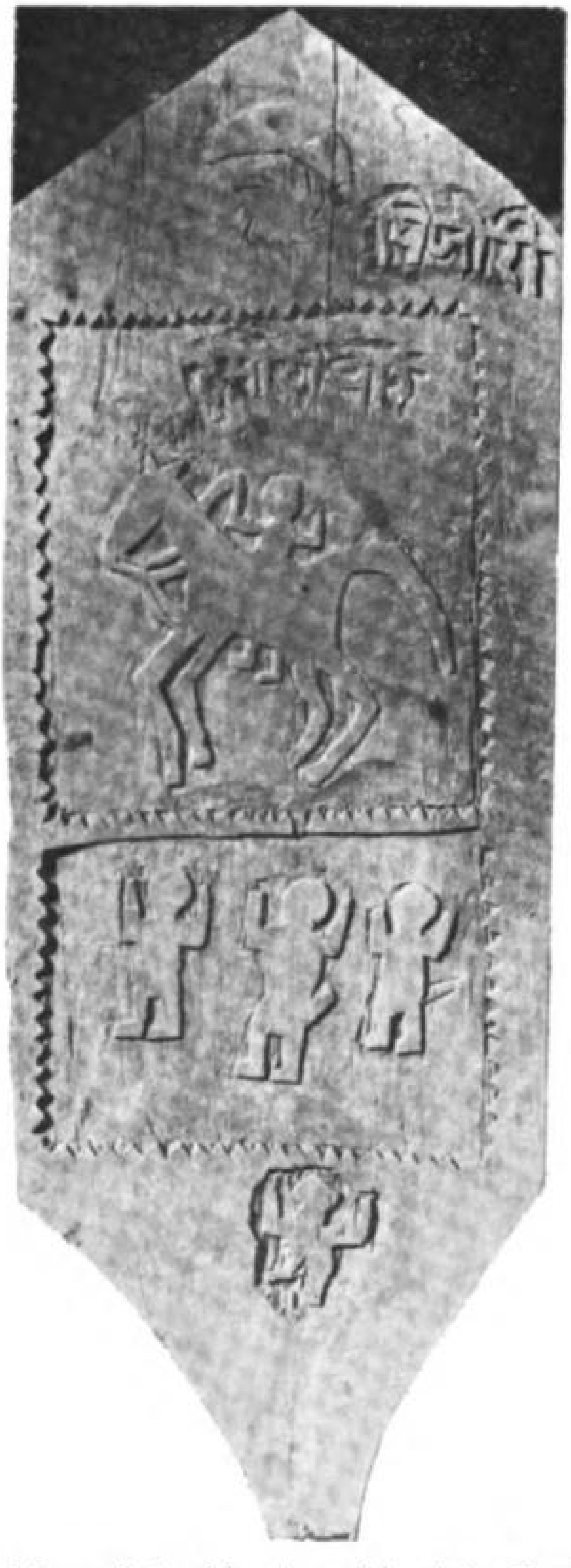

Fig. 22. Memorial tablet (*mūnda*) of the Korkū tribe

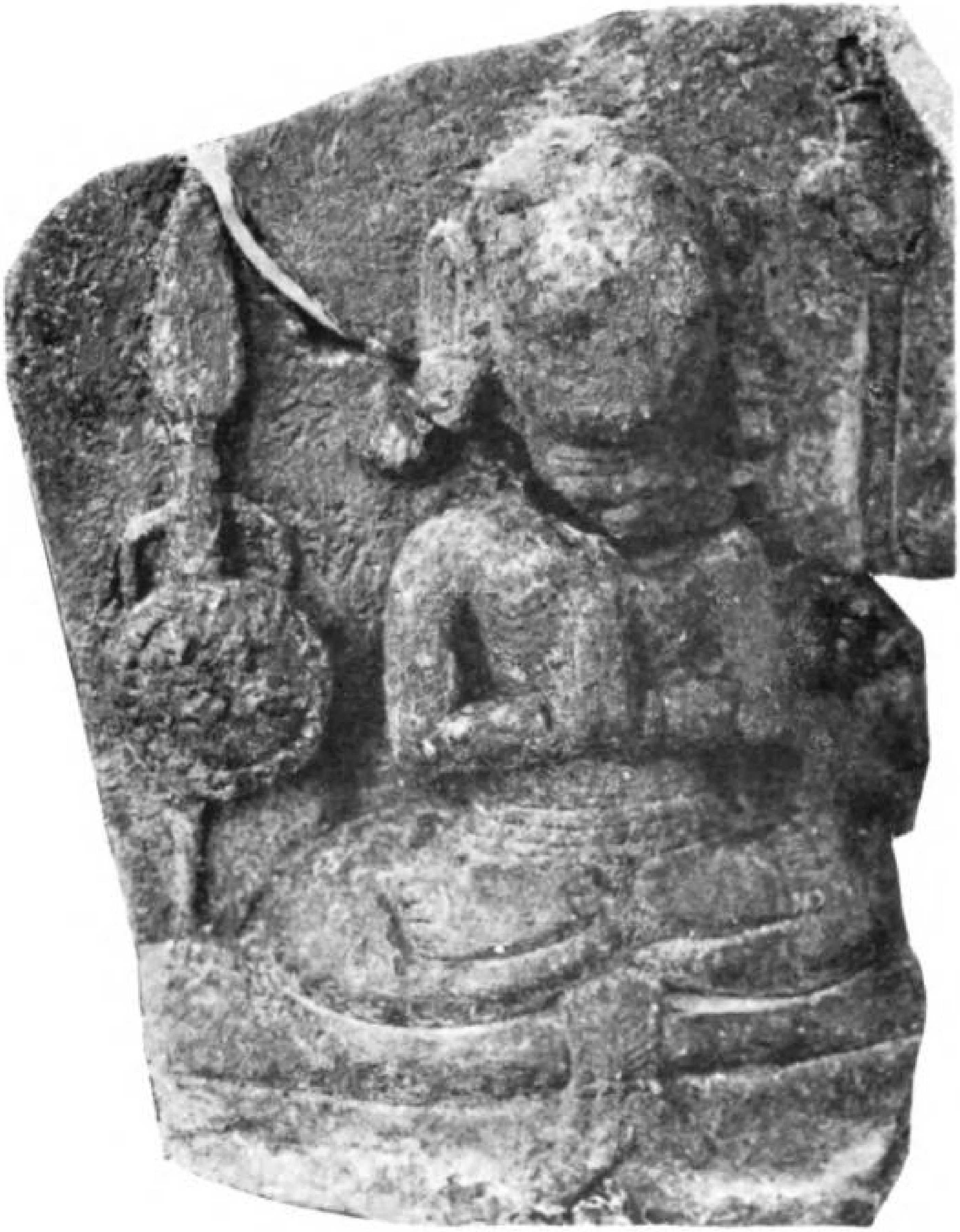

Fig. 23. Memorial of a Goṇḍ chieftain with *satī*, Bhānutola near Lānji, (Balaghāṭ Dt.)

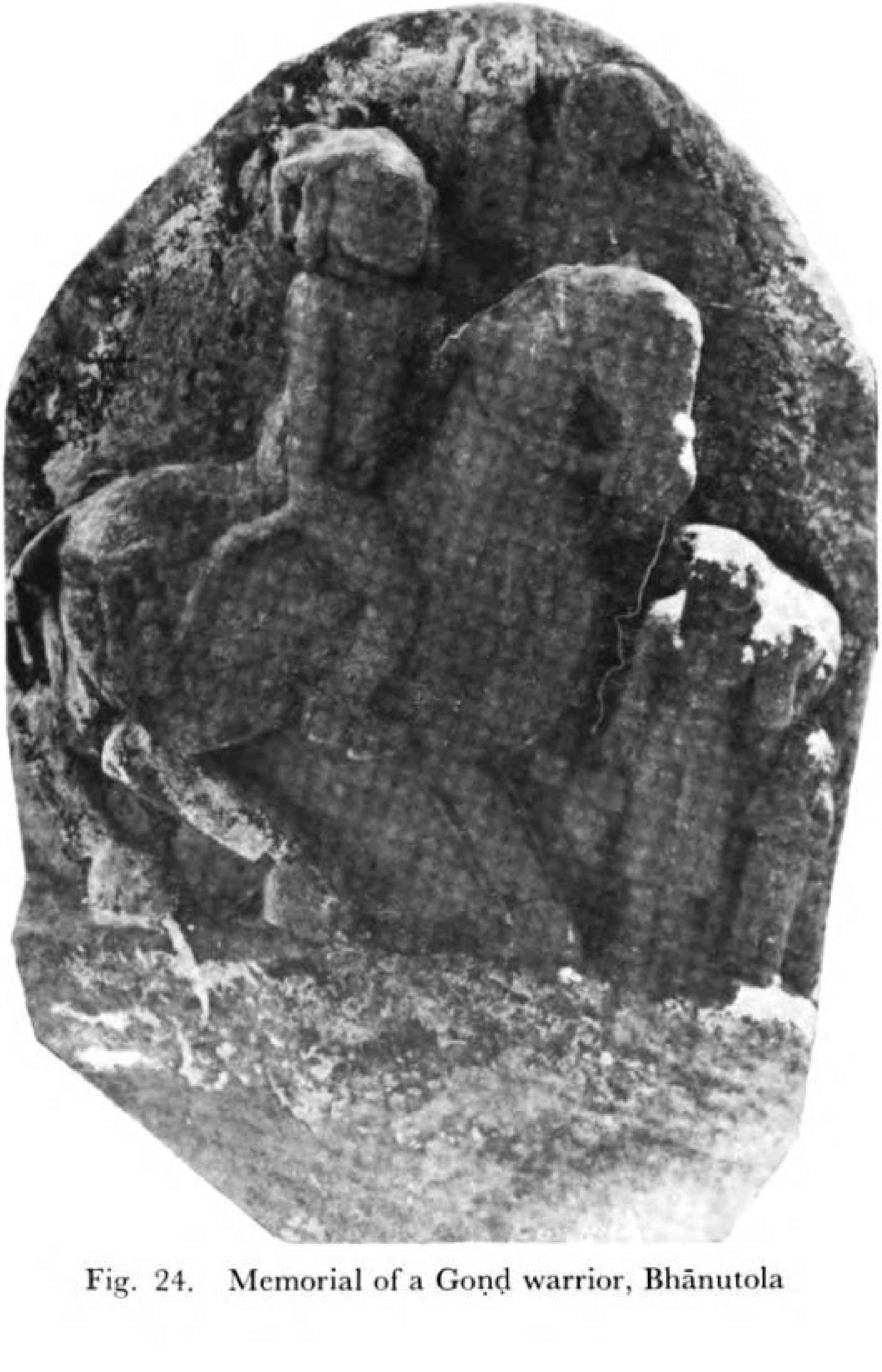

Fig. 24. Memorial of a Goṇḍ warrior, Bhānutola

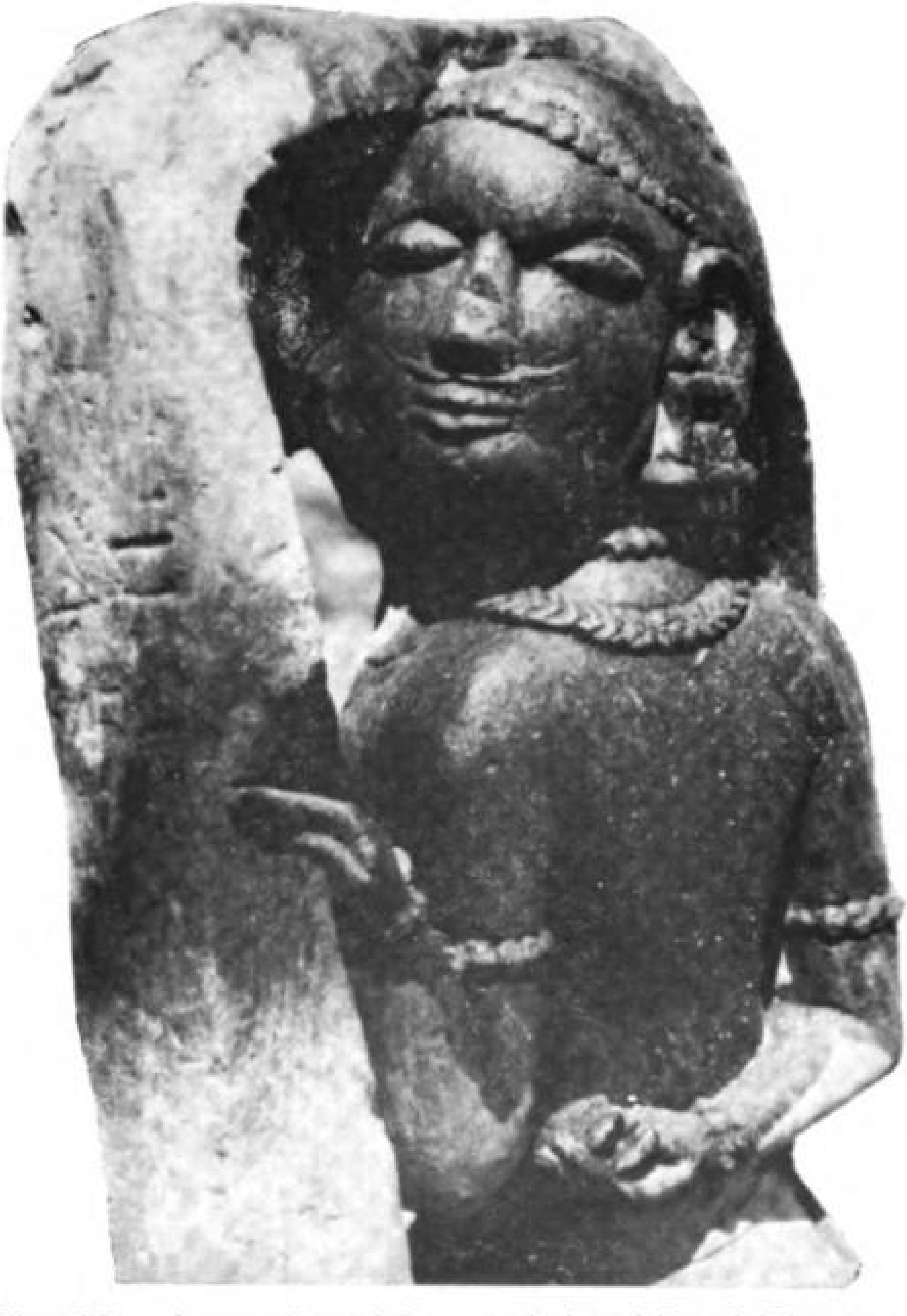

Fig. 25. A warrior with a *muria* head-band, Bārsūr

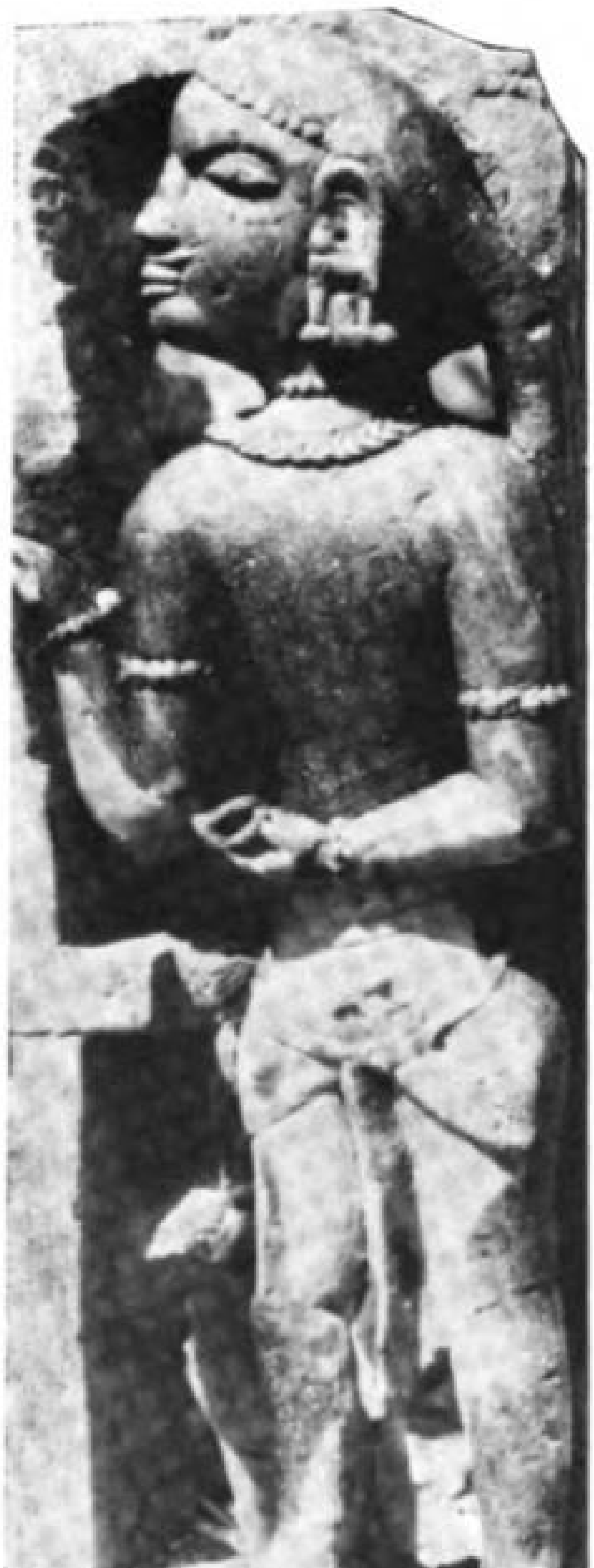

Fig. 26. A hero-stone, Bārsūr

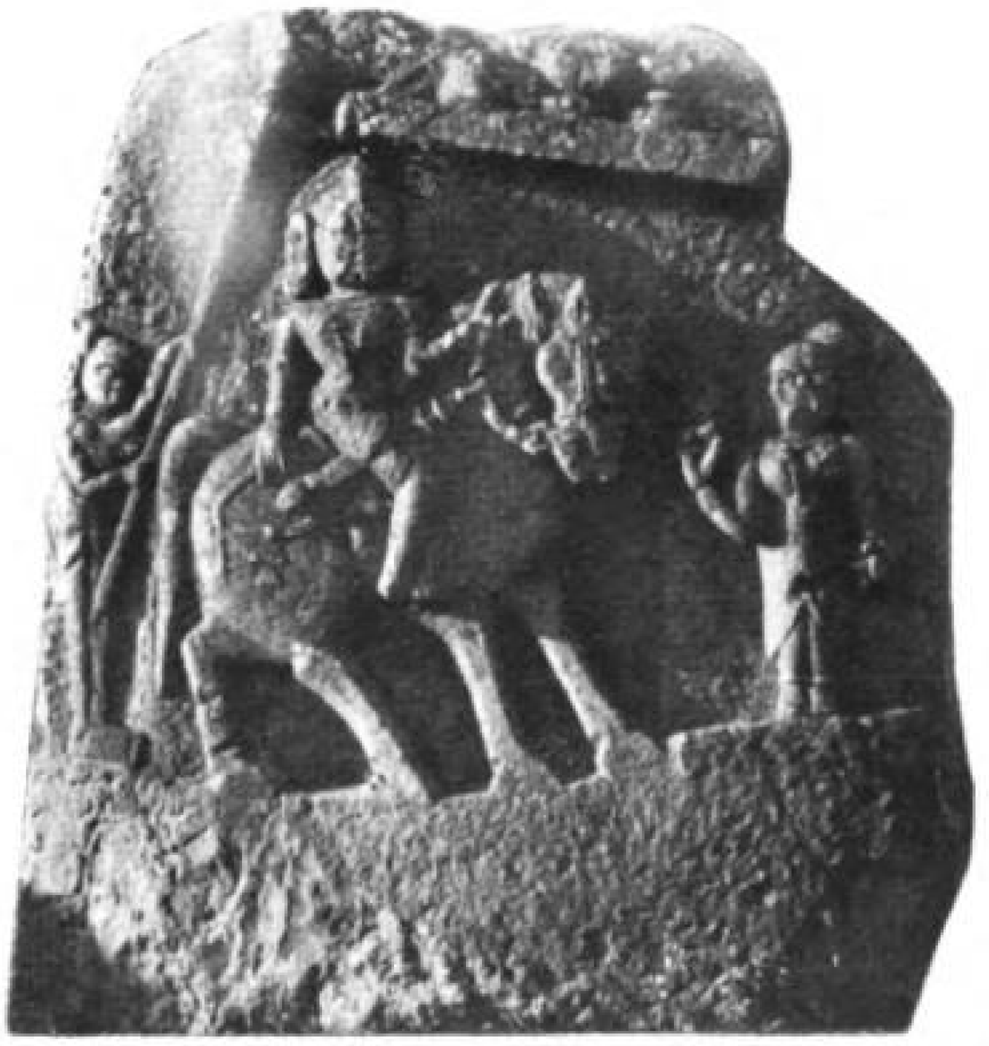

Fig. 27. "Rēvanta" hero with the *satī* facing the horse, Baḍeḍongar

HAKU SHAH:

Tribal Memorials in Gujarat

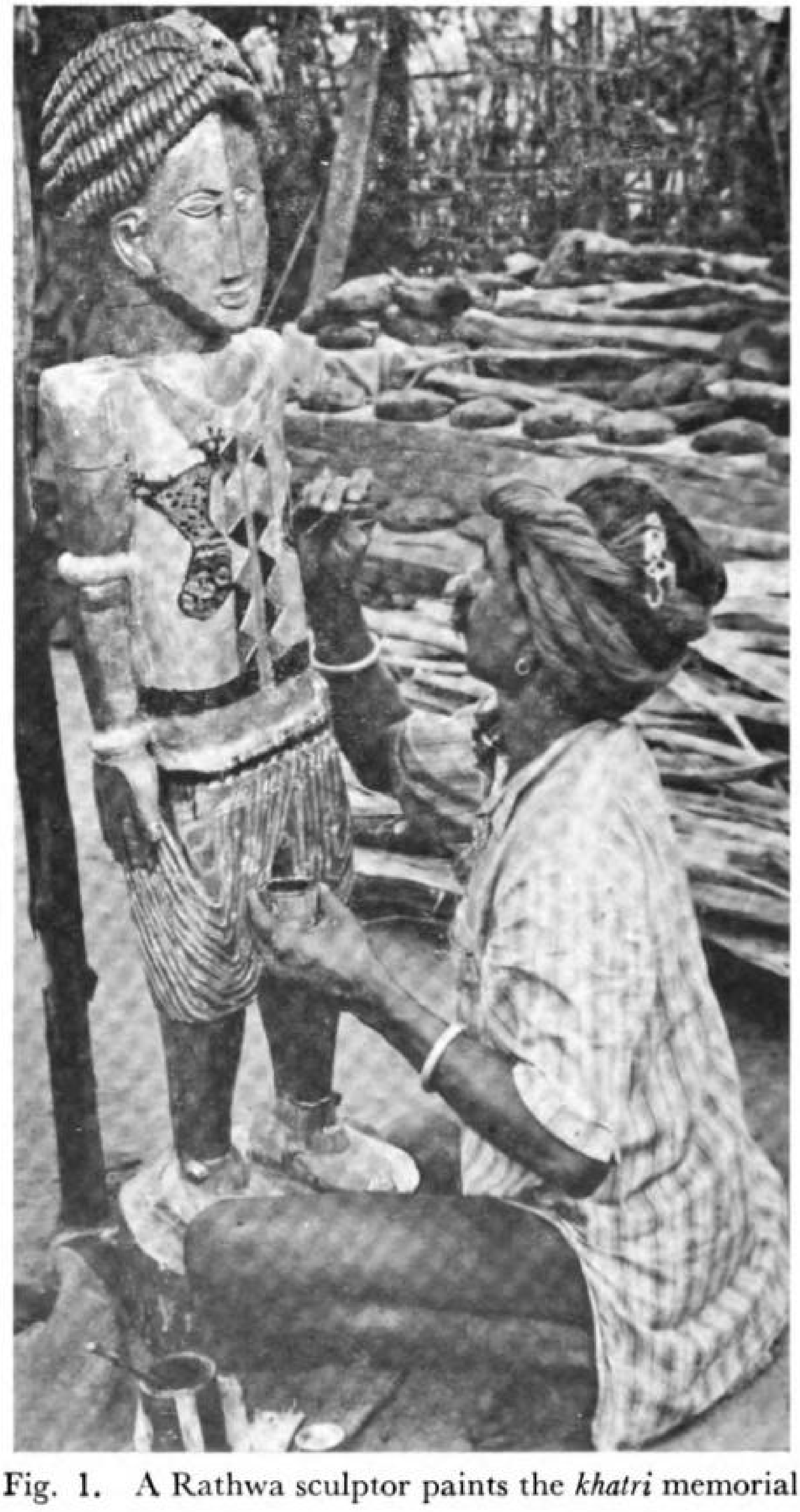

Fig. 1. A Rathwa sculptor paints the *khatri* memorial

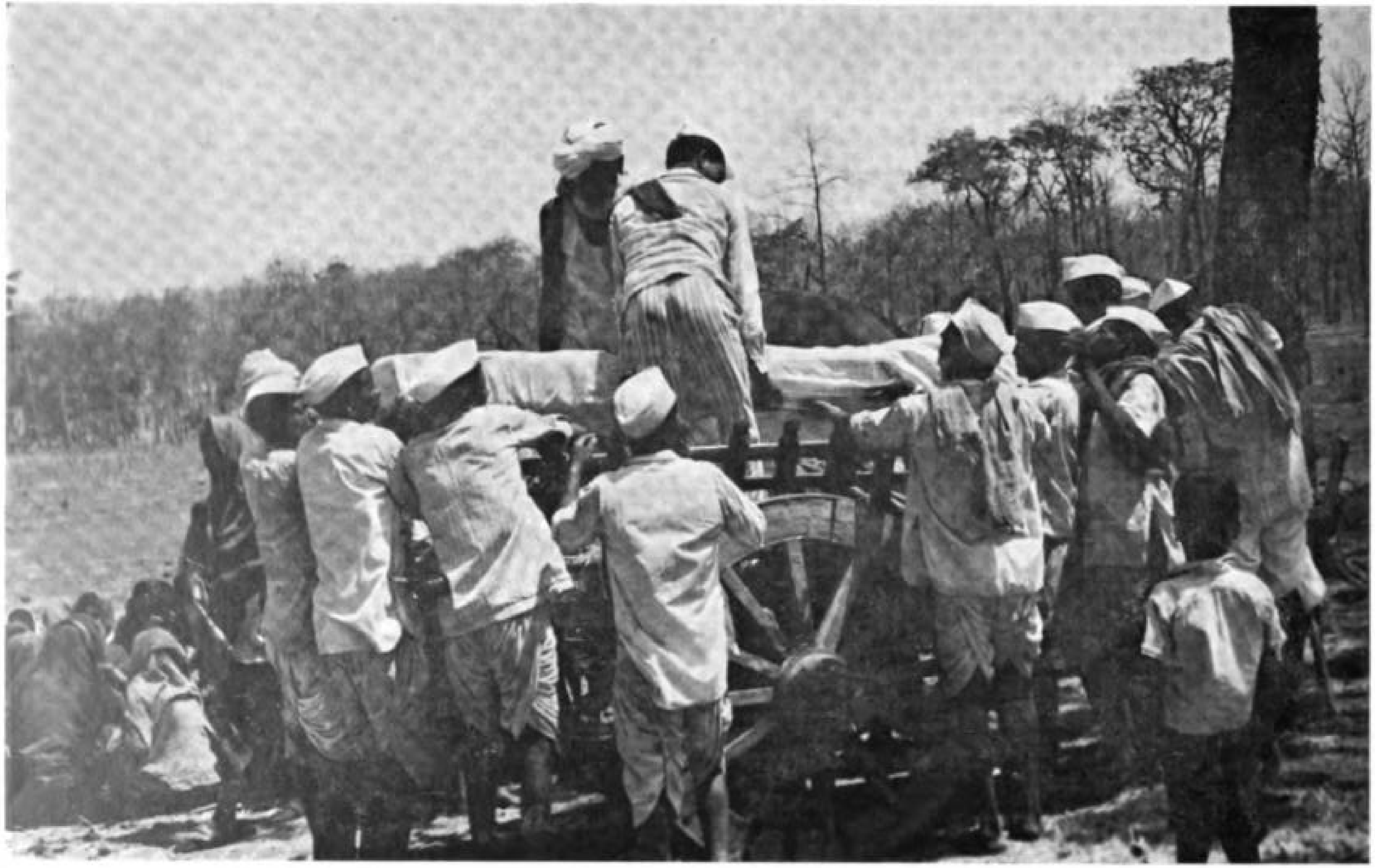

Fig. 2. Transportation of the *khambha*, Vasawa tribe, South Gujarat

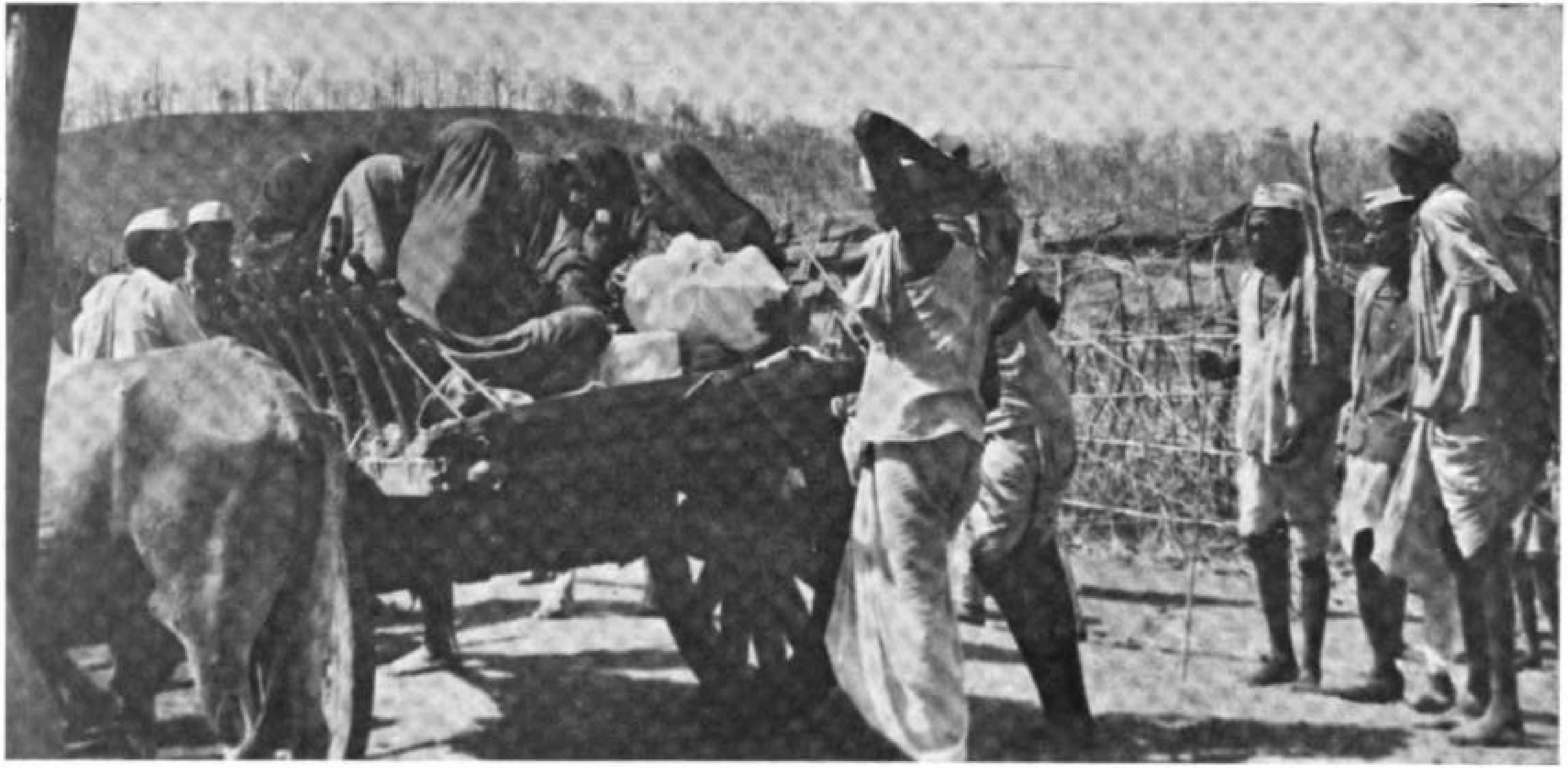

Fig. 3. Transportation of the *khambha*

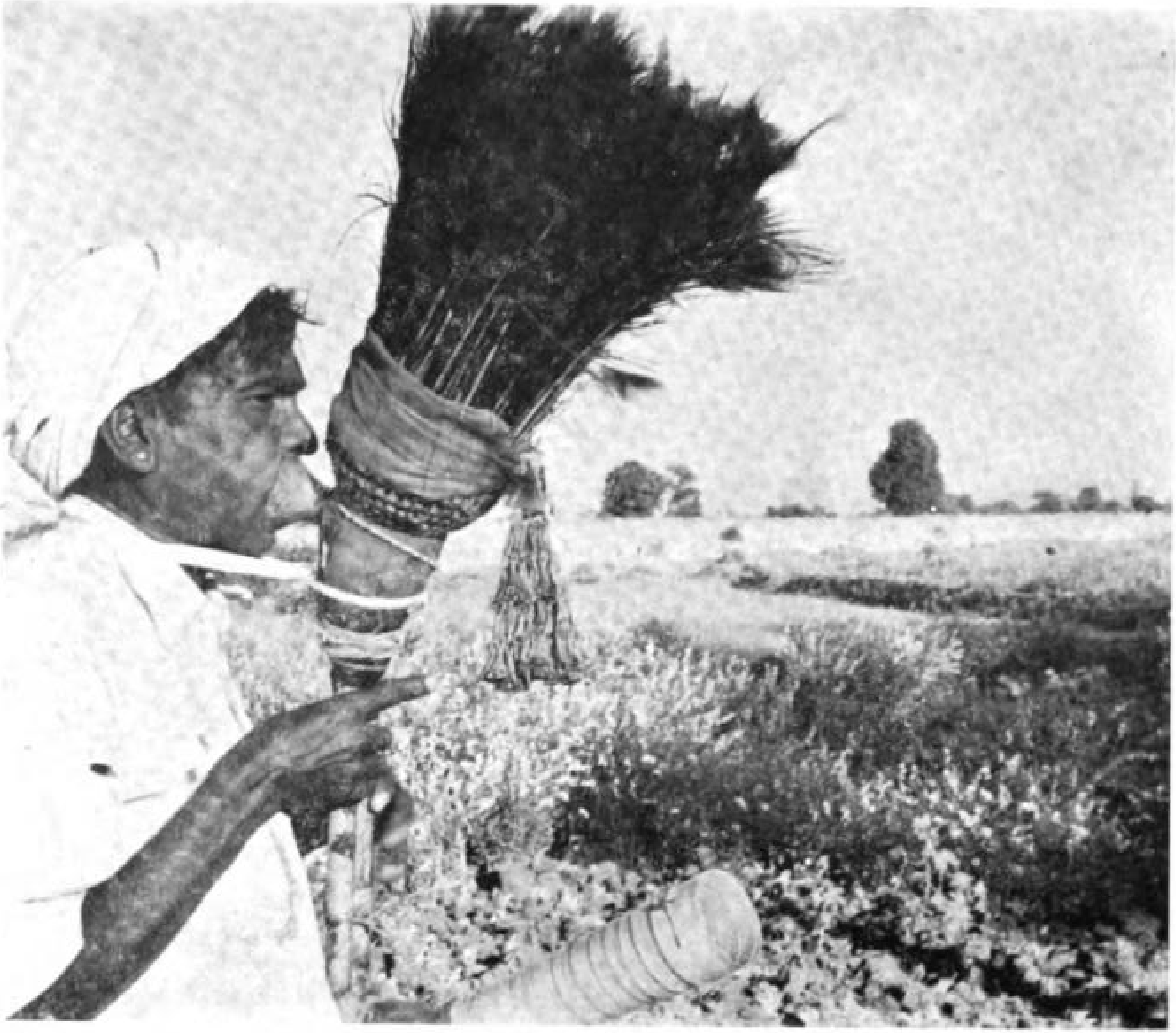

Fig. 4. Devdovdi played for *khatru* or *vetra*

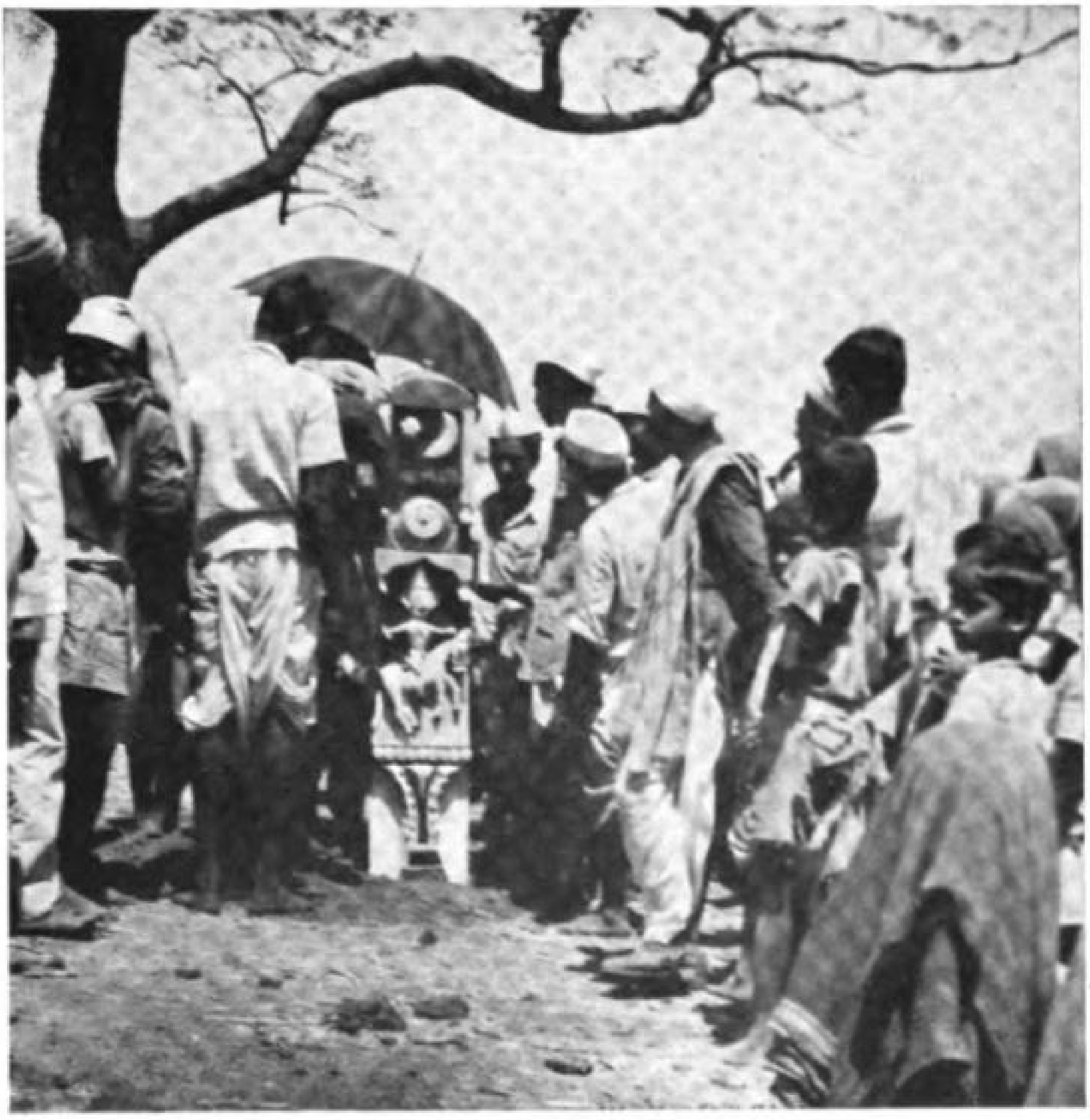

Fig. 5. Installation of *khambha* memorial

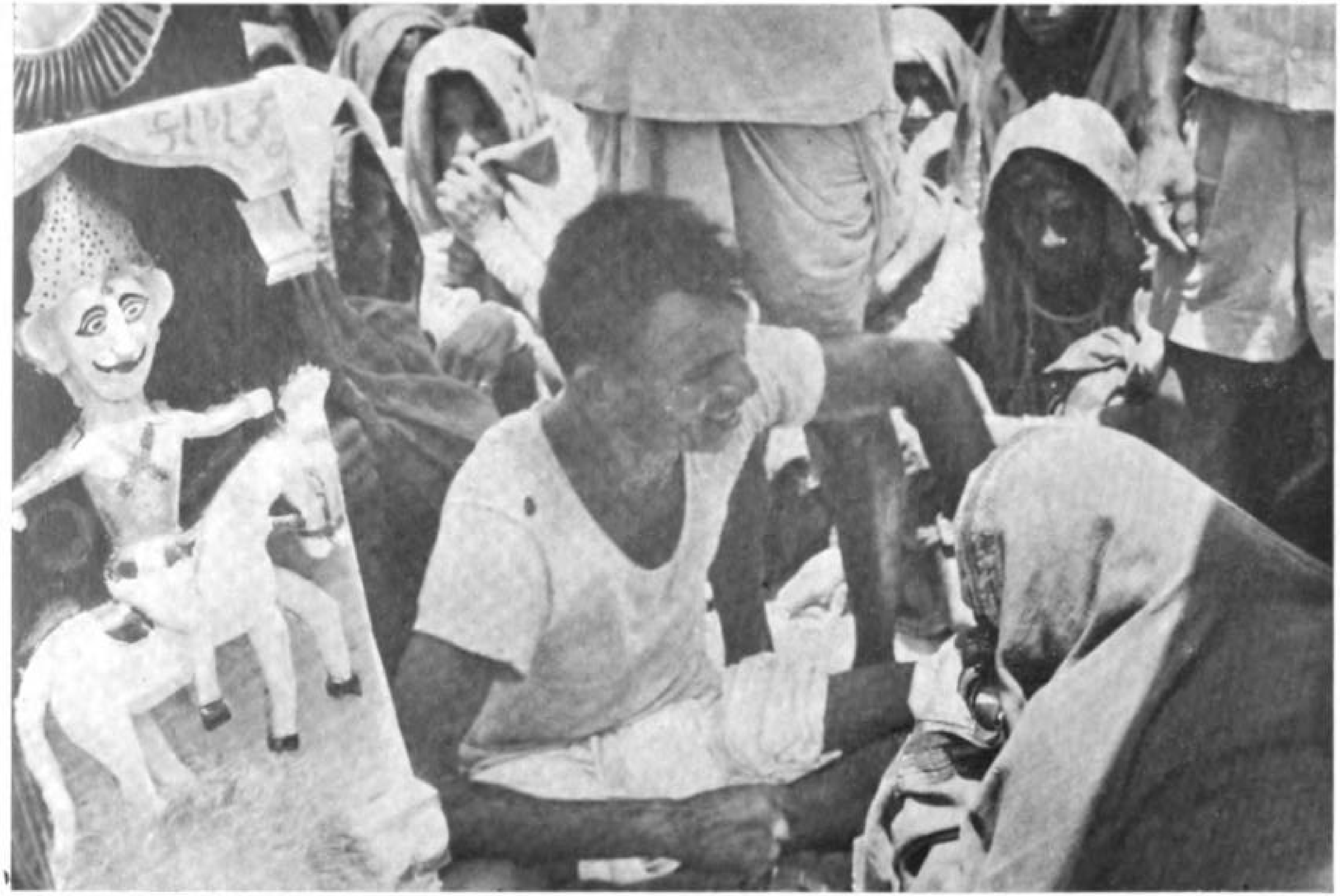

Fig. 6. The priest in trance blesses the family members of the dead

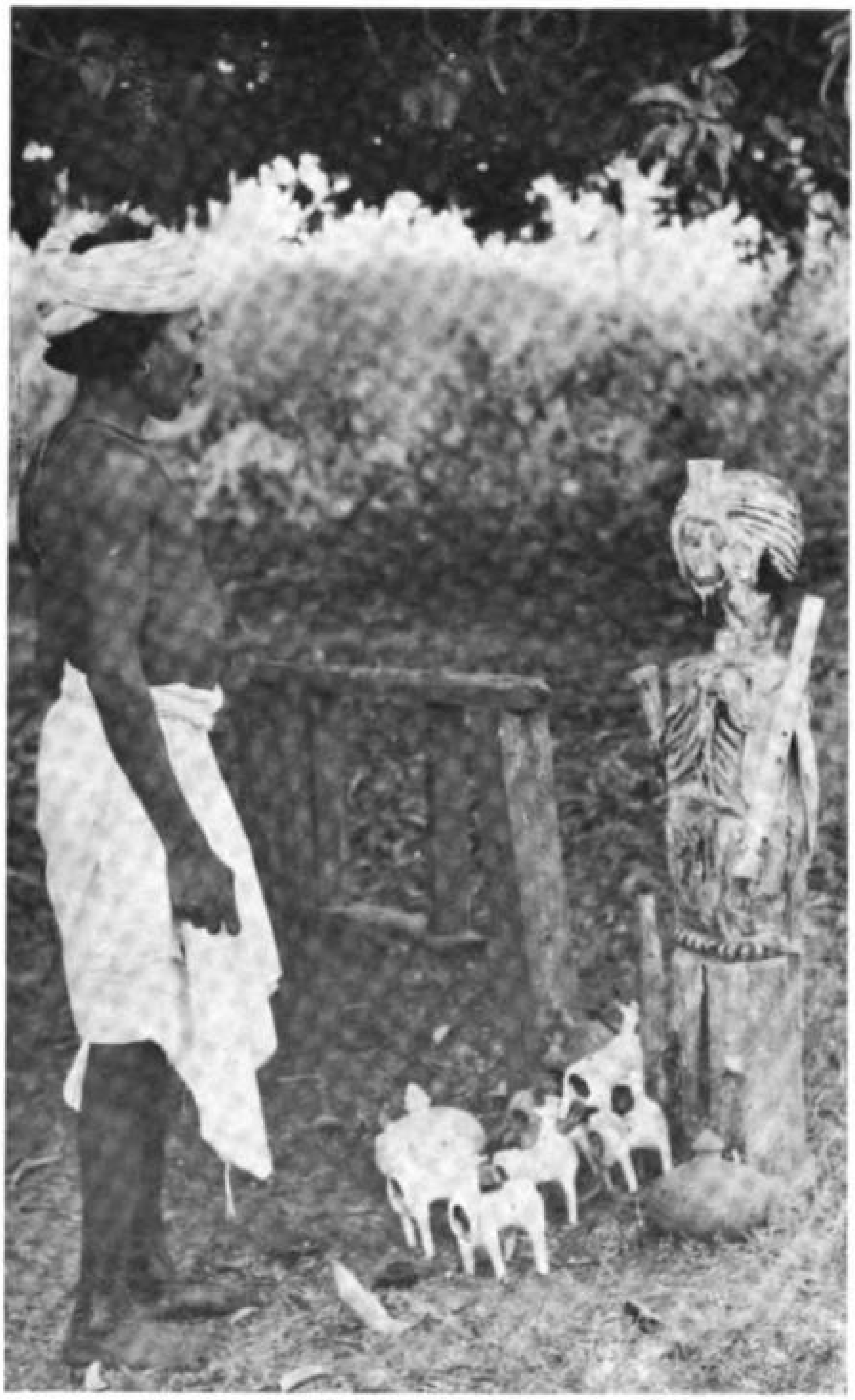

Fig. 7. Offerings to the memorial

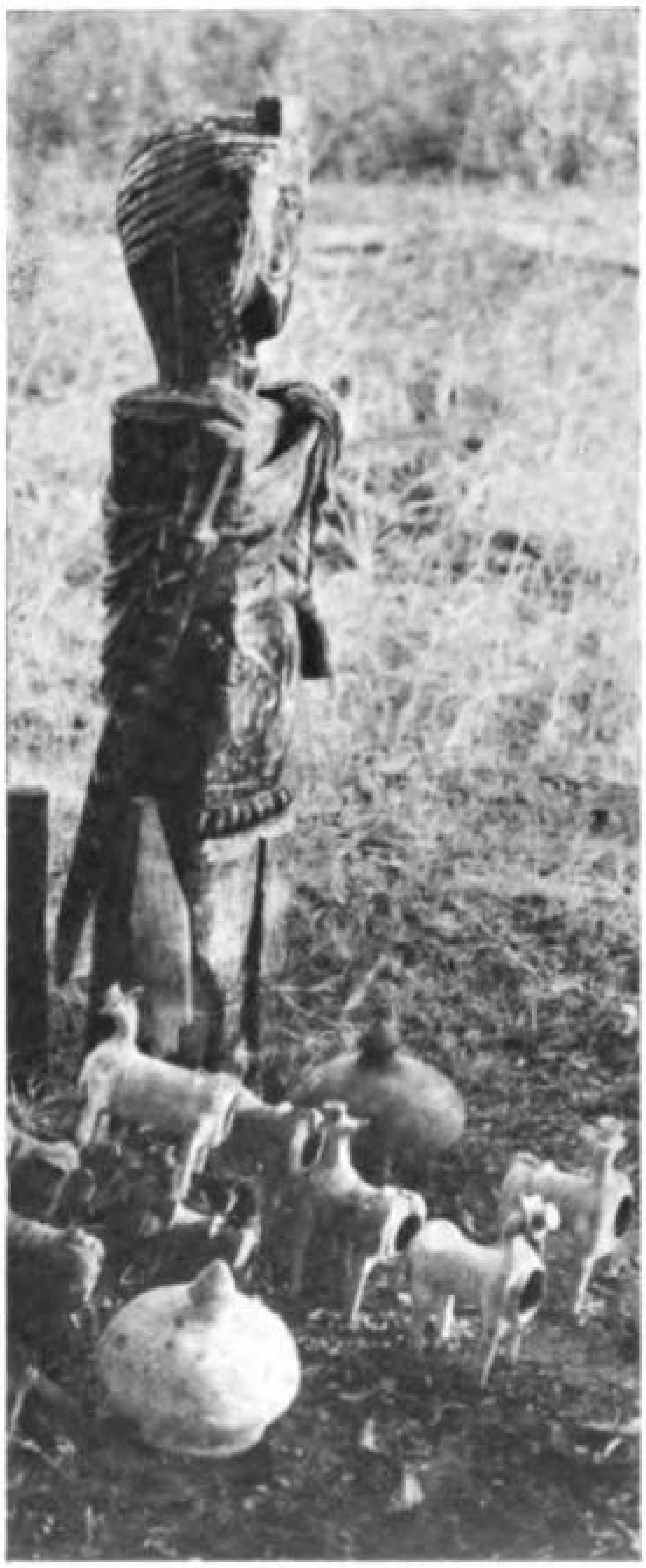

Fig. 8. *Khatru:* Rathwa, Bhilala and Naika tribes, mid. Gujarat

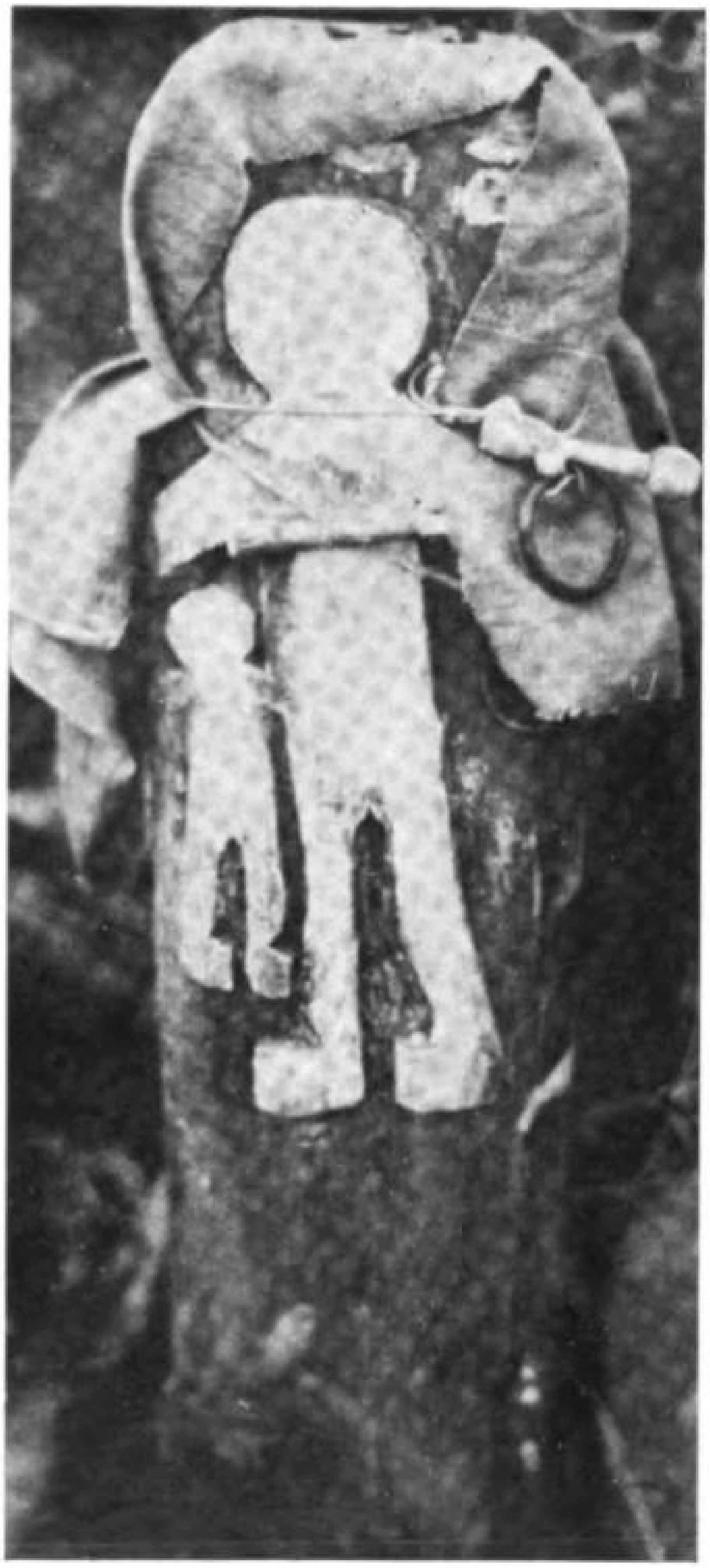

Fig. 9. *Vetra:* wooden figure of a woman who died in pregnancy, Chodhri tribe, South Gujarat

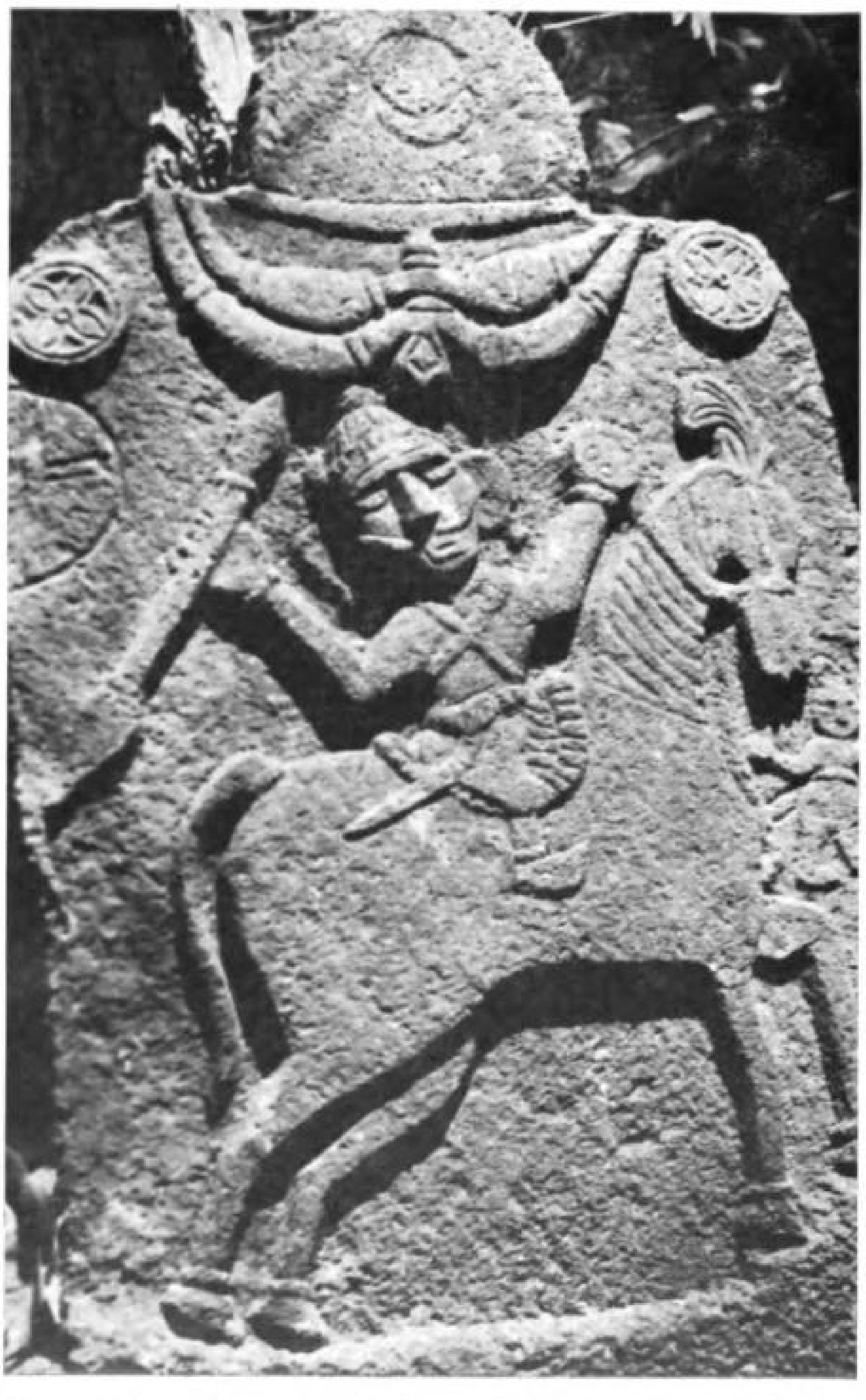

Fig. 10. *Pālia:* Memorial in stone, Gamit tribe, South Gujarat

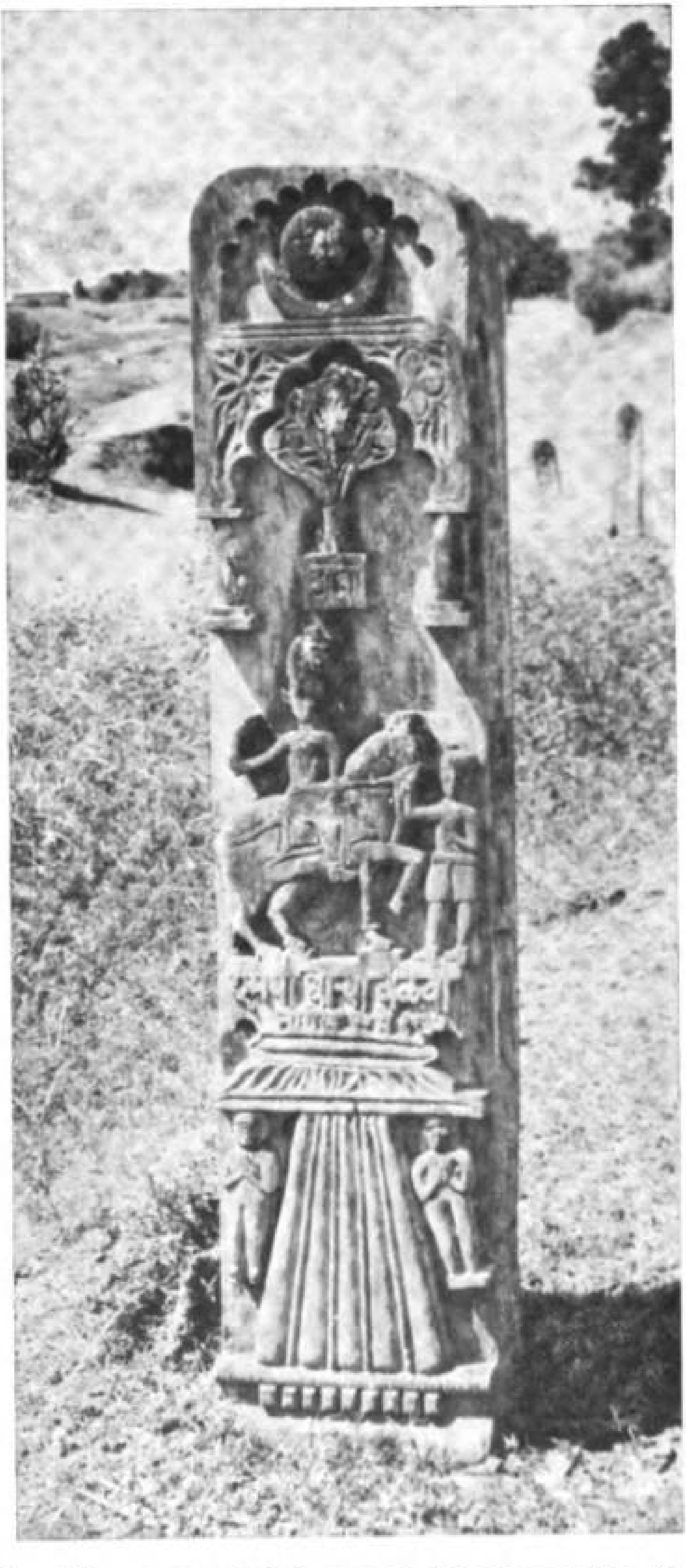

Fig. 11. *Khambha:* memorial in wood, Vasawa tribe, South Gujarat

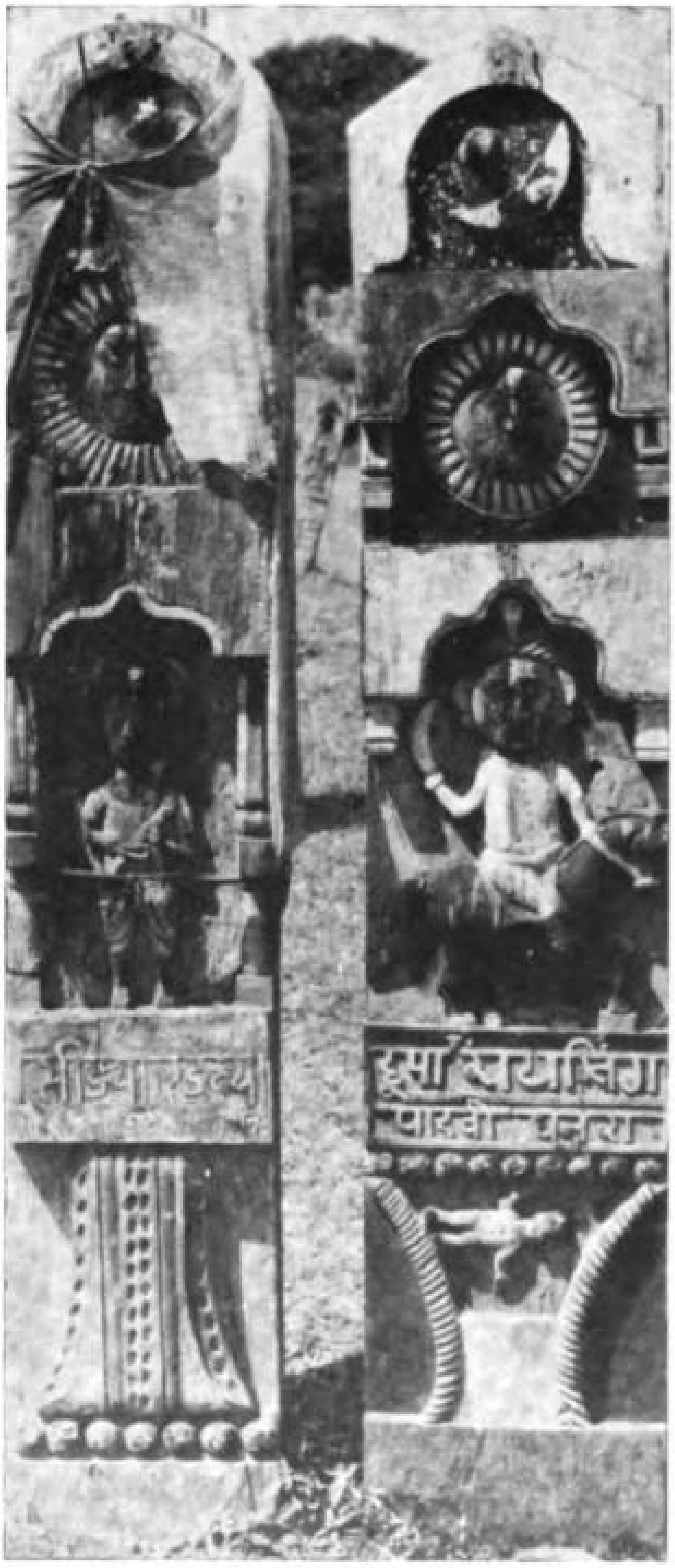

Fig. 12. *Khambha:* wooden memorials for accidental deaths, **Vasawa** tribe, South Gujarat

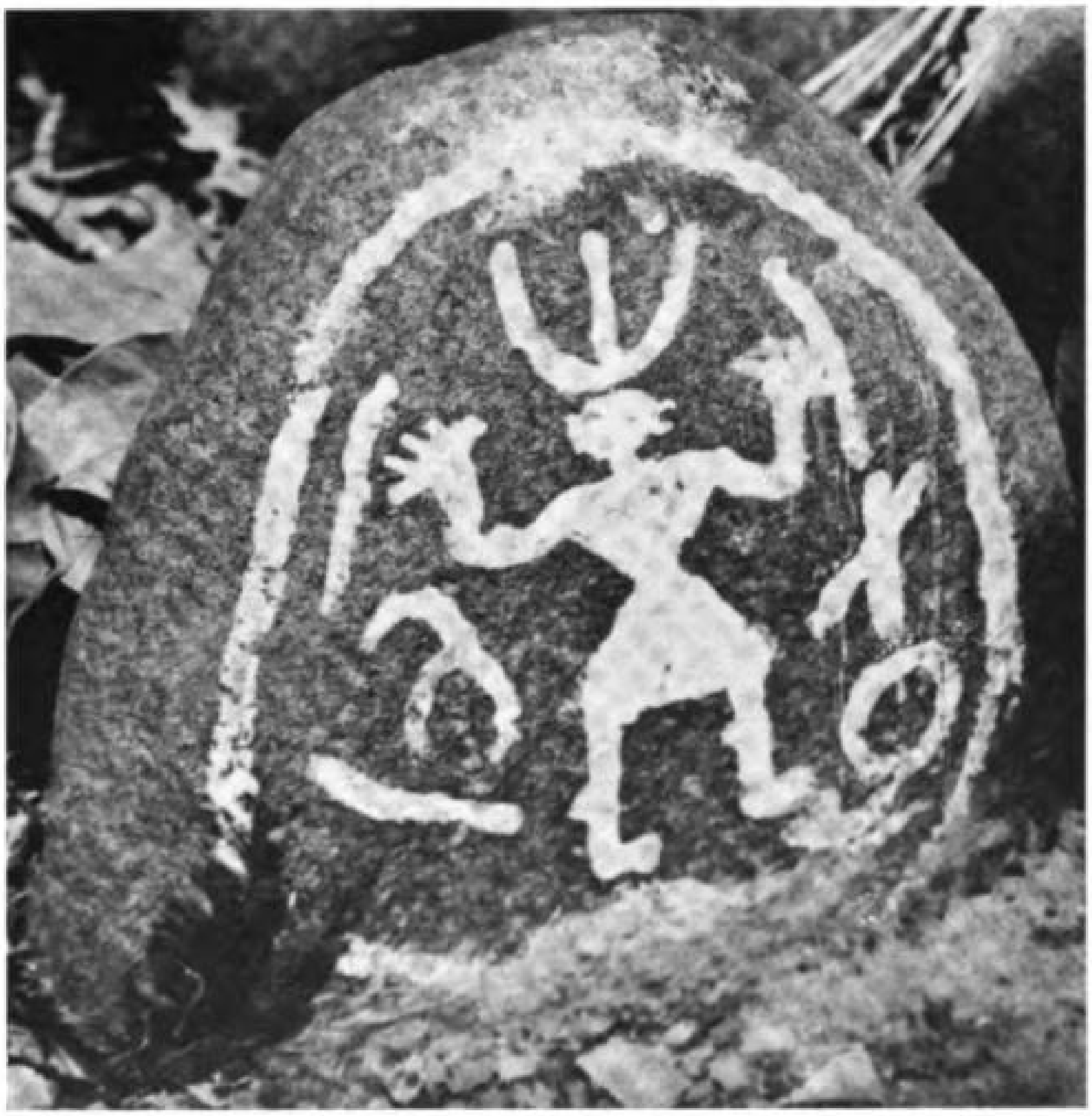

Fig. 13. *Khatru:* memorial for the dead painted on stone, Chodhri tribe, South Gujarat

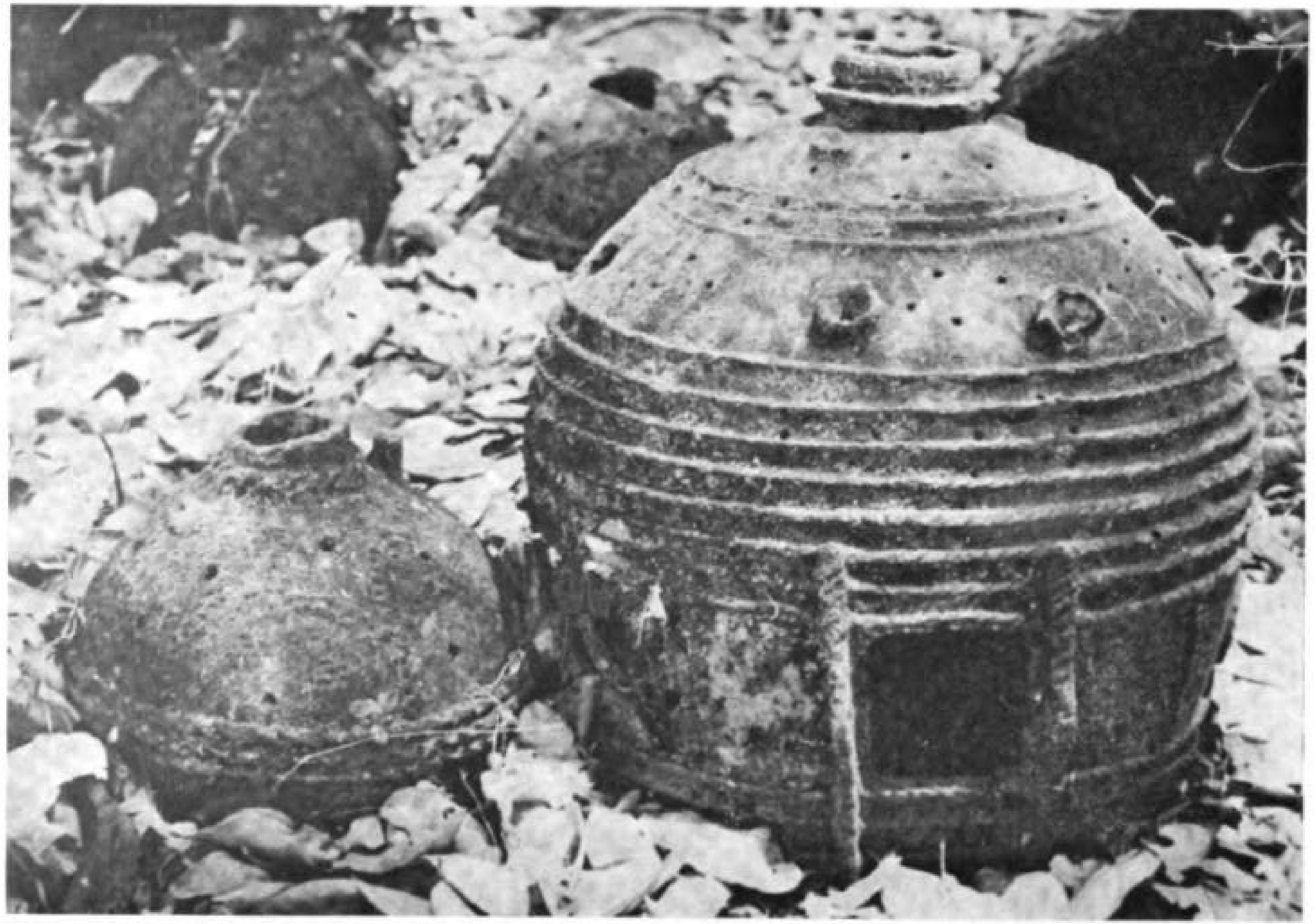

Fig. 14. Ghumat: clay dome, Chodhri tribe, South Gujarat

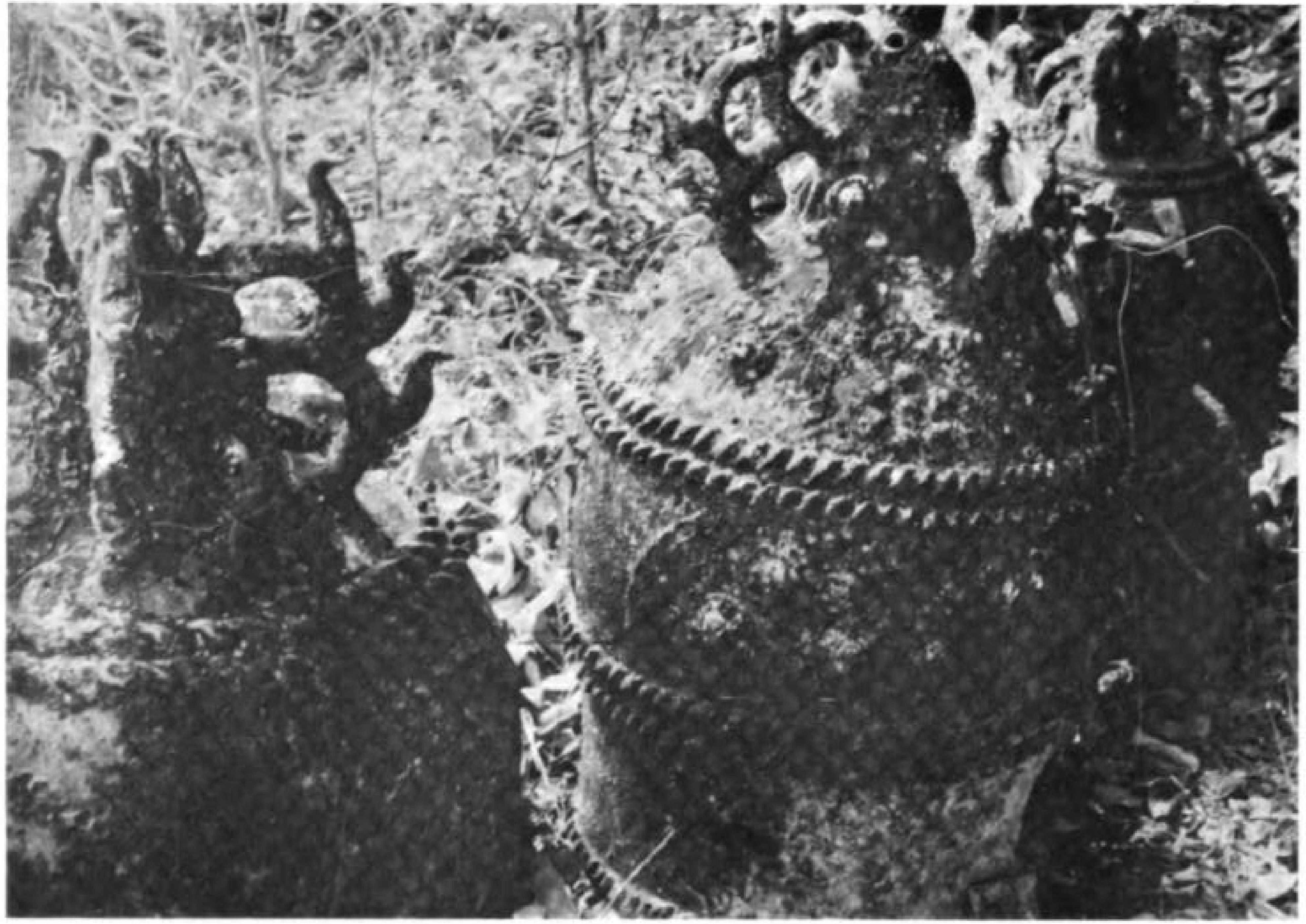

Fig. 15. Dome for installing the spirit of the dead, Chodhri tribe, South Gujarat

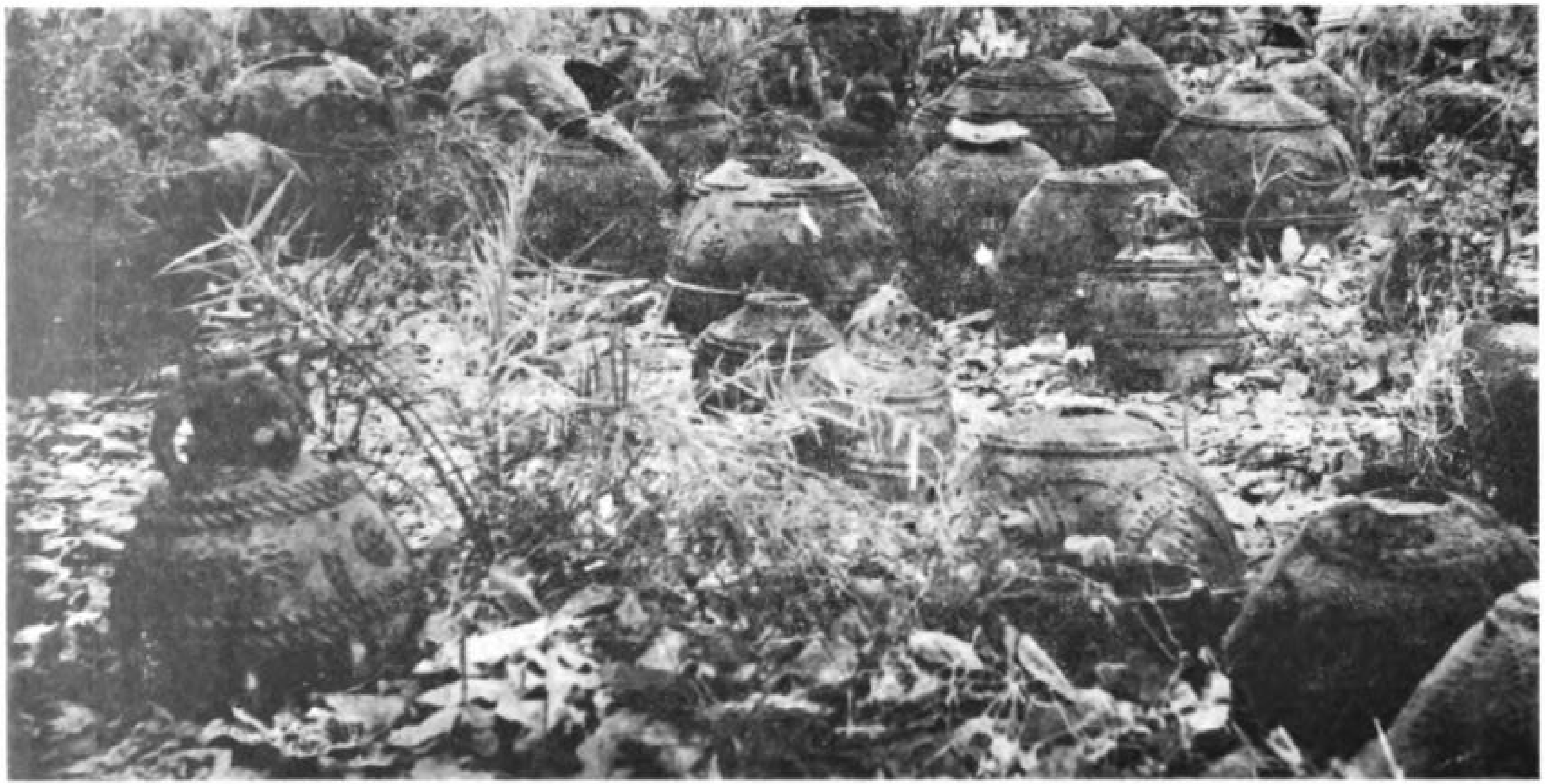

Fig. 16. Cluster of clay domes

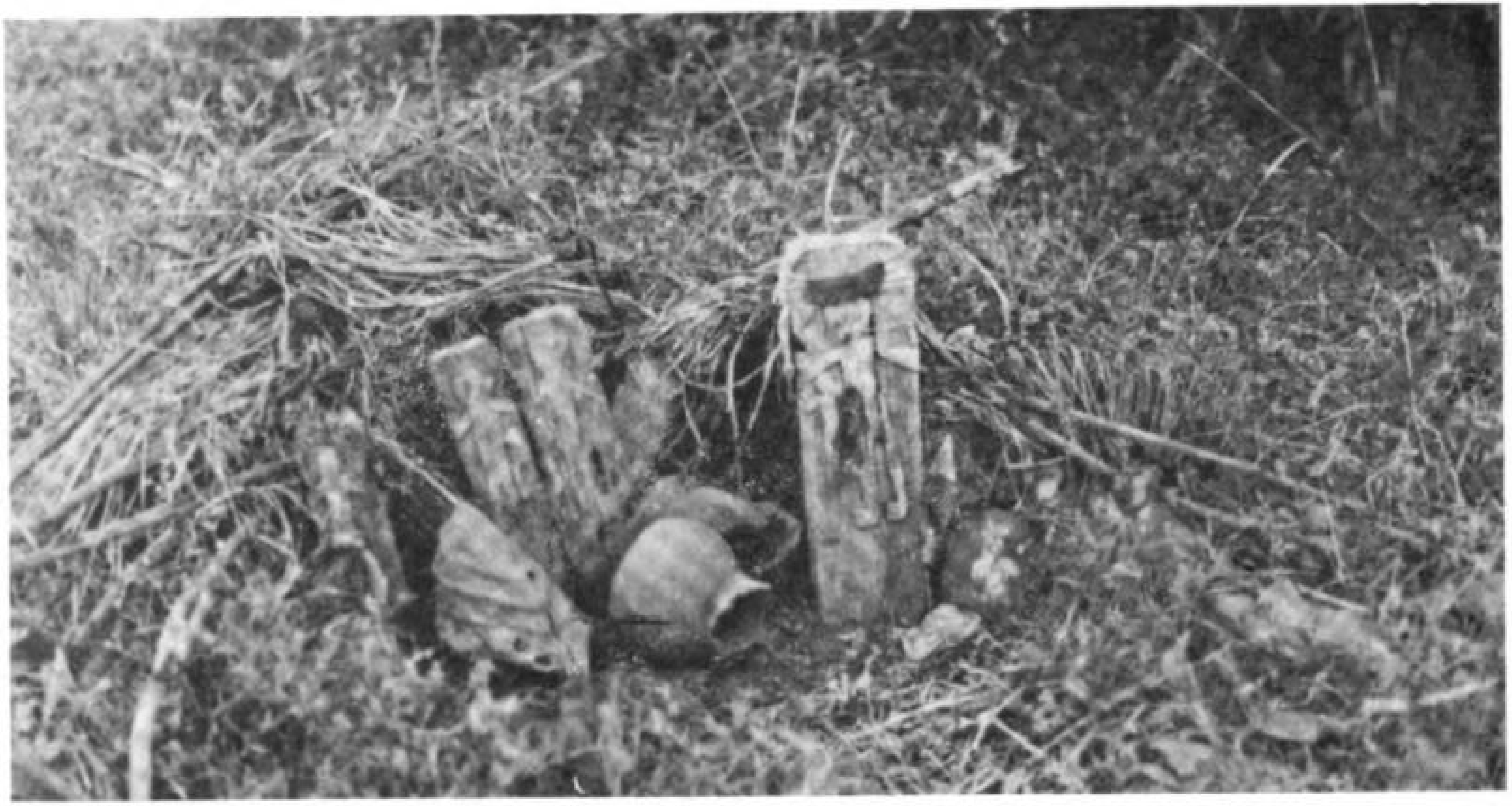

Fig. 17. *Vetra* memorials for the women who died in pregnancy

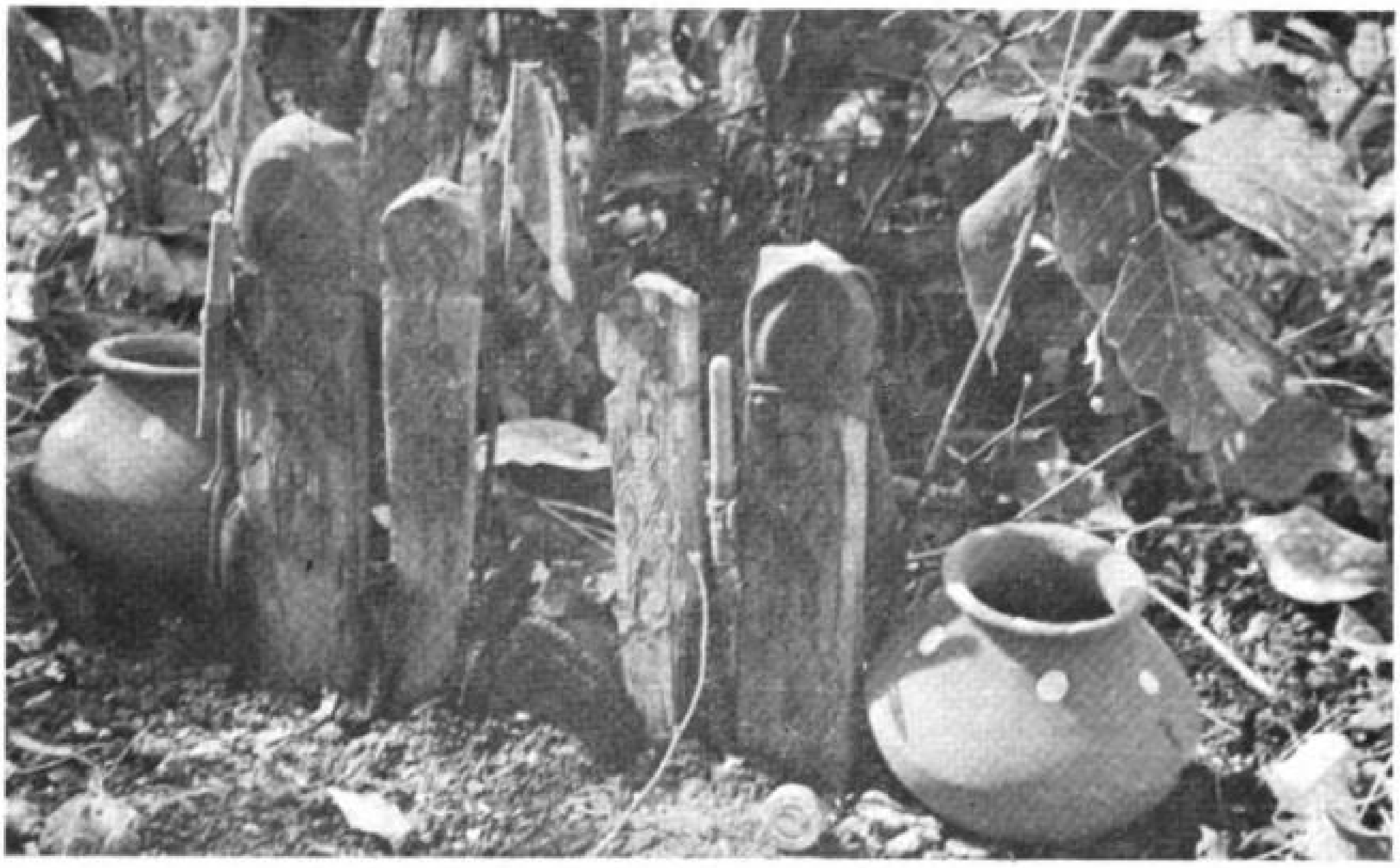

Fig. 18. *Vetra:* Memorials for the women who died in pregnancy, Chodhri, tribe, South Gujarat

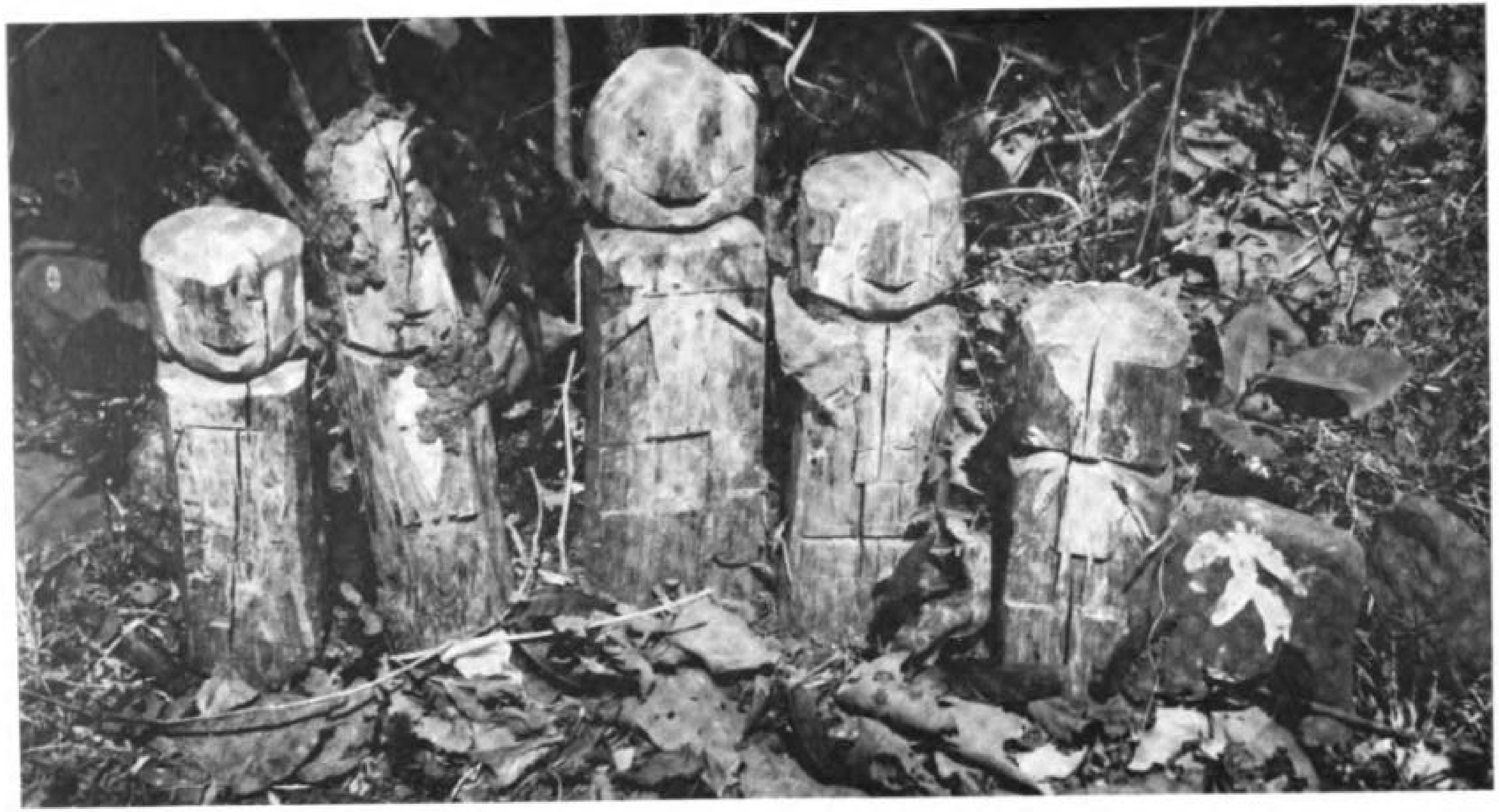

Fig. 19. Wooden memorials

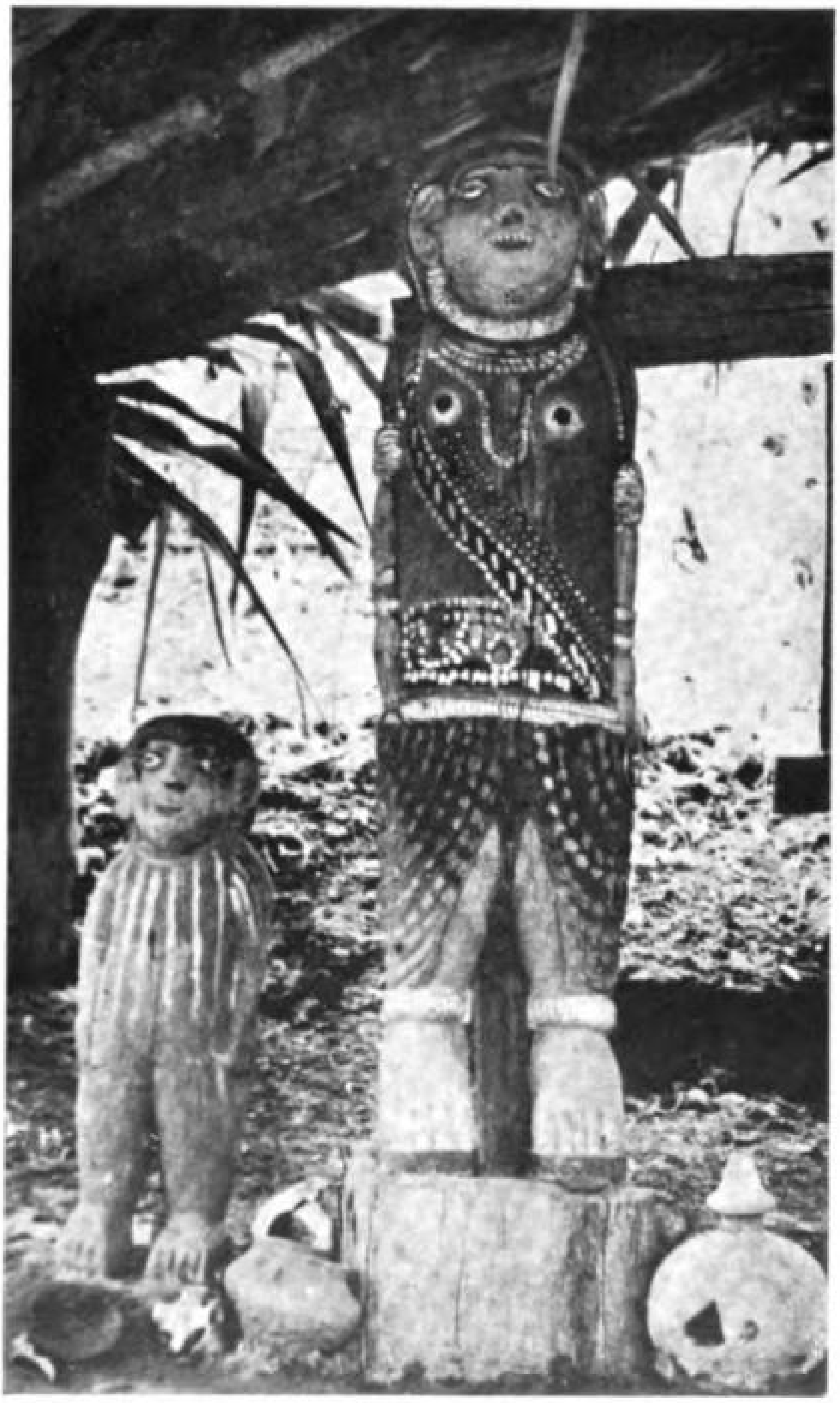

Fig. 20. Installed memorials

M. CHIDANANDAMURTI:

Two Māsti Temples in Karnataka

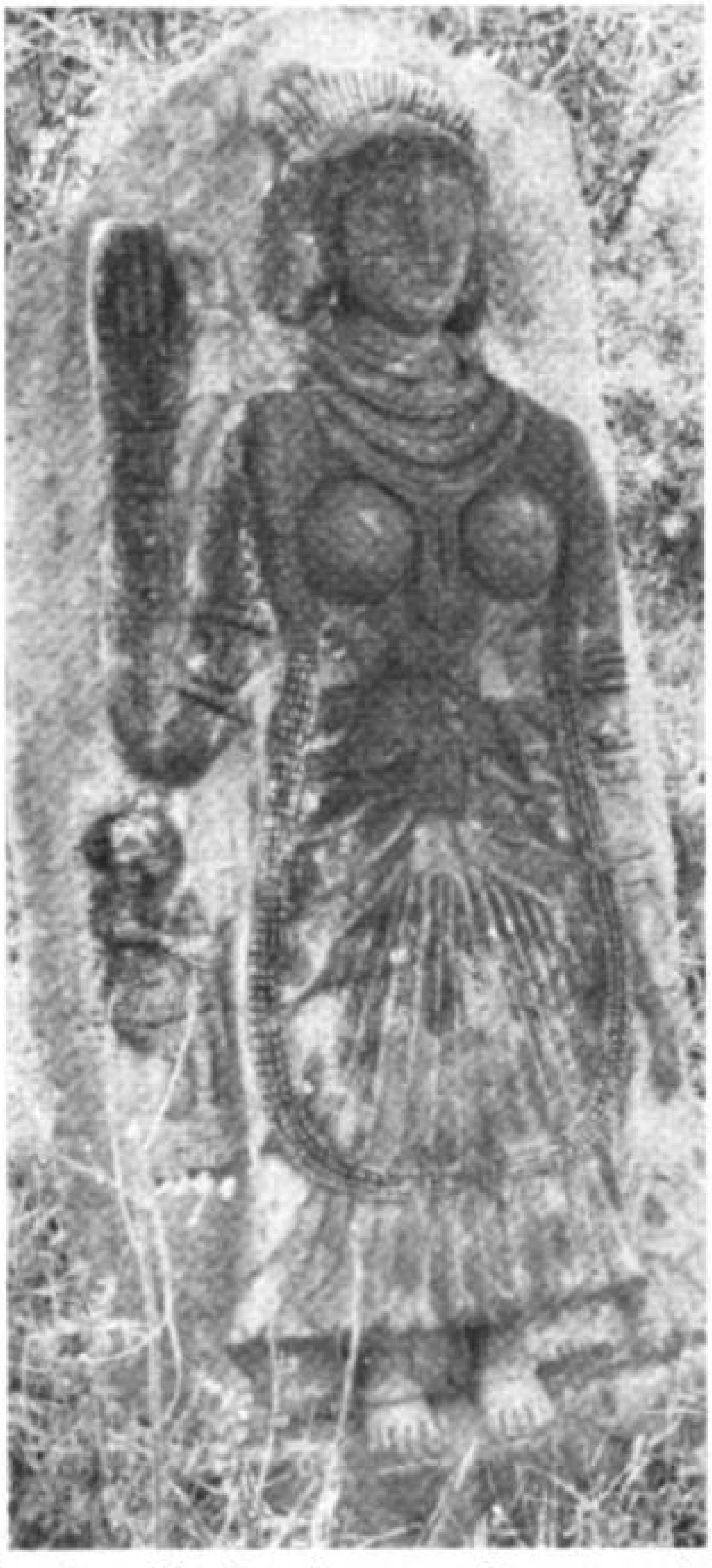

Fig. 1. *Māsti* sculpture at Bommanahaḷḷi

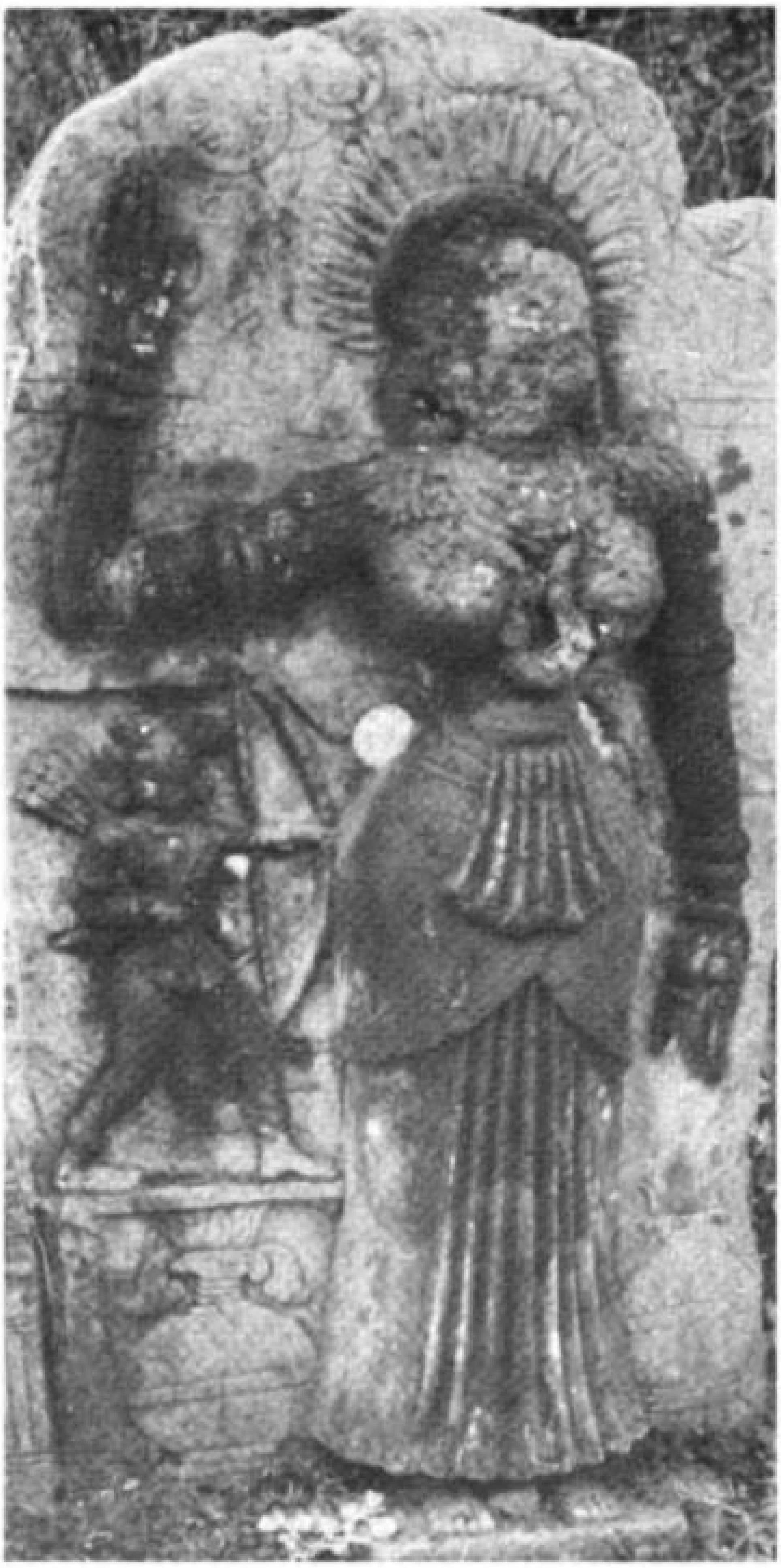

Fig. 2. *Māsti* sculpture at Bommanahaḷḷi.

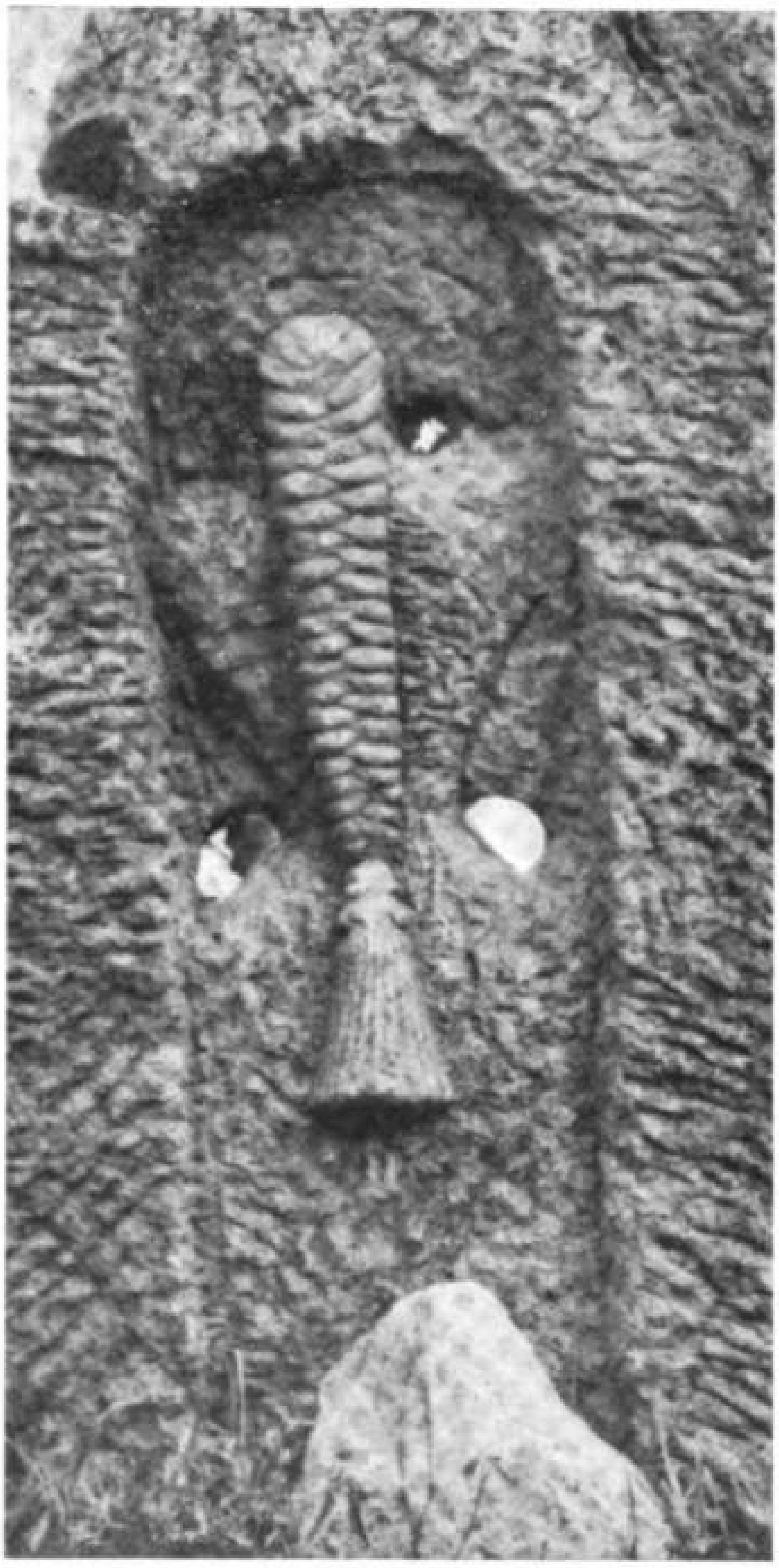

Fig. 3. Back view of Fig. 2

function on formal occasions is more in the nature of evil-remover. Its use in tāntric forms of worship and its association with the sword should be taken into consideration here. That Māstyamma is a fear-evoking goddess, and that the act of *sahagamana* evoked fear and a sense of unexpressed and unfounded guilt in the people should also be taken into consideration while interpreting the significance of the lemon in the *māsti* sculpture and story.

That the right arm of the *māsti* is shown as stretched upward needs interpreting. We know from sculptures that a single arm stretched upwards and attached to a pillar could itself symbolize the *māsti*. In some *māsti* stones, the pillar is depicted by the side of the *māsti* and her husband. In some the stretched arm almost borders the whole panel of sculptures. There can be one arm (*oṇṭi kai māsti*), or two arms (*eraḍu kai māsti*) emerging from the pillar. The raised arm is the most important element in the *māsti* sculpture, and this or the left hand bears a lemon or a lotus. Literary sources and folklore seem to suggest that this posture is *abhaya*, or *āśirvāda* (as in the story of Vaḍḍagere Nāgamma and in the episode of *Rāmanāthacarite* referred above). It is easy to guess that the *māsti* blessed the people with her right arm before entering the fire, and continued to bless her devotees. A hero may or may not become a god, but a *māsti* is invariably considered a goddess. The significance of the pillar is, I think, still to be explained.

That the *māsti* used to decorate herself with ornaments is very clear from all the stories and foreign travellers' accounts. Almost all *māsti* sculptures exhibit lavish decoration. But the *māsti* sculptures found in Bommanahaḷḷi, Channagiri Tk., are the finest specimens of *māsti* images in Karnataka. Of the four *māsti* stones in one place, the biggest, (about five feet six inches high) is richly ornamented (Fig. 1). The *māsti* wears a serene and determined face, exhibiting at the same time innocence and maturity. The husband, a hero, stands dwarfed by her side, a common convention in all *māsti* stones. In the context of the *māsti* stone, the husband pales into insignificance. The second piece of sculpture is small and its face is unfortunately mutilated. Adjacent to it is another small *māsti* sculpture (Fig. 2). A point of interest about these two sculptures is their long braids (*jaḍe*) shown on the rear side of the slab. The *jaḍes* seem to be interwoven with *kedage* petals, as is done even now to small girls, and there is a *kuccu* or tassel hanging from the braid (Fig. 3). This type of braided hair is rarley found in the sculpture of Karnataka.

I have referred here to seven stories current among the people — two connected with temples, two ballads, two from Tumkur and one from Kolar Dts.

1. All the stories contain historical elements. Though there is a general apathy towards traditional accounts, stories of *māstis* are scrupulously preserved. That is suggestive of the relatively higher value attached to the *māstis*. As we have seen, in many *māsti* stones, the picture of the husband is missing or he is given relatively minor importance.

2. Even a betrothal amounts to marriage among a section of Hindus. We have two cases of unmarried but betrothed girls performing *satī*. In one, the girl is formally given the position of a wife by a village headman; in another (Hūna), the girl receives auspicious things from the sand-bed. Anyway, these things were necessary to enable the girls to fulfill the task of the *satī*.

3. There is a unique instance of an unmarried girl refusing to marry a man from a different caste. She commits suicide just to save her honour as well as the honour of her family and caste. She is also called Māstyamma, with an extra epithet, *yīra*(=*vīra*).

4. In almost all instances the heroic husband dies fighting. The wife is convinced of her husband's death only after seeing his belongings, like the sword and the blood-stained clothes. On two occasions, the *māsti* comes to know of her husband's death while collecting water from the sand-bed of a stream. Hūna's husband is a lazy drunkard, and betrays his foolishness by throwing a challenge and fighting with a tiger.

5. Out of love and affection, when her people try to stop the *māsti* from falling into the pyre, she goes to the extent of cursing them. The very moment she decides to die, she is endowed with miraculous powers.

6. Most important of all, the name of *māsti* is preserved by the following:

(a) Erection of a *māsti* memorial stone. In some cases, the historical anecdote is forgotten and the image is worshipped like that of any goddess. The story is generally narrated in all its details. However, some *māsti* stone are allowed to lie neglected.

(b) Erection of a temple over the *māsti* stone, or a small memorial structure (*bṛndāvana*) in the case of brahmin women, was common. Rituals make the goddess significant. Performing a symbolic marriage to *māsti* keeps her memory alive.

(c) The stories of *māstis* are not folk-tales, but myths. It is important to note that a folk-tale is believed to be purely fictitious and people can introduce new elements into the story, whereas a myth has religious function and is always taken to be true. Normally, the story element does not undergo change. A folk-tale is for entertainment; whereas a myth is for instruction and guidance. As a result, historical stories of *māstis* are preserved accurately in myths. These myths are both in prose and in verse.

(d) Naming their children after the *māsti* in the family or community (*okkalu*) circle was common.

7. In some cases, articles belonging to the *māsti*, like a piece of clothing worn by her (for example, the one preserved in Chikkamagalur Dt.,), or things connected with her, are preserved as sacred relics.

8. Some taboos, like a married woman not being allowed to perform the services in *māsti* temples, are also effective reminders. The taboos are expressions of fear, in other words, great respect.

MEMORIAL STONES OF BEḌAS AND KURUBAS — A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES

R. SESHA SASTRI & A. KRISHNA MURTHY

TO the north-east of Konasāgara, a village in Molakalmuru Tk., in the Chitradurga Dt., there is a hamlet belonging to the Nāyaka community. Here we find a stone erected in memory of a hero who died 60 years ago. It is 5′ high and 3′ wide. It is housed in what resembles a small shrine. A sturdy hero wearing a *dhoti* is holding a cheeta by its neck. The cheeta has laid a hind-foot on the hero's legs and a fore-foot on his belly. A dog is attacking the cheeta's hind-leg; another is trying to catch it by its tail. An inscription states that Eramancaiah, son of Nigudoḍayya of the tank, died on Friday, in the year of *Pingaḷa*. A sister of this hero, who is still alive, provides the following information:

Eeramancaiah had been trying for quite sometime to kill the cheeta, which was attacking the villagers. One night there was a close encounter between the two. He variantly fought and finally killed the animal. Dogs also contributed their mite in this fight. The next day, Eeramancaiah was taken in procession with the dead cheeta. But, as he had suffered grievous injuries and mental shock during the fight, he also succumbed in about a week. A month after this, his relative gave a feast and erected a stone tablet in his memory. This memorial was carved by Hanumanthappa, an artist of the village. This is worshipped every year, a day after the *Candramāna Ugādi*.

To the west of Jangamakoṭe, a village in Siddlaghatta Tk., of the Kolar Dt., we find a shrine in a *rāgi* field. Local people refer to this place as '*Vīrāgār*'. It may be noted that the person commemorated through this did not die for any particular cause, as is evident from the sculpture and yet the Kuruba community worship this stone once a year. According to information furnished by the local Kurubas, it is a stone set up in memory of an unmarried man who died a premature death. From what cause he died, they are not able to explain. Whatever may the reason, there was a convention to erect a memorial when an unmarried man died young. The stone under study was erected some seventy years ago.

People belonging to the Kuruba, Golla and Nāyaka communities are, basically, ancestor-worshippers. This is borne out by the existing customs. A study of their funeral rites, the traditions which led to the worship of ancestors, and other related matters may throw light on the origin of these memorial stones. These communities construct a shrine of stone, and erect the memorial stone in it. The figure relieved on the stone stands for the deceased. The circumstances and the manner in which the hero died are normally revealed by such tablets. The Baḍaga tribe belonging to the Nīlagiri region, has built several such shrines, wherein idols made of mud, symbolising their deceased ancestors, are installed.

In Yerabaḷḷi, Challakere Tk., of the Chitradurga Dt., there is a spot where some women are said to have performed *satī* (*Koḍagalu*). This is marked by a number of small stones set in a line. This group of small stones is referred to as *yajamānara-guḍḍe-kacinavaḷu*, or the deceased ancestors. A practice of erecting stones at a fixed spot, whether a person is buried there or not has been current among the Gollas. They believe that this would elevate the deceased to the level of an ancestor. It is, however, to be noted that it is not a burial-ground. On the *Śivarātri* day, all the members of the community worship at this spot.

It appears that this practice of laying memorial stones as part of the last rites is prevalent in one form or another in other parts of the country. The custom appears to stem from a belief that there exists an evil force and it is a duty of the people on this earth to save the soul of the deceased from such a force. The worship of ancestor is also prevalent among the Mariya tribe. They erect hero-stones, not only to commemorate the dead but also to complete the funeral rite. Memorials erected primarily to honour the hero are few and far between.

From a study of such memorial stones the following broad conclusions may be arrived at:

1. Erection of memorial stones may be traced to the belief in the existence of a life beyond death, which is reflected in the performance of the funeral rites.

2. The practice of eulogizing the qualities of a dead person influenced this tradition and led to the creation of various types of memorials. The kings of the time encouraged this practice and made it a status symbol, and the subjects followed the tradition. With the decline of monarchic rule, this practice seems to have come to an end.

Along with the custom of setting up memorial stones for dead heroes, the practice of performing the last rites according to the age old traditions even for those who died a natural death is also continued.

Why the Kurubas call the memorial '*Vīrāgārs*', and why they erected such memorials to the unmarried youths remain a mystery.

III

REGIONAL VARIETIES AND CHARACTERISTICS

EARLY MEMORIAL STONES OF RAJASTHAN

A Preliminary Analysis of their Inscriptions

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

THE memorial stones of Rajasthan cover a span of more than a thousand years. It was in this region that memorial stones developed in the medieval period into a form of architecture, the *catris* or memorial pavilions, which were put up to commemorate Rājput royal and associated families.[1] Seen in the light of this immense potentiality for a detailed study of the Rājasthānī memorial relics, the scope of the present note is rather limited; it covers the period roughly down to the close of the thirteenth cent.; furthermore, it is neither intended as a comprehensive survey, nor is it based on any extensive field work. Its main focus is on the social origins of the stones as they were fashioned in the early mediaeval period, and on how such origins were linked up with the pattern of Rājput polity, which was gradually consolidating itself in that period. Needless to say, the suggestions made here are purely tentative.

The note is based on a few relevant series of publications such as the *Epigraphia Indica; Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy; Indian Archaeology – A review; Annual Report on the Working of the Rajaputana Museum, Ajmer,* and so on. The point that emerges from a study of these publications and which crucially relates to any meaningful future investigations of the memorial stones of Rajasthan is that,

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1. For some interesting remarks on *Chhatris* see Goetz H., *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State,* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 61 ff.

so far, a systematic presentation of the data has been largely neglected; this neglect, which probably stems from the fact that the stones were not considered as a serious theme of study, has affected two aspects most vitally: (i) References in the publications are mostly to non-descript 'memorial stones' which, as the more satisfactorily published ones show, have significant typological variations; (ii) in the majority of cases, the complete texts of inscriptions on the stones are not available. Thus, the circumstances leading to the death which was commemorated remain largely unknown, as also the details of the person or persons commemorated. Such details are necessary in analysing the pattern of the incidence of memorial stones in relation to particular social groups in a region, and the variety of their involvement in situations which caused the memorials to be erected. This kind of information is vital also in the case of *satī* stones, as the practice of *satī* is unlikely to have been current in all strata of society. After all, memorial stones are valuable documents of social history, and it is difficult to subject them to a social analysis if there are large gaps in our information.

The preliminary work, however, is to make a typological study of the stones and a study of their distribution in space and time. From the available relics, there appear to have been two types of stones in the early mediaeval period: (i) Memorial pillars with sculptured tops, the main variations within the type deriving from variations in sculptures. The pillars are locally known as *govardhans* and possibly also as *tīrthambas*.[2] The term *govardhana*[3] or *govardhana-dhvaja*[4] is as early as the memorials themselves; (ii) the vertical slabs, with sculptures in relief are known as *pāliyas* or *devalīs*. The term *devalī* is also old and occurs in the epigraphs[5] on the stones along with its variants, *deulī*,[6] *devakulikā*,[7] etc. The sculptural

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2. *PRASWC* 1911-12, p. 51.
3. *JPASB* 1916, pp. 104-106.
4. *ARIE*, 1964-65, p. 102.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Rajasthan Bhāratī* V, pts., III-IV, p.12.
7. *PRASWC* 1911-12, p. 53.

variations in this type are many, and seem to correspond, at least in some cases, to the character of the occasions which had caused their erection. Thus, in ordinary *satī* stones would figure a couple facing front;[8] if the occasion was the death of an individual in battle, the battle scene would be depicted, as also the horse-man;[9] cattle raids would occasion the depiction of a man driving cattle.[10] Such close correspondence between the three and the form of the memorial stone may not, however, have been universal, and, for a further analysis of the stones from a chronological perspective, it would be interesting to see if there was a trend towards a gradual standardisation of their forms.

As a continuation of what has been said above a few other points regarding the typology of the stones need further investigation: (i) the first concerns the relative chronology of the two types mentioned above. Goetz has made the point that by about the twelfth century *govardhanas* were generally replaced by *pāliyas*.[11] This statement needs further substantiation and, if found to be valid, some explanation should be thought of as to why pillars henceforth assumed a different commemorative function;[12] (ii) how did the memorials originate in this known form? Goetz's derivation of *govardhanas* from tribal memorial pillars of Central India, Rajasthan and Gujarat[13] appears to be valid, and in fact, as a recent article has shown, the association of pillars with the cult of the dead is of extremely early origin.[14] But, if the social context of the transformation of pillars into impressive monoliths in the early historical period

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8. Agrawal, R. C., 'Paśchimī Rājasthān Ke Kuchh prārambhik Smṛtistambha', *Varada* (Hindi), (April, 1963), p. 70.
9. See Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 70 for description of a hero on horseback with two *satīs*.
10. *PRASWC* 1908-9, p. 49.
11. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
12. According to Goetz (*Ibid.*), the function of a *govardhan* was gradually reduced to that of a *kīrtistambha*.
13. Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
14. John Irwin, 'Asokan Pillars: A reassessment of the evidence', *The Burlington Magazine*, (November, 1973), pp. 706-720.

is provided by early Buddhism,[15] then the social process which transformed the humble wooden pillars or the tribals into stone memorials with sculptured tops is something which remains to be investigated. This would apply to the study of the *pāliyas* as well. They are believed to be of Central Asian origin, but the prototypes from Western India to which they are related to by Goetz[16] are far too early for the Rājasthānī specimans. If, however, the connection between the Central Asian memorials and the *pāliyas* of Rajasthan is found to be irrefutable, it should still be examined why in, or from, a particular period this type of memorial tended to proliferate.

Apart from the typology of stones the typology of the contents of inscriptions that occur on the memorials needs detailed study and analysis. A primary classification may be made of what the memorials commemorate. Many of the memorials merely speak of the death of an individual. In some cases an individual's wife or wives performed *satī*. Under this category may be included some inscriptions issued in A.D., 686, A.D., 688, A.D., 692 and A.D., 770 from Chhoti Khatu in the Nagaur Dt., where the death of four wives of four persons are commemorated separately.[17] Similarly, a Puṣkar memorial stone inscription of 1130 records the death of one *Thā* (*Kurānī*) Hiravadevī, wife of *Thā* (*kura*) Kolhava.[17a] Others commemorate both the male member of the family and his wife or wives. Thus, the Lohari inscription of 1179[18] mentions Jalasala and his nine wives in whose names the memorial was erected. An identical specimen would be the one which was set up in honour of the Chāhamāna king, Ajaypāla, and his three wives, Somaladevī, Oṣṭhaladā and Śrīdevī, at Bassi, Nagaur Dt., in 1132.[19]

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Goetz, *op. cit.*, p. 88. For other stone memorials of an early date see Sarkar, H., 'Chhaya stambhas from Nagarjunakonda', *Seminar on Hero-stones*, (ed.), Nagaswamy, R., (Madras, 1974), pp. 93-97.

[17] Agrawal, R. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

[17a] *ARRM* 1919-20, p. 3.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1922-23, pp. 2-3.

[19] *EI* XXXVII, pp. 163-64.

The region-wise spread as well as the spread in terms of social groups which such memorials covered, appear to have been extensive. Two further instances, both from the Jaisalmer area, may be cited. An inscription of the year Bhatika samvat 534 (1158 A.D.); it is not clear whether the inscription is engraved on the usual type of memorial stone or not), from the temple of Cāmuṇḍā, four miles from Jaisalmer,[20] records the demise of Ādi Varāha of the Atri family, supposedly a great poet. Another inscription, engraved on a *govardhana*, about ten miles from Jaisalmer, records that during the reign of Vijayarāja, queen Rājaladevī built a tank and erected a *govardhana* in memory of her daughter's son, Sohagapāla.[21] References may be multiplied to show that persons belonging to different castes, Brahmins, Jains and others, were commemorated through memorial stones; and, although such references may not necessarily be taken to suggest any universality of practice, they may nevertheless show that in all such cases it was not a hero whose death was being commemorated, but that commemoration of the dead had become a social practice, irrespective of what caused it. We shall return to an elaboration of this point later on.

There are, at the same time, memorials to violent death and an analysis of the circumstances which led to such deaths may bring out the significance society attached to them. One series among such memorials relates to the victim of cattle-raids. A very well-known example of this type of memorial is a stone of about the eighth century from Bayana in Bharatpur. The rectangular slab 'sculptured along the top with a row of four animals being driven by a man' bears an inscription[22] which mentions that, in the reign of Śrī-Nanna, in a place called Pimpala-Gaundala, a certain Durgāditya was killed by some robbers in a [cattle raid]. The term *go-graha* is mentioned also in a stone of possibly 1013 from a different region of Pokran in the Jodhpur area, where a *govardhana* was erected to the memory of a member of the Guhila family who had been killed in a cattle-raid.[23] The Jaisalmer area also provides interesting information on memorial inscriptions, found in the form of a group, occasioned by such raids. One record (of Bhatika year 685 = 1309) from Gogaki-talai, five miles from Jaisalmer,[24] mentions Dhulā, son of Īsara and belonging to the Chāhamāna family and Vatsa *gotra*, as having been killed while rescuing cows. The victim of another such raid was Palāniā, son of Velāka and of the same descent.[25] The last record of this group commemorates Muñjaladeva, son of Hemā, descended from the same Chāhamāna family and Vatsa *gotra*, who was killed by robbers while serving his master in the act of rescuing women, cows, horses and camels belonging to Brahmanas.[26]

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[20] *ARRM* 1919-20, p. 3.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *PRASWC* 1908-9, p. 49.

The other series of such memorials relates to those who fell in battle. An interesting representative of this series would be the 12th cent. group of Charlu inscriptions from the Bikaner area, which supply the names of several Mohila chiefs and record the death of Āhara and Ambāraka 'in the battle of Nāgapura' *i.e.*, Nagaur.[27] The memorials (mentioned in the records as *devli*) from Anakhisara in Bikaner — all dated 1283 possibly refer to such an event.[28] A similar group, known from three memorial records, is known to have been found in the Sekhawati area of the former Jaipur state. All the three records, referring to the reign of Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna, are from the village of Revasa in the Sikar Dt., and are of the same date *i.e.*, 1186.[29] The victims, Chandelā Nānnava, Chandelā Dulabhadeva and Chandelā Siṅghara, were killed apparently in the same encounter at the village of Khaluvānā. There is another *devalī* of

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[23] Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[24] *ARRM* 1936, p. 3.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *JPASB* 1920, p. 256 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *ARRM* 1935, pp. 3-5.

1104 from Berasar, Bikaner, mentioned by Agrawal, wherein occurs '*suhāgu raṣasana*', or 'protection of Suhāgu (?)'.[30]

These memorials, then, appear to have been erected to those who were victims of raids, which, elsewhere in the country also, caused similar memorials to be erected.

While no detailed study can be made of the contents of the inscriptions in this short note, what may be underlined is that a classification of the contents is useful for analysing the social composition of the people who were commemorated. Secondly, an attempt may be made to correlate particular situations resulting in commemorations, to particular social groups. Any deviations from the pattern of correlation that may emerge will have to be explained, not in terms of the caste or clan of the person commemorated, but in terms of how much he may be supposed to have moved from the position warranted by his caste or clan. Thus, while ordinary memorials could be erected for a Brahmin, a Jaina or a Rajput, a memorial for violent death in the case of a Brahmin will be explained by how he was involved in such a situation. Again, an analysis of the cases of violent death would show which social groups were generally involved in situations leading to such death. In short, future investigations, relying on the evidence of number, will be able to establish a more effective correlation between inscriptional types and social types.[31]

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[30] Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[31] The memorial stones, in cases where they are available in clusters, also provide some clue for a study of the single clan or multi clan composition of a region; and where the memorials were the results of raids, an analysis of such composition may give some idea of the pattern of inter-class conflict as also of inter-class alignment in a particular period. For example, a memorial cluster in the Sakhawati area of the former Jaipur state relates to a Cāṇḍela *pratigaṇaka* (an area held by the Cāṇḍelas) and to Cāṇḍelas who apparently fought for the Cāhamānas in the period of Pṛthvīrāja III (*ARRM* 1935, pp. 3-5). Similarly, it has been remarked in the light of the evidence of memorial stones, that the "Whole of the Medta provinces was only held by Guhilots" (*PRASWC* 1909-10, p. 61). On the other hand, a cluster of 12 *govardhanas*, found at Pāla near Jodhpur and ranging in date between 1161 and 1187 A.D., refer to at least four castes, Bhici, Gamghala, Dharkaṭa and Pratihāra *JPASB* 1916, pp. 104-106.

But first, in continuation of what has been said at the beginning, it may be pertinent to ask: How universal was the practice of commemoration? Broadly speaking, the practice seems to have been fairly widespread in space and time. For example, apart from the Brahmins[32] and Jainas,[33] mentioned earlier, there was a broad spectrum of other groups which were also represented. Memorials to *śreṣṭhis*, or merchants, of early 12th cent. have been found.[34] A member of a Naigama Kāyastha family, Talhā, son of Bilhaṇa and grandson of *Ṭhā (kura)* Candra, was commemorated by *Ṭhākura* Somadeva in 1158 A.D., as known from a stone at Pilani.[35] There is, also, perhaps quite an early memorial (764 A.D., ?) erected to the daughter of a *veśyā* (courtesan) at Osian in the Jodhpur area.[36] Another, a *satī* slab, from Kalyāṇpur in the Udaipur area, records the death of a member of the *Kamhāra, i.e.*, potters' caste.[37]

While these cases do relate to a wide cross-section of society, what may be highlighted, again, from a rough calculation of the number of records available, is that the memorials — to both normal and violent deaths — were predominantly to the following castes and clans: Pratihāra (*jāti*[38] and *gotra*[39]); Varāha[40] and Mahāvarāha;[41] Rāṭhoda;[42] Guhila,[43] and Māṅgalīya,[44] a sub-division of the Guhila; Chāhamāna,[45] and Bodānā[46] and Mohili,[47] sub-divisions of the Chāhamāna;[48] Debrā;[49] Doḍā;[50] Solāṅki;[51] Dahiyā;[52] Paramāra;[53] Pavāra;[54] Doharā;[55] Bhichi;[56] Ghaṃgala;[57] Dharkaṭa[58] and so on. Further, in a number of cases, official titles or titles indicative of social status, occur on the same records, such titles being *rā(uta)*,[59] *rāja*,[60] *mahāsāmanta*,[61] *rājaputra*,[62] *rāṇa*,[63] etc. In short, where it is possible to relate the memorial stones to any clans or castes, it is mostly the Rājputs that we come across. Chronologically, too, the early memorials of Rajasthan correspond to the formative period of the Rājput polity. It is true that the memorials were not erected to the Rājputs alone, but such diffusion as penetrated different sections of society may rather suggest that the formalization of death through stones by the member of the deceased's family had come to be accepted as one of various symbols of status in society. The stones also gave sanction to the practice of *satī*, which was becoming increasingly common and the incidence of which was quite substantial among the ruling elite of this period. One should further take into consideration the expenses involved in getting the stone sculpted and incised with the inscription by, as one record mentions, a professional craftsman (*rupakara*).[64]

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[32] The memorial records occasionally refer to different sections among the Brahmins. For example, a record speaks of a memorial to Pallival Brahmins, *JA* XL, p. 183.

[33] There are a few interesting specimens of Jaina memorials, termed *niṣedhikā* in the records, from the Kishengarh area. One such *niṣedhikā*, from a record from Rūpnagar, was erected in 961 A.D., in memory of Meghasenācārya by his pupil Vimalasenapaṇḍita (*PRASWC* 1910-11, p. 43). Another, from the same place, was erected in 1019 A.D., in memory of Padmasenācārya, by Citranandin (*Ibid.*). A third, from that, three miles to the south of Rūpnagar, refers to the memorial of Vāliya Ṣaḍḍika, erected by Chāhchideva, and does not seem to be Jaina in origin (*Ibid.*).

[34] Inscriptions of Jhalrapatan of 1109 A.D., and 1113 A.D., *ARRM* 1912-13, Appendix B.

[35] *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 2.

[36] *ARIE* 1961-62, p. 114.

[37] Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

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[38] One of two memorials dated in 936 A.D., from Cherai, Jodhpur, mentions Arjuna, son of Durlabharāja of Pratihāra *jāti* (*Indian Archaeology-A Review* 1959-60, p. 60.).

[39] A record of 1015 A.D., from Cherai, Jodhpur, speaks of a memorial to one of Pratihāra *gotra*, *Ibid.*

[40] *PRASWC* 1911-12, p. 53.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *IA* XL, pp. 181-183.

[43] *PRASWC*, 1909-10, p. 61; *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 52.

[44] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 53.

[45] *Indian Archaeology-A Review* 1962-63, p. 54.

[46] *PRASWC* 1911-12, p. 53.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *ARRM* 1935, pp. 3-5.

[49] *Ibid.*, 1909-10, Appendix D.

[50] *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 2.

[51] *IA* XL, p. 183.

[52] *Ibid.*, XLII, pp. 267-269.

[53] *PRASWC* 1916-17, p. 70.

[54] *Ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 53; also *ARIE* 1964-65, p. 102.

[55] *ARIE* 1959-60, p. 113.

[56] *JPASB* 1916, pp. 104-106.

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ibid.*

The process of the transformation of tribal wooden pillars into memorial stones may also be viewed in this light. The Rājput polity evolved, at least to an extent, as a result of confrontation with original settlers, and inscriptional references, though veiled, bear testimony to Rājput expansion at the expense of the Bhīls, Āhirs[65] and others. This interaction may have resulted in the Rājputs (and it may be

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59. *ARIE* 1954-55, p. 69.
60. *PRASWC* 1909-10, p. 51.
61. *ARIE* 1961-62, p. 115.
62. *Ibid.*
63. A record of 1191 from Unstra, 4 miles west of Barlu in Jodhpur area speaks of *rāṇā* Motiśvara, a Guhilautra, as having been followed in *satī* by his chief queen Rāji, a Mohili (*PRASWC* 1911-12, p. 53).
64. *ARIE* 1952-53, p. 67.
65. Such ideas about colonisation emerge from several records of early mediaeval Rajasthan. Thus, the Ghatiyala inscription of Kakkuka, of A.D., 861, from the Jodhpur area, credits Kakkuka with taking away herds of cattle (implying that *go-graha* was not always a defensive measure) and with the destruction by fire of a village on the hill in the inaccessible Vatanānaka *JRASGBI* 1895, pp. 513-521. See also *EI* IX, p. 80 for another record of A.D., 996 of the same family for the settlement of an area called *Ābhīrajanadāruṇaḥ*, 'terrible because of being inhabited by the Ābhīras'.

underlined here that all Rājputs were not colonisers, as would be evident from the gradual proliferation of Rājput castes)[66] taking over a simple form of memorial and transforming it into something vastly more elaborate, in keeping with the art tradition of the time, which also found its patronage in the emergent Rājput political elite.

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[66] For the process of the Rājputisation of local tribes see, Yadav, B. N. S., *Society and Culture in North India in the twelfth Century*, (Allahabad, 1973), p. 34.

GOVARDHANA PILLARS FROM RAJASTHAN: AN ICONOGRAPHIC STUDY

R. C. AGRAWALA

THE antiquity of erecting memorial stones in honour of dead persons can be pushed back to very remote times. A few early Pratīhāra specimens,[1] recently discovered at Osian (Mārwār), are yet to be subjected to critical study. Some of the early memorial pillars, also called *pāliya* in Gujarat and Rajasthan, contain the figure of a standing male. This figure is relieved within a niche at the top portion of the pillar and bears close resemblance to an image found in religious edifices. The top contains a carving of an *āmalaka* and a *kumbhī*. The inscription is invariably engraved on the lower portion of the vertical slabs or square pillars of the memorial.

Some of the memorial stones (*devalīs* or *pāliyas*), available in quite a large number in the desert area of Western Rajasthan, (formerly Jodhpur-Bikaner and Jaisalmer States), are also designated *govardhanas*, because of the carving of the figure of *Govardhanadhara* Kṛṣṇa in one of the four niches adorning the top of the pillars. The other three sides bear figures of Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and the deceased warrior worshipping a *linga*. Sometimes, the spouse of the warrior, who became a *satī*, was also carved near by. Such memorial pillars have been noticed by us as far as Lodravā[2], about 10 miles from Jaisalmer. One such fragmentary pillar from Pallu (Bikaner area) is preserved in the Government Museum at Bikaner.[3] Such specimens were examined by me at several places in Western Rajasthan and none are so far available in eastern parts of the State. Among the former are the following:

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[1] Bearing inscriptions in the early-medieval *Kuṭila* script.

[2] Goetz, H., "Rajput Reliefs", *Oriental Art* X(3), (London, 1964), p. 168 and fig. 7 on p. 167. The carving of *Govardhanadhara* is much blurred here owing to weathering.

1. A few miles from Merta (Nagaur Dt.), with an inscription of *Vikrama* Year (= *V.S.*) 1052.
2. Pokarana, on way to Jaisalmer, with inscriptions of *V. S.* 1070.
3. Kekīnd, near the famous 10th cent., Śiva temple.
4. Bīṭan, 20 miles from Kekīnd, bearing a blurred inscription of *V.S.* 1002, which speaks of the erection of a *govardhana* by a person whose name is lost. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly identified the pillar as a *tīrthamba* (sacred pillar) but could not understand 'why it was so called'.[4]
5. On the way to the 9th cent. temple at Buchkalā, near Jodhpur.
6. Pāl, near Jodhpur etc.

On the Buchkalā pillar (Figs. 1-3), I noticed two armed Viṣṇus as *Govardhanadhara*. The mace in Viṣṇu's right hand and the raised left palm carries the cup-like Govardhana mountain. This bears testimony to the popularity of the Kṛṣṇa-cult in Western Rajasthan as is also evident from the profuse depiction of Kṛṣṇa-legends on the exteriors of 8-9th cent. Brahmanic temples at Osian, about 35 miles from Jodhpur. Whether it was due to the impact of the Ābhiras, is a problem which requires further confirmation, though the Ghaṭiyala pillar inscription of *V.S.* 918 does refer to the existence of Ābhiras in the Jodhpur region during the period. The warrior or chieftain referred to in such memorial pillars was probably ranked as great as Kṛṣṇa, the saviour of cows, and Vraja people from the wrath of Indra. And it was in fitness of things to pay him a glowing tribute by depicting the figure of *Govardhanadhara* on one side of such memorial pillars installed on the bank of tanks and rivulets or on cremation grounds. It is, of course, not possible to agree with Dr. Goetz[5] who has opined that "these pillars do not represent a local art, but must have been imported or may be the products of wandering masons from Ajmer". As already pointed out, the cult of Kṛṣṇa was quite popular in the Jodhpur-Bikaner regions of Rajasthan during the pre-mediaeval period, and so there was no point in associating the *Govardhana* pillars with masons and architects from Ajmer. Moreover, we have not come across, so far, even a single contemporary or early sculpture of the Kṛṣṇa cult from the Ajmer region.

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[3] Goetz, H., *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, (Oxford, 1950), fig. 16.

[4] Bhandarkar, D.R., *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of India — Western Circle, Poona for the period ending March* 1911, p. 37.

We may recall the several *līlās* of Kṛṣṇa, elegantly carved on the Gupta Pillars of Maṇḍor, and now preserved in the Government Museum at Jodhpur.[6] One of these Gupta pillars (from Maṇḍor, ancient Māṇḍavyapura, capital of the Pratīhāras) preserves the *Govardhanadhara* theme alone, covering a space of six feet eight inches in height. The flat torque and the heaviness of the modelling of figures therein bear testimony to the survival of Kuṣāṇa traditions. The Govardhana mountain on the Maṇḍor pillar bears a serpent, a lion and a horse-faced Yakṣī. Such a graceful depiction of Kṛṣṇa has not been discovered even in the Mathura region so far.

An earlier representation of *Govardhanadhara*-Kṛṣṇa may well be seen in the early Gupta terracotta plaque from Rangamahal, exhibited in the Government Museum at Bikaner.[7] Here, Kṛṣṇa wears a turbaned crown and is shown with moustaches, under the impact of Gāndhāra Art. The depiction of the *Śrīvatsa* mark in the centre of Kṛṣṇa's chest is unique here. It is very likely that the memorial pillars depicting *Govardhana* carvings on one of the four

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5. Goetz, H., *op. cit.*, p. 30.
6. Agrawala, R.C., *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Calcutta, 1957), XXII (i), pp. 63-4, figs. 1-2.
7. Agrawala, R.C., *Journal of Indian History*, (Trivandrum, 1960), XXXVIII (3), pp. 499-503, plate I; Goetz, H., *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

sides, were erected in honour of persons who had died during cattle-raids in the vicinity. All the memorial pillars are, of course, not designated *govardhanas* in the inscriptions engraved at the base, and not all of them depict this particular aspect of Kṛṣṇa; hence this suggestion. A memorial pillar of Naṇṇa from Bayānā[8] (in the Bharatpur Dt., of Eastern Rajasthan) records the death of one Durgāditya in a cattle raid, but the carving of the figure of *Govardhanadhara* is conspicuous by its absence on this slab. Such representations are not available in this part of the country including the Mathura region, which was the cradle of the Kṛṣṇa cult. This is quite amazing and all the more enhances the importance of the Rājasthānī *Govardhana* pillars, the earliest extant specimen of which is available towards the 10th cent. Future exploration work may enable us to push their antiquity, keeping in view the carving of Kṛṣṇa legends on the exteriors of 8th cent. Brahmanic temples at Osian, near Jodhpur.

The carvings of *Govardhanadhara*-Kṛṣṇa on some of these memorial pillars from Western Rajasthan may be grouped as below:

(A) Two-armed Kṛṣṇa, carrying a mountain on the left palm and a mace in the other, as in the pillar near Buchkalā referred to above. An inscribed memorial of this type was also examined by me at Pāl, near Jodhpur. The inscription of *V.S.* 1218 on it refers to its epithet, *Govardhanna*, in line 5, while the other, of the *V.S.* 1242, also has the same epithet in line 4.[9] These inscriptions also refer to the burial-place of Jāmaka (*i.e.*, Yāmaka) where the memorials were erected. This is very interesting, and so also a number of *gotra* and clan names cited in these inscriptions, a detailed study of which is very important from the ethnographic and linguistic points of view. A cluster of memorial pillars at Pāl, datable in the 12th cent., suggest that it was a cremation-ground (Jāmaka) and not the actual place where a particular warrior or chieftain had died.

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[8] Slab now preserved in the Ajmer Museum; Bhandarkar, D.R., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[9] Tessitory, L.P., *Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), XII (3), (Calcutta, 1916), pp. 104-6.

(B) A four-armed *Govardhanadhara* is found on a mediaeval pillar, buried in sand, enroute to Gāgānā, about two miles from Pāl. The inscription is not legible. Here, Kṛṣṇa carries a mountain on his left palm and holds the conch in his left hand held akimbo. The upper right hand carries Viṣṇu's mace, the lower right hand having been placed on his right thigh. This testifies to the sublimation of Kṛṣṇa as four-armed Viṣṇu himself lifting the Govardhana mountain, though, in the Gupta or early mediaeval art of Rajasthan, we do not come across any such depiction of a four-handed *Govardhanadhara* as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu. At Khajurāho, of course, we see Kṛṣṇa with a crown and with more than two hands.

(C) A four-armed *Govardhanadhara* is found on top of a life-size mediaeval pillar at Jhanwar, a few miles from Pāl, in Jodhpur Dt. The mountain and a conch therein clasped to the chest are carried in the upper and lower right hands respectively, while the inner and lower right hands support a conch and a mace. It is interesting to notice a somewhat identical shape of the mace in all these reliefs; it is the *gadā* of Viṣṇu commonly found in mediaeval Indian sculpture.

As the *Govardhana* pillars from Rajasthan are decidedly important documents of ancient Indian ethnography, linguistics, folk art and iconography, there is no doubt that a survey of Western Rajasthan and a critical study of the material, are our primary and immediate concern. It is equally important to know whether they had begun to be carved or not during the early-mediaeval period in this region.

A passing reference may also be made to the memorials, called *niṣedhikas* erected in honour of Jain saints. In Western Rajasthan, on the basis of the epigraphical evidence, the antiquity of these may be pushed back to mediaeval times. The upper portions of such stones depict a carving of a *Tīrthankara*. They were generally installed at a place where the Jain saint was buried.

PĀLIYAS OF SAURASHTRA

SARYU DOSHI

ALTHOUGH memorial stones exist in many parts of India, nowhere do they seem to be as numerous as in Saurashtra. Clustered in awesome groups (Figs. 1-3), their presence is felt all over the countryside; and, as James Tod declared over a hundred and fifty years ago, "these memorials of the chivalrous days of Saurashtra forcibly strike the wanderer . . . planted thick as grave-stones in an English church-yard".[1]

One wonders why the tradition of memorial stones is so much more noticeable here than in most other regions of India. Whether the antiquity, or the sacredness, or the unusually vast numbers of sepulchral stones is responsible for this, is yet to be known.

Contrary to the popular belief, almost all the memorial stones of this State belong to the last three or four hundred years; very few of them date earlier than this. The noticeable increase in their numbers in recent centuries appears to be due to a complex interplay of political, historical, social and religious forces. Politically, Saurashtra was fragmented into tiny kingdoms governed by petty chieftains. These rulers were perpetually at war with one another, their preoccupation being either territorial acquisition or settling of old feuds, and not the welfare of their subjects. Their respect for law and authority was, at the best of times, scanty, with the result that a state of insecurity pervaded the land.[2] The coming of the Kathis —

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1. Tod, J., *Travels in Western India,* (Delhi, 1971), p. 301.
2. *The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* (hereafter *Gazetteer*) Vol. VIII, (Kathiawar), (Bombay, 1884), p. 116.

probably, a wandering tribe from Central Asia[3] — appears to have aggravated the situation. Entering Saurashtra through Kutch in C. 1400, they lived by plunder, attaching neither disgrace nor reproach to their rapacious habits.[4] About a century later, they began to settle down and lead a normal life. But this process was gradual and partial; it did not help in bringing peace to the region. The threat to the life and property of the common man remained unmitigated.

Some idea of this unsettled condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century can be obtained from Colonel Walker, who went to administer the province of Jhalavad in 1807. The "Kathis, Jats, Mianas and other roving tribes kept its few people in continual alarm. In most parts of Jhalavad the husbandman went armed to the scene of his labour and, in every village, a tall tree or other raised station was used as a watchtower, from which a sentinel gave notice of the approach of the most dreaded predatory horse. The cattle, which, with their household vessels and ploughs, formed the villagers' sole wealth, were hastily driven from the fields to the shelter of the scanty village defences, or, if overtaken by freebooters, were soon wending their way across the Ran, to a ready market in Cutch or Vagad."[5] Similar circumstances prevailed in other parts. Most villages were surrounded with fortifications. Interestingly enough, Tod mentions watchtowers, "placed so as to protect the whole village", and which had "become an important feature in the scenery of this region."[6]

However, when it came to social mores, these apparently lawless people closely adhered to a set of values which, in its emphasis on honour, valour and chivalry, was not unlike that of medieval Europe. Their code of conduct demanded unquestioned obedience by both men and women. Self-sacrifice for a cause was the noblest of ideals, the hero considered it *de rigeur* to stake his life for this ideal. Indoctrinated by this and schooled in a rigid pattern of behaviour, men and women unhesitatingly laid down their lives to uphold their social and religious beliefs: to defend their village, to safeguard their cattle, or to proffer help to those in distress.[7] Not, unexpectedly, the right to avenge personal wrongs, was given this status. A man to whom justice was denied became an outlaw, or *barvatiyo*.[8] His society held him, not a criminal, but an avenging hero; his acts of harassment and violence to his enemy were viewed as a legitimate, if somewhat desperate, means of carrying out personal vendettas.[9]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[6] Tod, J. *op. cit.*, p. 325.

The turbulent nature of the times on the one hand, and an inflexible code of conduct on the other, produced a type of people noted for their courage and heroism. They preferred death to dishonour, and enthusiastically practised all the rules implicit in their social code. Society, on its part, recounted their valiant deeds from generation to generation. Stirring tales of superhuman endurance and bravery by men, women and even animals[10] passed into the folklore of the land; many panegyric ballads or elegiac verses were spun around their selflessness.[11] Stone tablets, or *pāliya* as they are called in this part of the country, were erected

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[7] Many folk tales revolve around this theme. A touching one, about a group of Vanjāras (a nomadic tribe) camping outside the village of Rati Devdi, may be summarised here. One day, when the men of Rati Devdi were away at work, the marauding chief of Maliya seized the opportunity to attack the village. The chieftain of Rati Devdi put up a valiant fight and, though mortally wounded, fought the assailants. When a passing group of Vanjāra women saw this sight, (the Vanjārā men were away digging clay), though not connected with the village in any way, they grabbed whatever implements they could lay their hands on and rushed to the aid of the chieftain of Rati Devdi. In the encounter that ensued all of them were killed. The grateful people of Rati Devdi built *pāliya* for the eighteen brave Vanjārā women who thus laid down their lives.

[8] *Gazetteer*, pp. 116, 325 and 329.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 116 and 329.

[10] Near Junagadh, there are two villages belonging to the Carana community, known as Manekavāḍa and Madharivāḍa. There was a dispute over the boundary-line between these two villages. All attempts at demarcating it had been in vain, and the quarrel continued. One day, both sides stood there to supervise the final marking of the boundary-line; but a disagreement at

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one stage led them to come to blows. Just then, they saw a huge serpent coming their way. Someone remarked, "Let's ask the *nāgadevatā* to trace the dividing line between us". Immediately both groups stood up with joined hands and addressed the snake: "O Revered One, it is true that you are a divine creature. Please resolve our conflict for us. We agree to treat the path you take as the border between our villages".

The snake lay motionless for a moment, then straightened his body and glided forward. The crowd followed the snake, planting stakes along the tracks made by it. There were shouts of appreciation as both sides noted with satisfaction the impartial division of their lands. And then, the snake's path was blocked by a dried-up pointed stump of a tree. For a moment the snake stood still and the crowd wondered aloud, "What will happen now? This tree was planted by our elders on the border of the two villages. Let us see which village will profit from *nāgadevatā's* action."

The snake seemed to contemplate for a while, for whichever way he went, one village would benefit at the expense of the other. Though it was a question of a small piece of land, the snake, undeterred, went straight up onto the stump. As he climbed the top, the pointed end went right through his head. The snake forced himself to climb down the stump on the other side and in the process was sliced into two pieces.

The awed and grateful people built a little temple to the snake across the river from the village of Manekvāḍa. The snake has been defined as "Māl Bāppā". Many families worship it as their tutelar deity (Fig. 34).
(Translated from *Saurashtrāni Rasadhār*, Vol. 5, 1974, p. 68-69).

[11] An extremely popular folk song centres around a young princely couple who willingly chose to die so that the village *vav* (step-well) could have water. The verses tell us that the land was dry for many seasons and people were dying from lack of water. The soothsayers prophesied that there would be water only if the ruling chief made an offering of his eldest son and daughter-in-law to the *vav*. Not for a moment did the young couple flinch from this fate. An auspicious day was set for this event. It is said that with each step that they took towards the *vav* bottom, the water rose that much and finally engulfed them. There is water now, ends the song, not only for the people but also for the birds and beasts".

in their memory.[12] They were shining examples for all to admire and emulate.

Perhaps the most celebrated hero in the annals of Saurashtra is Śrī Hammirji Gohil, who, in the year 1398, fell fighting to save the temple of Somanātha from the iconoclastic attack of the Islamic invaders. A legend tells us that he fought with such ferocity that, even when his head was cut off, his body kept going. A *pāliya* enshrined in the courtyard of the Somanātha temple at Prabhas-Patana marks the place where Hammirji's head is believed to have fallen, while more than half a mile away stands a similar memorial where his body is supposed to have come to rest. Possibly, the people of Prabhas-Patana set up the two *pāliya* of Śrī Hammirji Gohil as a tribute to his intrepid gallantry. Though such instances are not unknown, the erection of a *pāliya*, as a rule, is a family affair, and it is the family members of the dead hero that commission the commemorative tablet[13]. Moreover, the practice of putting up a *pāliya* at the spot where the warrior fell appears to have been abandoned gradually in favour of placing the *pāliya* outside the village of the deceased. If a hero died away from his home town, it became customary to mark the spot where he breathed his last with a little pointed stone known as *raṇakhambhi*, and erect the *pāliya* outside his village. Religious in intent, this custom appears to have stemmed directly from the practices of ancestor-worship.

The cult of ancestor-worship, its tenets and rituals, have contributed substantially towards keeping the custom of erecting memorials alive till this day. According to the beliefs of ancestor-worship, the *pāliya* represents the dead ancestor; by erecting it outside the village and not at the spot where the hero fell, the family felt that the spirit of the dead had been brought home from an alien surrounding. This sentiment held true for the *satī pāliya* too, although instances of a woman undergoing *satī* away from home were rare in the extreme.

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[12] The word *satī* here means women who die for truth, or for their ideals and is much deeper in its definition than the conventionally accepted one where a *satī* is equated with a woman who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

[13] Vora, M., "Suravironi viragatithī māndī avagatīyānā mota sudhīno anekarangī itihāsa sāchavata pāḷiyā", *Kumar*, No. 564, (December, 1970), p. 476.

The *pāliya* soon became identified with the ancestral figure it represented and, as *pitr* (in the case of the man) or *satima* (in the case of a woman), it assumed an exalted position in the family hierarchy. The family brings to the *pāliya* every new addition — a newborn infant or a newlywed bride — for receiving the ancestor's blessings. Daughters-in-law of the family observe *purdah* whenever they happen to pass by the *pāliya* of their male ancestor. In some communities, news of death in the family is conveyed to the *pitr pāliya* before being publicly announced.

On an agreed day in the year, generally the day after *Divāli*, or *Caitra pāḍva*, people pay homage to their family *pāliyas* in the form *pāliya-pūjā*. After laying the stone, one of the descendants applies to it *sindūr*, and makes an offering consisting of a lamp, a coconut, a piece of cloth, incense-sticks, sweets, and occasionally even opium. After offering opium, the worshipper passes it on to all those who have assembled for the ceremony. Because of the *purdah* system, women seldom participate, even as onlookers, in such ceremonies.

Many families venerate a particular ancestral spirit as their *kuladeva*, or *kuladevī* (tutelar deity), and invest it with supernatural powers. Some heroes, or *satīs*, are considered to possess divine qualities and are given the status of village deities. Fairs and festivals are held in their honour; devotees, from near and far, throng for *darśan* and some beseech special favours. Although basically benevolent, it is also believed that these deities are quick to take offence and impose curses on the offender — a situation to be avoided at all costs as the guilty can placate the deity only after performing numerous propitiatory rites involving enormous financial outlay.

Besides the war heroes, those who died of *traga*, or by wounding oneself, were also remembered[14] (Fig. 4). The latter custom was prevalent among the Carana and Bhat communities. Their body was held sacred, and a mere threat from a Carana or a Bhat that he would hurt himself was enough to straighten out any recalcitrant individual.[15] For, to cause these holy persons to immolate themselves was not only considered a unpardonable crime, but also a heinous sin. Whenever conditions deteriorated economically or politically, and the plight of the common man became unbearable, a Carana or Bhat would set himself on fire. This act of *traga* was a specific protest against the ruler's sins of omission and commission, and its purpose was to awaken those in power to the realities of the situation. Needless to say, its impact was immediate.

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[14] *Gazetteer*, pp. 136-137.

Another type of hero-stone was erected in honour of persons who performed *kamala-pūjā* — the ritual wherein a devotee offered his own head to the *Śivalinga*. Often, both husband and wife performed this *pūjā*. The stones found around Porbundar bear testimony to the memorials erected in their honour.

In recent centuries, however, the tradition of memorial stones has acquired a new twist. The popular mind has begun to associate the idea of erecting a stone tablet with those who meet an untimely end — whether it be a heroic death in battle, or an accidental death of snake bite. In both instances a *pāliya* would be set up, but with different intentions; for the hero, it would be a commemorative tablet as before, whereas in the case of the person who dies an accidental death — known as *avagatiya*[16] — its function would be to serve as the resting place for one whose soul would otherwise find no peace. A *pāliya* is set up for an *avagatiya* only when the spirit of the dead asks for it. Such demands, according to a widespread belief deeply rooted in superstition, come from persons whose life is cut short and whose many worldly desires remain unfulfilled. The restless spirit of such a person is believed to haunt and harass friends and relatives. Whenever such a situation arrives, the family

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15. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

16. Vora, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 473-476. Here Shri Vora explains this concept very effectively and lucidly.

establishes a communication with the spirit-world through a professional medium, and ascertains both the causes of the spirit's distress and the means to obviate it. Almost invariably, a *pāliya* is demanded and sometimes the place where it should stand and the offerings that should be made to it are indicated.[17] The family spares no effort or expense to bring peace to the disturbed soul. If, for example, the deceased happens to be an unmarried young man, one of the rites connected with the setting up of the *pāliya* is the wedding between the deceased and *lila*, a wooden doll, the "evergreen bride." This is done in the hope that the spirit will not be troubled by lingering sexual urges.[18] Strangely enough, such a rite is not considered for young unmarried girls dying suddenly. Generally, *pāliyas* are erected to women whose death occurs during childbirth, for, it is held that a mother's soul is inconsolable at being seperated from her little one.

The *pāliyas* are meant to bring solace to the disturbed spirits of the dead; they are, neither different from warrior or *satī* stones, nor can be segregated from the rest. Unlike warrior or *satī* stones, however, the other memorials are not considered sacred; rather, the spirits of these are relegated to the nether world, and considered to be dangerously prone to evil tactics if offended. In keeping with their lower status in the spirit-world, their *pūjā* does not take place on New Year's day, but is held on the inauspicious *narakacaturdasi*, a day before *Divāli*. Respect is paid to them more out of fear than reverence.

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[17] A thief belonging to the Kolī community was killed while stealing a bullock-cart. His family, in accordance with the wishes expressed by his spirit, has erected his *pāliya* by the roadside near Mādhavapur. By the spirit's wish a huge log is kept near the *pāliya*. If the log disappears, the family wastes no time in replacing it.

Such specific wishes are also known to have been expressed by those who died a hero's death. The spirit of a royal drummer who was killed in battle at Jetpur, desired that during *pāliya-pūjā* it should receive offerings of millet *rotis* and raw onions instead of the traditional sweets made with milk and ghee.

[18] All these ceremonies were performed for a young man who was drowned near Porbundar approximately five years ago. In keeping with the changing times, his *pāliya* features him on a bicycle — his favourite vehicle. In this instance, the *pāliya* was put up by his friends and colleagues from a cement-factory where he used to work. The Employee's Welfare Committee of this factory was most generous with its funds in ordering the memorial stone and setting it up in a little pavilion.

A. Etymology and Synonyms: There is no consensus of opinion on the exact derivation of the word *pāliya*. According to one school of thought, the word originated from the Sanskrit noun *pāla*, meaning protector or guardian;[19] its context here being: he who died to uphold or protect his code of ethics. Thus *pāliya* is the vernacular equivalent (corruption?) of the classical *pāla*. Initially, the *pāliyas* must have signified the commemorative stones of those who died for a cause. In course of time, this specific definition faded into a more general one, implying any type of memorial stone. Another school of thought claims that the word *pāliya* comes from the root *pāl*, meaning to protect or guard.[20] The subscribers to this view argue that, since it is we who look after the stone-tablets of our forebears and offer them worship, we are the protectors of the memorial stones; hence *pāliya* indicates those that are protected.

These two interpretations of *pāliya* stem from a certain ambiguity in the word *pāla*, which, though not present in its Sanskrit source, does exist in old Marathi and colloquial Gujarati.[21]

A third view links *pāliya* with *pāla*, or a group of soldiers in a skirmish.[22] The connection between the two words evidently arose from the custom of setting up memorials for heroes killed in an encounter with the enemy. Later, the word *pāliya* became applicable to all commemorative stones regardless of the cause of death.

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[19] Apte, V., *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Part II, p. 1015.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 1015.

[21] *Mahārāṣṭra Śabdakośa*, (Poona, 1936), Vol. 5, pp. 2041-2043.

[22] Parmar, K., "Saurashtranā mṛutyu smārako ane tenā śilpa pratīko", *Saurāshtrani Asmitā*, (Bhavnagar, 1968), p. 519.

The last, and a somewhat less convincing, explanation traces the etymology of *pāliya*, or *pātiya*, the Gujarati word for a flat slab of wood or stone.[23] Those in favour of this view maintain that the word is related to the appearance of these memorial stones.

An evaluation of all this evidence suggests that perhaps, at first, the word *pāliya* was applicable to the commemorative stones of those who died as protectors or guardians of the social and ethical order. But, gradually, the early meaning of this word was superceded by the second one, *i.e.*, those who are protected by us. Two factors — the cult of ancestor-worship and the increasing prevalence of setting up stone slabs for the disturbed spirits of the dead — appear to be responsible for this change in connotation.

Pāliyas are also known as *pavaliya* (a corruption of *pāliya*) *khambhi*, *śurāpurā* and *śūradhana*.[24] If, at any stage, there were any differences in their meanings, they no longer exist.

B. Iconography and Types: In appearance, a *pāliya* is comparable to a gravestone. It is a flat stone slab, either rounded or pointed at the top; its front and sides are polished, while the back is left unfinished. Though the dimensions vary, generally a *pāliya* is approximately about 80-120 cms. in height 50-60 cms. in length, and 20-30 cms. in width. It invariably faces east, and is divided into two sections: the upper featuring a carved motif and the lower bearing a brief inscription.

In sharp contrast to the elaborately carved and inscribed *vīragals* of Karnataka that not only graphically portray the actual circumstances of the hero's death, but also convey in their inscriptions such information as land grants made to the hero's family, the *pāliyas* of Saurashtra are remarkably simple. The carving on a *pāliya* consists of a stylised representation of the deceased and etching of the sun and the moon. Although these carvings yield no information concerning the manner in which a person died, some information may be obtained from the inscription engraved on these *pāliyas*. A *pāliya* at Phulka, for example, states that in *V.S.* 1475 (A.D. 1419) Parmar Raj Kasia, son of Parmar Maru Haria, was killed while defending the village and protecting cows and women.[25] Similarly, a *pāliya* at Piprali dated *V.S.* 1546 (A.D. 1490) erected in memory of Rat Hemo, tells us that he was killed while rescuing the village cattle.[26] But such examples are few and far between. As a rule, the engravings on most *pāliyas* are confined to giving the name of the hero and the date of his death. The brevity of the inscriptions on the monumental *pāliya* of the Rajput chiefs at Ghumli led Colonel Tod to remark that "these attest that the Rajpoot is no egotist, and that he was not in the habit of incribing all the virtues under heaven to him who fell in his country's cause, the simple name and date of self-devotion, appearing to have sufficed for the eulogy of the deceased."[27]

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[23] Various knowledgeable persons in Saurashtra spoke in this vein while discussing the subject.

[24] Parmar, *op. cit.*, pp. 514-524. My field work led me to obtain information that contradicts the conclusions and references of Mr. Parmar, specially those relating to the definition of terms, etc.

Hero Stones: The hero faces north.[28] He is shown riding either a horse (Fig. 5) or a camel (Fig. 6). On some, he is driving a chariot (Fig. 7); on some others he merely walks (Fig. 8). The difference noticed here has been taken to convey the social position or the situation of the hero at the time of his death *i.e.*, shown by whether he was seated upon a horse, riding in a chariot etc. But there appears to be very little evidence to support this conclusion. There can be little doubt that these motifs are recognised community symbols and are used for every member of the community without any reference to the social status of the deceased. The fact that the Rabaris are always shown on camels bear this out.

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[25] *Gazetteer*, p. 612.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 614.

[27] Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[28] Though rarely, some *pāliyas* depict the hero facing southward (Fig. 3). No suitable explanation for this is forthcoming even from the stone-masons who carve the memorials. The suggestion, that it may be the sculptor's mistake, is also not convincing.

The horserider, too, may have been, at first, a symbol for some particular community, but in the last few hundred years, it appears to have crystallised into a universal symbol, being employed for the *pāliyas* of Rajputs, Kathis, Harijans and even sailors.[29]

Sometimes, two persons are shown astride a horse or a camel (Fig. 9). Apparently, they represent two members of the same family — father and son, or two brothers — who may have been killed at the same time. The featuring of two persons on one *pāliya* may have been motivated by either considerations of economy or the fervent hope that their togetherness on the *pāliya* may keep them so in their next birth. Another manner of depicting two persons together on one *pāliya* is to show them riding separate animals side by side (Fig. 10), or one behind the other (Fig. 11).

Apart from these variations, iconographical differences of a regional nature also exist. In Veraval, the motif consists merely of the portrayal of the sun and the moon. Occasionally, between them is a device resembling an hourglass — probably an abstract rendering of the human figure (Fig. 12).

Satī Stones: Tablets commemorating the death of women by the rite of *satī* are comparable to hero stones in size and format. A *satī* stone stands either independently or as a companion stone next to her husband's (Fig. 13). Sometimes, the *satī* and the hero are portrayed on the same stone (Fig. 14). Occasionally, a memorial stone features a hero and his wives who committed *satī* (Fig. 15).

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[29] I have seen *pāliya* of this type outside the Kedāreśvar Temple in Porbundar. Andarbarkar, P., "Pāliyas", *Saurāshtrani Asmitā*, p. 528.
The author mentions that at Mahuva he saw huge stones, without any carving or engravings on them, set up in memory of sailors who were lost on the sea. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 431 describes two pirate *Pāliyas* at Aramara, "on which are sculptured in high relief" the ships of Tricam-Rae engaged in combat. One of these is a three-masted vessel pierced for guns, the other is of a more antique form and character, having but one mast and none of those modern inventions of war".
Such a vivid portrayal of how the heroes met their death is exceptional in Saurashtra.

In and around Wadhawan, the *satī* is depicted with her right palm held frontally above the shoulder level and the four fingers pointing towards heaven,[30] a motif common to many parts of India. In Porbundar, on the other hand, the *satī* is symbolised by both palms facing us (Fig. 16). Sometimes, only the palms are shown (Fig. 17). This motif seems to owe its origin to the concept of auspicious palm-prints, or *thapa*. It may have derived its relevance from a custom prevalent in many parts of Saurashtra, where a woman would place imprints of her palm, dipped in *sindūr*, on the inside of the main portal of her home as she passes through it for the last time, on her way to the funeral pyre. Here, too, it is not unusual to find one stone commemorating two *satīs* (Fig. 18) or a hero and a *satī* together.

In the region around Porbundar, the *satī* is often represented by the full figure of a woman (Figs. 19 - 20).

A *pāliya* of two women from the Vanjara community shows them with a milkpot on their head and a butter-churn in a cart (Fig. 21). This interesting variation may be intended to reveal either the circumstances in which they died or their social status.

Pāliya for Animals: Some *pāliyas* are set up to commemorate the death of favourite animals, like horse, donkey, camel or dog[31] (Fig. 22).

Avagatiya Stones: The memorials of those unfortunate men and women who died of snake bite, or of an attack by wild animals, are generally indistinguishable from hero and *satī* stones. In Porbundar and its vicinity, however, the iconography differs slightly, and along with the deceased (horsemen, camel rider or woman) the snake or the wild animal that caused the death is also shown (Figs. 23-25).

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[30] A *satī* stone near Halvāḍ features the left arm. The motif is mystifying as Hindus consider the left hand inauspicious.

[31] Parmar, *op. cit.*, p. 520; Vora, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

While on the subject of iconography, it is important to note that certain stones are exactly like memorial stones in the shape and format, but are not *pāliyas*, and must not be confused with them. Among these, 1. *Donor*, 2. *Imprecatory* or *Cautionary*, 3. *Gocar* and 4. *Ordinance* tablets may be noted. The *Donor stones* record acts of charity and are generally characterised by a geometrical pattern. The *Imprecatory* or *Cautionary Stones*, normally feature a motif of sexual bestiality,[32] they are erected either as curse-stones by masons who did not receive full payment for their services, or as warnings of fate awaiting those who either desecrate temples or occupy land set aside for pasture. Sometimes, they were erected near magnificent mansions and temples to ward off the evil eye. The *Gocar stones* are placed as boundary-stones, demarcating pasture-lands, and usually carry the motif of a cow. The *Ordinance Stones* reveal a *vyala* motif above the inscribed ordinance (Fig. 26).

C. Other Types of Memorials: In addition to the *pāliyas*, there are various other types of memorials to the dead. Prominent among these are: 1. *Khambhis*, 2. *Theśa*, 3. *Cago*, and 4. *Govardhana*.

Khambhis: The Kathis erect a memorial for every deceased male member irrespective of whether or not a heroic act immediately preceded his end. These memorials are called *khambhis* and not *pāliyas* even though they look alike. The word *khambhi* comes from the Sanskrit word *sthambha*, or column. A *khambhi* is erected on the day of the *varsi* ceremony, which takes place within a year of the person's death. Since the Kathis were part of the social elite, the carving on their *khambhis* tended to be more elborate than on *pāliyas* (Fig. 27). Nonetheless, it seldom rises above the level of folk-art. The *khambhi* depicts the Kathi as a horse-rider — with or without an attendant — led by a groom. Above the motif of the equestrian Kathi are the ubiquitous sun and moon. In some places like Jetpur, the ruling family's *khambhis* are executed with care and are enshrined in one large *chatri*, or pavilion. It is not certain whether *khambhis* were erected for all the female members of the community, but they were certainly set up for the wives of the ruling chiefs. In these, the women are shown seated in a horse-carriage (Fig. 28). Sometimes a child is seated on the lady's lap. The wives of the minor chieftains are shown riding a humbler conveyance, a bullock-cart (Fig. 29).

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[32] Parmar, *op. cit.*, p. 521., Vora, *op. cit.*, p. 476;

Theśa: It is a roughly hewn block of stone[33] (Figs. 2 and 30), and deserves no further consideration.

Cago: A cairn consisting of a heap of loose stones. It is customary for the relatives of the deceased to throw a small stone on the heap whenever they pass by. Describing his travels in Western India, Colonel Tod relates that, as they passed a cairn of loose stones, lying on the left of our pathway, and near the river's edge, he (his guide, a Kathi chief) very coolly said, "there fell my brother when the Babrias came to prosecute their feud and his death balanced an old account."[34]

Govardhana: The *govardhana* stones of the type found in Rajasthan are also seen — although not in the same form as in Saurashtra.[35] A *govardhana* is shaped like a cube with a rounded or pyramidal roof; three of its sides are sculptured, while the fourth is either carved or engraved. This cubical top rests upon a narrow column, which is either square, rounded or octagonal. The *govardhana* stones are often erected in memory of those who sacrificed their lives while defending their cattle. However, it is not altogether unusual to find a *govardhana* stone commemorating a generous act of charity.

D. Antiquity and Style: Among the recorded *pāliya* the earliest seems to be a *satī* stone dated A. D. 996 at Amratvel,[36] six miles from Kandla. The number of *pāliyas* increased, gradually, from the 11th cent. and reached a phenomenal stage in the 18th and 19th cent. The *pāliyas* are still being commissioned and erected: it is very much a living tradition in this part of the country.

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[33] Parmar, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

[34] Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[35] Vora, "Vīrāsmṛtino ane Vīrāpujāno eka prakāra Govardhana pāḷiyā pūrti", *Kumar*, No. 574, p. 394.

[36] *Gazetter*, p. 357.

Although contemporary sculptural trends are reflected in some of the tablets (Fig. 15), particularly those executed earlier than the seventeenth century, they are completely overshadowed by the countless *pāliyas* done in the folk idiom (Fig. 31). Some are mere scratchings (Fig. 3), although good workmanship is not entirely wanting (Fig. 32). In conformity with the poor style of carving, the inscription is also written in corrupt language and in crude characters — a departure from the well-executed Sanskrit inscriptions found in the temples and step-wells of the region. Clearly, the carvings and engravings on the *pāliya* reflect a folk tradition.

Stylistically, no significant change seems to have occurred in the carving over the centuries. A group of *pāliya*-sites like Biladi, span a period of four hundred years, but hardly any stylistic characteristic distinguishes the old from the new. At no stage can a progression in style be detected. The style has the perennial quality of a folk idiom which renews and perpetuates itself without any perceptible change.

E. Location: The *pāliyas* and *khambhis* are found clustered with other types of memorial stones outside the village (Fig. 30). Sometimes set on raised platforms, they are placed under a large tree or near a source of water — the village well, the village tank — or along a river bank. Occasionally, these memorials are placed in the courtyard of a temple.

Like the *smaśānabhūmi*, the *pāliya-bhūmi* is also clearly demarcated and generally relegated to an area outside the village. Quite often, more than one plot of land is kept aside for the purpose. At Oddar, for example, there are as many as four *pāliya* plots. Each of these appears to belong to a particular community in the village. At Oddar, as elsewhere, in some of the plots, the *pāliya* are arranged in a cohesive group, while in other places there are distinct stratifications. The strata undoubtedly reflect social distinctions (Fig. 32).

Also, it is interesting to note that some memorials are in the form of *pāliya*, while others are in the form of *theśas* (Fig. 30). In smaller villages, where all memorials are erected in one large area, different sections, contiguous to each other, seem to be ear-marked for different communities. At Halvāḍ, groups of two or three *pāliyas* seem to be set slightly apart from the rest (Fig. 14) and appear to be the family groups.

Royal *pāliyas* are frequently enshrined in pavilions, or *chatris*. Sometimes, the family has built a tiny chapel over them (Fig. 33). In most cases, however, *pāliyas* and memorial stones lie scattered about, neglected and uncared for.

MEMORIAL STONES IN HIMACHAL

PUSHPA BINDRA

THE practice of erecting memorial stones to the dead was widespread in Himachal. References to such stones, as well as to related customs, occur in travel accounts and are already noted in some of the Archaeological Survey Reports. The earliest to notice these was Capt. A. F. P. Harcourt, Asst. Commissioner for the Kulu, Lahoul and Spiti Dts. He found the Naggar stones "a curious collection of what resembles tomb-stones."[1]

Memorial stones are variously referred to as the *satīs*, *barselas* and *muhras*. In the eastern part of the state (*viz.*, the Dts., of Kulu, Mandi, Bilaspur and Suket), the privilege of erecting memorials was confined to the royal family. In the western areas, particularly Kāngra and Chamba, there were no such restrictions, and *Pitṛs* and *Varuṇa-devas* were erected in memory of others.

Whence this practice originated is difficult to determine. The practice in Chamba consists of "the erection of a stone or wooden board called 'pitṛ', in a small hut, beside a spring, on which is cut a rough effigy of the deceased."[2] In the Kulu and Maṇḍi area — where the largest number of memorials are found — it was only a royal prerogative, though it was subsequently extended to the Rāṇā families. One such case is that of the Rāṇās of Aleo[3] (Kulu).

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[1] Harcourt, *Himalayan Dists., of Kulu, Lahoul and Spiti*, p. 108.

[2] *Chamba Dist., Gazetteer*, (1963), p. 170.

[3] Chetwode, *Kulu*, p. 168; Ibbetson, *Glossary of Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III: "The only Rāṇā family in the Kulu valley is the Nuwāni family at Aleo. They call themselves Kanet now. . . The Royal descent of the family was discovered from the fact that they buried their dead under memorial stones — royal privilege." p 316.

Similarly, there is a group of seven stones in the compound of Trilokanāth temple, Maṇḍi, which are stated to commemorate the death of Old Rāṇās or local chieftains.[4] Thus, it may be said that this custom was prevalent among the people and the Rāṇās. The same custom was later adopted by the rulers who migrated from the plains or northern India, subdued the local chieftains, and established their rule.

Naggar Stones (Kulu Dt.): At Naggar, the erstwhile capital of the Kulu Rājas and, now, a straggling village on the left bank of the Beas several stones are inserted into the brow of the hill, two hundred yards south of the Naggar Castle, just below the main road. They are placed in four rows and some are scattered around. These stones were noticed as early as 1869 by Harcourt. He also refers to "a collection of erect stones very much in form like those at Nuggur, at Shumsee,"[5] five miles north of Bajaura. He adds, "but the figures on them are almost quite destroyed and untraceable."[6]

Various travellers and archaeologists noticed the Naggar stones, of whom mention may be made here to Vogel, Francke, Chetwode and Randhawa. Harcourt did not identify them by any name. Vogel called them *muhras*, on the strength of local tradition.[7] Obviously this is a misrepresentation since *muhras* are specifically associated with the masks of gods and goddesses which are paraded at festivals and not with the images. Francke also wrongly identified them as *satī*-stones,[8] for the stones do not exclusively contain a representation of the female or the 'Rāṇi' who became *satī*. In fact, several stones have only a male figure.

Harcourt counted one hundred and forty one stones of which only ninety eight are surviving now. Their sizes vary a great deal:

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[4] Vogel, Hutchinson, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II, note on p. 381.

[5] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Vogel, *ASI Annual Report:* 1902-3, p. 215.

[8] Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. I, p. 9.

the smallest is 41 × 37 cms., and the largest 192 × 87 cms. Of assorted shapes and sizes, these stones are not finely cut nor finished. But, generally, the slabs are rectangular and curved at the top-end. The material used is grey sand-stone, locally quarried. Unfortunately, it is of a friable nature; consequently, the original details have been defaced in most of them.

Generally, the male and the female are depicted seated or standing side by side. One slab, however, depicts only a seated female figure — other details of this slab are lost. Another slab shows a man mounted on a horse, with a sword in his hand. The figures are crudely carved and arranged in panels where the number of figures is large. The top panel contains the chief male figure, with female figures either seated or standing on either side. The lower rows contain only female figures, standing or seated, with folded hands. On some slabs two females wield *cāmaras*, on either side of the chief figures in the top panels. The number of females represented on some slabs is surprisingly large — *e.g.*, one contains as many as seventy seven females, while another has fifty two. If we accept a tradition that these are the figures of queens, concubines and slave-girls, who committed *satī* with the dead ruler, we have to conclude that the incidence of human sacrifice was very high.

The dresses of the figures are interesting: in some slabs the male and female figures are both shown wearing ankle-length coats of the type depicted on Kuṣāṇa coins and sculpture. In some of the better preserved slabs, we clearly discern a *sāri* like garment with one end passing over the left shoulder. The female dress on presumably later slabs is reminiscent of the dress of the Rājput females seen in the miniature paintings of the 'pahāri' schools. The figures are adorned with simple ornaments, but several male figures depicted individually have no ornaments at all. May be, these represent rulers who died as recluses, after renouncing their thrones.

The only religious symbol to be observed on these slabs, is the *Śivalinga*. It is placed before the male figure whose right hand rests on the *linga*, while his left hand holds a vessel in the act of pouring something over it. But this feature is observed on only a few slabs. Slabs which have no *linga* do not have religious symbols at all. Harcourt states that, "the Buddhist Wheel appears in several of the stones."[9] This, however, is not true. On closer examination, it is found to be only a full-blown lotus in single, double or triple concentric circles. The symbols, however, betray the Śaivite affiliation of the rulers or chieftains.

The ornamentation is limited to the upper portion of the slabs. In most cases a temple *śikhara* of the northern order is depicted. The *śikharas* vary in shape, from the gently sloping variety to the sharply falling ones. These are complete with corner-stones and *āmalakas*. The *āmalakas* are carved even on the top-portions of those slabs which do not have a *śikhara*. On the surface of the *śikharas* is depicted the *caitya* dormer motif which is peculiar to the temples of the Kulu Dt. The motif appears simply as two commas. This practice of using motifs from temples appears to be common to all memorial slabs in Himachal. The slabs in the Trilokanāth temple, Maṇḍi, repeat what is found in the main temple.

Some of the Naggar slabs bear no ornamentation at the top but, in others, the *śikhara* is replaced by a niche. The significance of the *śikharas* cannot be easily determined. Of the 98 stones, 40 have *śikharas*.[10] It must, however, be observed that two of the biggest slabs, containing the maximum number of figures, (seventy seven and fifty two females) do not bear *śikharas*. Another peculiar thing about these two slabs is that no religious symbol is carved on them.

As mentioned earlier, the full-blown lotus is featured on almost all the slabs in single, double or triple concentric circles. On some slabs, half lotuses figure on either side of the central lotus. Floral motifs decorate the top and the surface of the *śikharas* and sometimes run across the slabs separating the panels. Some of the slabs have peacocks on either side of the *śikharas*. These closely resemble the ornate wooden door-frame of the Haḍimbā temple, Manali.

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[9] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p.109.

[10] It may be that *śikharas* were carved on the stones of those chiefs who erected temples.

Maṇḍi Stones: The most remarkable, and the largest group of memorial stones, are found in Maṇḍi, the capital of the old Maṇḍi state. A small group of seven stones is located in the compound of the Trilokanāth temple. The larger group is in an enclosure on the right bank of the Suketi Nala, just off the Maṇḍi-Chandigarh road. This group contains, approximately, two hundred slabs. The largest slabs measuring well over three metres are laid down in a row in the centre of the enclosure. Smaller slabs are fixed in the ground on either side of this row. In the background is a group nearly buried. This entire group of stones is in a good state of preservation, having been carved out of grey sand-stone. But the seven slabs in the Trilokanāth temple compound are not so well preserved and the details on some of these are partially lost. These stones are locally referred to as 'barśelās' because "they are worshipped for one year (baras)."[11]

The Maṇḍi stones are important historical records: fifteen of the stones contain inscriptions dated in the *Saptarṣi*, *Lokakāla* or *Śāstra* era. Seven of these inscriptions were read by Cunningham.[12] They record the death of various rulers and the women who immolated themselves. The inscriptions are on the top-most section of the slabs, either by the side of the dome or of some other motifs. In case of smaller slabs, the inscription is carved in a rectangular panel above the chief figure.

According to Cunningham, the inscriptions are "in the Hill-Nāgari characters (which are the same as the Gupta characters")).[13] But not all the letters are in the Gupta style, for some of them are a local development, bearing relationship to the 'Tānkari' script.

It is obvious that all these are not royal memorial stones for, according to the *Vamśāvaḷī*, only 45 kings ruled this land. Some of the stones, thus, must be memorials of minor chieftains. This inference is strengthened by the reference, in two of the inscriptions, to Mān

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[11] Vogel, *ASI Annual Report:* 1902-03, p. 215.

[12] Cunningham, *ASI* XIV, (1878-79), pp. 122-125.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Singh and Prem Singh. These names do not occur in the *Vamśāvaļī*. (Another name occurring in one of the inscriptions, not read by Cunningham, is Mahārāja Bhavāni Sen. This name also does not figure in the *Vamśāvaļī* which must have been prepared before the time of this ruler).

Another feature of this group is that about fifty of them bear single female figures. Led by the local tradition, Vogel thought that such slabs were memorials of those queens who predeceased their husbands. However, there are no inscriptions to support this view.

The stones which are fully visible are all of a later period. This is apparent from the dress of the figures and the architectural motifs. Nevertheless, they are beautifully carved. The physiognomical features of the chief male and female figures are individualistic, in contrast to the Naggar stones where the features of all the figures are similar. The slabs are empanelled. The top-most panel contains the chief male figure on either side of whom are two *caurī* bearers. In some cases, the chief male figure is unaccompanied. The second panel contains the figure of the chief queen or queens, generally seated. On either side are two female attendants bearing *cāmaras*. The panel below these contains standing or seated female figures or concubines. Generally, a large number of females are depicted, the largest being thirty. An exception to this are the slabs of the Trilokanāth temple, which do not depict more than two females. The female figures in one of the seven slabs are in a dancing posture. Both male and female figures wear ornaments. Though this is common in medieval times, some of the male figures are without ornaments. As is the case with the Naggar stones, they may commemorate the death of the rulers who died as recluses after renouncing their thrones.

In dress, religious symbols and ornamentation, the Maṇḍi stones are similar to the Naggar stones. The only exception is that the former are more refined, with a raised border decorated with lotus petals. The horse and elephant are represented in the lower panels of some Maṇḍi slabs. The slab depicting females alone has a palanquin in the lower section.

The Maṇḍi slabs depict both *śikhara* and dome in their upper portions. The *śikharas* are co-eval with those in the Naggar stones.

Domes, however, are peculiar to the Maṇḍi stones. The domes of the type depicted on the slabs are common to several temples in the town itself. The stones which do not depict either of these features, have floral motifs in their upper parts. Rarely is the top of the slab left unadorned.

Varuṇa Devas of Chamba: Memorial stones of Chamba rulers have not so far come to light although slabs of 'Rājñakas' are very wide spread. These are different from the memorial slabs of the rest of Himachal. They are called 'fountain-slabs'. Dedicated to Varuṇa, they are called Varuṇa-devas and are set up "as a dedication for some ancestor", who had performed, "some charitable work for public welfare, such as the construction of a bridge or the laying of a new road or the improvement of the existing one or the erection of a 'panihār."[14] Such slabs are numerous in Chaurah-Pangi. They are also noticed at Brahmaur and Chitrāri also. The 'fountain-slabs' of Chaurah and Pangi are inscribed and they supply the first date of Chamba history (1105 A.D.). But those at Brahmaur and Chitrāri are comparatively small and uninscribed.

The 'fountain-slabs' always contain a figure of Varuṇa which is carved in the centre of the slab. River goddesses, Gangā and Yamunā, are depicted along with Viṣṇu who is reclining on the Ananta. Viṣṇu's ten incarnations and *navagrahas* are also represented. On the Salhi 'fountain-slab'[15] are various deities arranged in three rows. The top row depicts Śiva, Varuṇa, Gaṇesa, Indra and Kārtikeya accompanied by their particular *vāhanas*. On the middle panel is the recumbent Viṣṇu.[16] The lowest panel depicts eight river goddesses, all in identical attitudes and with identical attributes *viz.*, holding a *kumbha* and the lotus. They are distinguished only by their vehicles. On the *kumbha*, however, the name of the river they represent is inscribed. Thus, Gangā, Yamunā,

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[14] *Chamba Dist., Gazetteer*, (1963), p. 170.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 83: 'Salhi stone is the largest of its kind, 6 feet 6 inches high and 7 feet wide.'

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Sindhū, Veth (Jhelum), Bias, Satludrā (Satadru or Satlej) are easily identifiable. The inscription on the last two is partially destroyed. But these may represent the two rivers of Chamba *i.e.*, Rāvī and Chandrabhāgā.

The Sai and Naghai fountain-slabs bear effigies of the persons for whom they were erected. The Sai fountain slab shows a male and a female figure, the male being Ranautra Phahi, according to the inscription. The couple is accompanied by two female attendants. On this particular slab the *Śivalinga* is depicted. The Naghai fountain slab bears a female figure, with two miniature figures, presumably, her children. The figure is that of Rāṇi Mekhalā and the slab was erected by Devaprasāda, "for the sake of the bliss in the next world",[17] according to the inscription of the dead queen.

The inscriptions on the fountain slabs, read by Vogel (*Antiquities of Chamba*, Pt. I), are important literary and historical records. Particularly important are the Devī Koṭhi and Mul Kihar fountain slab inscriptions. These are composed in excellent Sanskrit poetry. In the Devī Koṭhi inscription the name of the composer of the eulogy is preserved.[18] The Mul Kihar inscription contains a genealogy of the local Rāṇās.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[18] *Kamala-lāñcchana* — the *Rājaguru*.

MEMORIAL STONES IN SOUTH INDIA

S. SETTAR

MEMORIAL Stones of South India have started attracting serious attention of art historians only in the last decade, though their awareness is atleast about a century old. For example, neither in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (1927), nor in his many hundred articles, did Coomaraswamy deal with them, though his treatment of the concepts as well the metaphysical context of the *hero*, self-sacrifice (*ātmayajña*), self-naughting (*akimcanna*), vindication of *satī* etc., was both exhaustive and critical. This is one of the very few aspects of Indian art not touched upon by the profound and prolific pen of this savant. This is by and large true of the contemporaries and predecessors of Coomaraswamy. The reasons for this are obvious: they were occupied with the problems and material possessing potentiality of major schools of art; those were also the days when the bulk of the archaeological, epigraphical and art-history material was being gathered. The Archaeological surveys, in the centre as well as in several states, and learned societies, were engaged in this task. Though the architectural and artistic master-pieces of the southern sites had been brought to light, they were known only to those familiar with the publications of the Archaeological Surveys. No doubt, the 'minor arts' (among which the memorial stones were to be the major ones) had to await their turn. This, however, does not mean that memorial stones were not altogether unknown to them. For example, we may recount here that as early as 1909 B. L. Rice had drawn attention to the singular "Manners and Customs' reflected by the *sallekhana*, *satī*, *kiḷguṇṭe*, *garuḍa* and other types of memorial stones[1]. A decade earlier than this publication, he had brought to light more than a thousand inscribed memorials found between the Tungabhadrā and Kāverī and discussed their historical significance in his classic introduction to the twelve volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Full texts and brief summaries of the memorial stones, were also reported in the *Annual Reports* of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Indica*, etc. All these were however, inscribed memorials, which help us understand the purpose as well as the period of their erection; but the uninscribed and elaborately carved memorials, were nearly left out of this survey, and are still outside the reach of art historians.

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[1] Rice, B.L., *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, (London, 1909), pp. 185 ff.

In the absence of scientific analysis, it is difficult to estimate the wealth of this material in Tamil-Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The Tamil-Nadu Archaeological Survey has recently brought to light inscribed and uninscribed tablets of an interesting variety; and individual efforts have yielded rich information from Maharashtra. This cannot, however, be said about Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

I

Tamil-Nadu: Until as late as 1970, very little was known about memorial stones of Tamil-Nadu, and, not until, the Archaeological Survey of the state began a systematic search in the early '70s (which resulted in a monograph in 1974), did the outside world know of their existence in that state. In 1973, the state Department of Archaeology organised a seminar and an exhibition on hero-stones in Madras, with about two dozen Tamil scholars participating in it. We learn that by 1973 more than a hundred inscribed hero-stones had been discovered by the Department, and in the next year, another 150 were added.[2] About a hundred of these are located in and around the Chittoor Dt.

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[2] Nagaswamy, R., (ed.) *Seminar on Hero-Stones*, (Madras, 1974), p. vii p. 21 etc.).

It is interesting to note that the Tamil *vīragals* are concentrated in the territory adjoining the southern border of Karnataka, indicating possible roots of this custom in the area. The results so far obtained are said to indicate its popularity in the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and Kongu-maṇḍalam rather than in the former heartland of the Pāṇḍyas and Coḷas. Their presence in the North Arcot, Dharmapuri, and Salem Dts., adjoining which the ancient families of the Gangas and Noḷambas ruled, is interesting.[3]

Nagaswamy has drawn attention to the references made to the memorial stones in the *Āgamas*[4]. A careful study, however, evokes doubts in us as to the nature of their connection. The *Āgamas* speak of religious edifices, no doubt to the dead, enshrined in the form of either a *linga* or a portrait relief. The references to *kṣetralingas* and *samādhilingas* appear to bear a closer link with the megalithic monuments than with the *vīragals*, while the *paḷḷipaḍai* of the Coḷa-Pāṇḍya records recall to us a popular medieval custom of erecting *Śivālayas*, either after the names of the patrons, or of their parents or relatives, during or after their life time.

Like the *paḷḷipaḍai* structures and memorial stones, a distinction is also made between the *naḍukkals* and *vīrakkals*. From the *Tolkāppiam* and *Maṇimekhalai*, we learn that the *naḍukals*, like the megalithic chamber-tombs, were erected over the post excarnation remains of the dead person[5] and were evidently funerary or sepulchral in character.

Scholars find no link between the *menhirs* and memorial tablets. Plain *menhirs* were obviously erected on the remains of the dead person; if not symbolically and functionally akin to the memorial stones, no doubt they bear a strong visual resemblance to the cubical blocks of *vīragals*. Logically, the former should be the proto-types, for the *menhirs* are followed by sculptured but uninscribed, and, then by the sculptured as well as inscribed tablets. But the latter two stages cannot be chronologically divided and arranged in a sequence. It is probably necessary now to reconsider our views regarding the links between the Megalithic tombs and the Memorial stones, because evidence from Tamil-Nadu suggests an affiliation between the two. Records copied from the Megalithic tomb-structures at Vaḍivulla-mangaḷam, Palamangalam etc., in the Coimbatore Dt., discussed by Mr. N. Krishnan, "show that the practice of erecting dolmens for those who met heroic death continued until a very late period".[6] However, similar evidence is yet to be brought out from other parts of South India.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The Tamil-Nadu memorial tablets, though not as large in number as in Karnataka (and probably Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra) roughly fall between about the 5-6th and the 12th cent. A.D. The commemoration of the hero in this form appears to have declined after the 12th cent. The Tamil-Nadu tablets are as often inscribed as they are not, the earliest being in the Vaṭṭeluṭṭu script and Tamil language. Cattle-raids loom large in the texts and the bulk of the known material speaks of deaths in such skirmishes. Some do refer to the dynastic warfare,[7] raids on villages by thieves and robbers, attempt to rape and molest women, and attack by wild animals (especially by tigers). Inscribed hero-stones from Cengam, Velūr and Navalai speak of mass rape, abduction of young girls, and of stripping them and outraging their honour.[8] In one of the very few *vīragals* of the Pāṇḍya times, set up in C. 8th cent. a reference has been made to the hero's debt to his master (*senjorru-pperunkadam*), an expression whose equivalent is widely known in Karnataka. Generally the custom of erecting hero-stones declines after about the 12th cent. in Tamil-Nadu, but we find an exception to this in a group of nine tablets of the 16th cent[9]. Compared to the hero-stones of other southern states, these are simple in workmanship. They are generally in a single panel, despite variation in the size of the stone, and are devoid of reliefs of the ascent of the hero to the other world. The hero is usually shown in profile, standing and holding his favourite weapons; a sword or a lance in his right hand and a bow, or an arrow or a shield, in his left, while his shoulder-bag is generally filled with arrows. His torso faces front while his left leg is slightly raised, atleast in the majority of the early tablets. Often a pedestal or a shrine is depicted, which is said to be "the precursor of the later day *paḷḷipaḍai* shrines erected over the remains or the place of the dead heroes"[10].

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[7] Among the *Vīragals* of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya periods see, Krishnan, K. G., "Hero-stone Inscriptions of the Pallava Times", *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[8] Subrahmanyam, V.S., "An Interesting Hero-stone Inscription from Chengam", —*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 24; *ARE* 1939-40, p. 253 of Ilave-vengal in Korlapatti Tk.

Our study of the archaelogical material of the Tamil-Nadu hero-stones is hardly a decade old, and, as such, it is hazardous to draw any conclusions now. It is obvious that hundreds of hero-stones await the attention of scholars; apart from the historical detail, a study of their style and typology are yet to be attempted. A beginning has been made by the Tamil-Nadu Survey, and those who are fortunate enough to read all the twenty six articles published on the subject in Tamil, are likely to be great beneficiaries.

II

Andhra Pradesh: Our knowledge of the Andhra Pradesh memorials is so scanty that at present very little can be said about them; we are also not aware of any institution or scholar who is actively engaged in their study. But there appears to be hardly any doubt that there is vast and varied material hidden in this land, for Andhra Pradesh has almost always shared socio-cultural history with Karnataka, borrowing as much from its neighbour as it has lent to it. In fact, the earliest memorial stones of the south (mid. 3rd to early 4th cent.) are found in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and other centres of this state[11].

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[10] Krishnan, K.G., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff. — "Chhaya-stambhas from Nagarjunakonda", by H. Sarkar.

The *chhāya-stamhas* are not hero-stones in the strict sense of the term. They are generally free-standing pillars, bearing reliefs as well as inscriptions. Some were meant to honour the dignitaries, not necessarily heroes. He may have been a holy man (*bhaṭṭāraka*, *yati-śramaṇa*) a temporal head, or his consort (a king like Cāmtamūla, a queen Śrī Vammabhaṭa). Some honoured officials, (a *senāpati* or a *mahātaḷavāra*), or warriors who died on battle fields. The memorials carected in honour of the temporal and ecclesiastical dignitaries appear to be close to the *paḷḷipaḍai* variety of later Tamil-Nadu or the magalithic structures of the earlier time, though their sepulchral context is not identical. On the tablets erected in honour of *senāpatis* and *mahātaḷavāras*, we may notice an element of heroism covering perhaps the life of the official rather than his final heroic act. These panels contain reliefs of elephants with riders, cavalry and chariot force, an attack of a wild animal or a hunting scene. The tablets bear reliefs of battle-scenes, attempts at capturing fortresses, an engagement between infantry units etc. Sarkar says that sometimes *chhāya-stambhas* were "raised for a number of dead soldiers".[12]

This custom appears to have been practically discontinued after the period of the Ikṣvākus in the eastern Deccan, until the Cālukyas of Vengi revived it; but it is likely that future discoveries will throw light on the intermediary period (early 4th to 6th cent.) and help us obtain a better picture in course of time. In fact our understanding of the memorials of Andhra Pradesh depends heavily on future research rather than on the work done so far. Dr. Murthy of the Deccan College, has drawn attention to tablets relating to (a) sacrifice and (b) immolations.[13] From him we learn that *vīragals* of the 3-4th cent. erected in honour of a hero who laid down his life in the cattle-raid were also called *chhāyakamba*; and the evidence obtained at Gangaperūru in the Cuddapah Dt., is rightly held to be the earliest recorded evidence (in Brāhmī), by Dr. P. R. Srinivasan.[14] The popularity of this custom in the Pālnāḍ region of the Guntur Dt., is proven not only by several tablets established in honour of *Pālanāṭi-vīrulu*, but also by its continuation until about the 15th cent. The *miḍi-tale*, or *gaṇḍa-tale*, one of the acts in which a hero immolates himself for an accepted cause, is said to have become very popular during the Kākatīya and Reḍḍi times; it is also reflected in the Telugu literary works of Śrīnātha, Ananta, Mañcaṇa, Aṇṇaya and others. A Reḍḍi chief built a 38-pillared pavilion called *Vīra-siro-maṇḍapa* at Śrīśailam in the late 14th cent. to enable the *ekānga-vīras* to offer their eyes, hands, heads, or tongues. This bears testimony to its continuing popularity into modern times. It is commonly known that the majority of the Śaiva centres in Andhra Pradesh contain a number of *vīrakallus*. As interesting as these are the *sahagamana* stones found in this state.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[13] I am obliged to Dr. M. L. K. Murthy for allowing me to consult his paper. A revised version of it is published in this volume.

Although the material in Andhra Pradesh is the most ancient and varied, and is reflected not only in the stone-tablets, but in literary works as well as in the accounts of foreign travellers like Friar Odoric, Friar Jordanus, Nicolo-de-Conti etc., a systematic study of all this material is yet to be attempted. It is possible that Andhra Pradesh has also as many uninscribed memorials as the inscribed, and only a photo-documentation of these would help us understand their significance. The available inscriptions are to be subjected to critical interpretation — their quantitative analysis, their regional, chronological, dynastic and religious classification, their typology, their reflection on the warfare, on the economic, social and political history of their time not to mention their artistic content, are to be taken up immediately.

III

Kerala: In Kerala, the worship of the hero took a different form and expressed itself through dance, music and other folk arts.

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[14] *EI* XXXVI, (1970), p. 207.

A recent study made by Kurup[15] throws light on the living tradition of the hero-cult. The term *Teyyāṭṭam* means a dance (*āṭṭam*) of *teyyam*, (corrupt form of *daiyam* or god). Through *teyyam*-dances and songs, the dead heroes and martyrs are invoked and their spirits propitiated. Several hundred of such heroes are deified now and, we are told, that there are not less than three hundred such folk gods in the Kolath-Nāḍ itself. These structures are called *stānams* in Kerala and *sanas* in the west coast of Karnataka. These plain, rectangular, windowless structures (about 4 to 5 yds. X 2 to 3 yds.), adjoined by an open portico of twin pillars remind us of the stone chamber-tombs of the proto-historic times; many of them are without idols,[16] though a sword or spear and a *pīṭham* (a wooden stool covered with a silk cloth) are almost invariably found in them. The relief of a seat seen on the hero-stones of the Pallava times, especially at Eḍattanūr, Kuḍatūr and Sattanūr,[17] deserves to be recalled here, for this opens up the possibility of linking megalithic *stone-chambers* with *stānams* (*simil* or receptacles) with the *paḷḷipaḍai* shrines of the later times. However, the evidence at our disposal does not enable us to draw conclusions.

Although hero-worship was widespread in Kerala and is deep rooted in contemporary life, *vīragals* of the type met elsewhere in the Deccan and South India appear not to have been established all over Kerala. It is interesting to note that these are so far found only in Wynāḍ, which is adjacent to Karnataka. The memorial stones found at Pulappalli, Puthaḍi, Sasimala, Kaliyampalli, reveal Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva affiliation but the majority of these are uninscribed. Some resemble the memorials found in Karnataka. The slab is divided into panels on which a battle, journey of the hero in the company of *apsaras*, and the union of the hero and the lord, are shown. The earliest of the stone-tablets, of 8th cent., now kept

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15. Kurup, K.K.N., *The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala*, (Calcutta, 1973).
16. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
17. Nagaswamy, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

in the Trivandrum Museum[18] reveal a battle between the Pāṇḍyas and Ceras and the death of Raṇakīrti, a Pāṇḍya hero. He was honoured with a *rakta-kāṇikka*, similar to the *rakta-koḍuge* of medieval Kannaḍa records. This memorial, however, belongs to the Pāṇḍyas and not to the Cera rulers.

Installation of memorials appears to have been confined both in time and place in Kerala. They are almost invariably found at the border of Karnataka, and appear to date not later than the 13th cent. The practice of erecting stone-tablet appears to have merged with the *Teyyam* after the 13th cent. and fallen into the realm of performing art.

IV

Maharashtra: Although very little has been published so far, we know that Maharashtra contains a large number of memorial tablets *i.e.*, hero-stones, *satīs*, hero-*satī* composites, immolation stones etc. Dr. Sontheimer has brought to light hundreds of such stelae from the Poona, Satara and Kolhapur Dts[19]. In some villages, he found clusters ranging anywhere from between 60 and 100 in number, and, in some districts, he found memorials in almost every village.

But, unlike those in Karnataka, the majority of these stones are anonymous — hence, their chronological and historical contexts are partly lost to us. This is no doubt compensated by their variety of form. The most common ones bear anywhere between three and five panels; they reveal battle scenes, *apsaras* carrying the dead-hero and the heavenly abode of the lord. In some as at Naygav-Peṭh — the *apsaras* are eliminated. The most interesting variety, rather rare in Karnataka, is a stela erected in memory of two, three and four heroes. When the death of two heroes was commemorated, the panels were carved side by side, vertically dividing a cubical block. Three or four sides of a square pillar were utilized for carving memorials in honour of three or four different heroes. Śiva, Viṣṇu, Mahālakṣmī, Gaṇeśa and Jina are shown on the top-most panel, probably to reveal the religious affiliation of the hero. A memorial of the Yādava period, now found at Palṭan, is of special interest because each of the four heroes in whose honour the tablet has been erected is made to sit at the feet of his personal deity *i.e.*, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya.

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[18] Gopinath Rao, T.A., *Travancore Archaeological Series* VII, (1911), pp. 154-159.

[19] I owe this knowledge to Dr. Sontheimer who kindly allowed me to consult earlier versions of his two papers published in this volume.

Satī and other immolation stones are also interesting because of their variety. Combined hero and *satī* stones are as common as the memorials erected in honour of several wives of the hero, who apparently accepted *satī* soon after the death of their husband. Among the immolations, the head-offering, plunging from a height on the *sūlas*, etc., attract our attention.

The Maharashtra memorials roughly resemble those found in Karnataka: nonetheless, their individuality can not be ignored. The death of heroes caused by a cattle-stampede; the hovering goblins on the battle field; the integrated nature of double, triple and quadruple memorials, are some of the characteristics that distinguish the works of Maharashtra. The siege of a fortress, or a sea battle, is interestingly delineated. A careful and systematic study of all this would be certainly rewarding, and we hope that this will be possible in the near future. A suggestion that Viṭhoba himself was one of the foremost of cattle-thieves and that before being absorbed into the Vaiṣṇava fold, he was no more than a folk hero of a pastoral people, is of great interest to the students of religion, history and folk arts. The archaeological and literary evidence for this theory can be tested in the light of living traditions among the followers of Viṭhoba and Bīrapa and there is ample material for this study.

V

Karnataka: Karnataka can claim to be the heartland of hero-stones. More than a thousand inscribed memorials were brought to light by the early years of this cent.; atleast another 1500 were added in the last eight decades. This means that a major part of the memorial material has been systematically collected and preserved in the several volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Karnataka Inscriptions* and other publications. A study of this material has yielded many interesting results, of which the following deserve to be noted:

So far, not less than 2,650 inscribed memorials have been brought to light, broadly covering the extant material in the old Mysore state. Information relating to the memorial stones of the Raichur, Bidar, Gulburga, Belgaum, North and South Kanaras and Bellary Dts., is not fully available, for as systematic a survey of these Districts as that of the old Mysore State is yet to be attempted. Though too early to speculate, the material thus surveyed, and several thousands of anonymous memorials, are likely to multiply the present number, and bring the total to anywhere between 6,000 and 7,500. A systematic photo-documentation alone can help us to know them better, and, we hope, the work begun by the Karnatak University will soon bring forth some results.

Of the 2,650 inscribed memorials now known, about 2,200 are *vīragals*, while the rest relate to the *satī*, *niśidhi*, *siḍitale*, *garuḍa*(?) and other heroic acts. The *niśidhi* memorials are the next largest, though only about 300, while the *satī* tablets appear to be not more than about 150. The memorials continued to be erected almost from the 5th cent. (Kadamba) to the 19th cent. (Woḍeyars). The practice appears to have reached its climax during the 10-13th cent. particularly under the Hoysaḷas. Our survey reveals that not less than 1,100 inscribed tablets were erected during the 10-13th cent. and of these, about 375 were erected in the Hoysaḷa kingdom. We are aware of only one inscribed memorial of the early-Cālukyas, but those of the Kadamba, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Ganga and later-Cālukyas are not less than 95,35,150 and 125 tablets respectively. Region-wise classification of the known inscribed memorials gives us some interesting results: in the forested hills of Shimoga (which, not only form a border between the coast and plain, but also the boundary between the Kadamba-Ganga, Cālukya-Hoysaḷa, Hoysaḷa-Kalacurya, Hoysaḷa-Sevuṇa kingdoms) not less than 750 memorials are located. Next come the Hassan (470), Mandya-Mysore (325), Tumkur (240), Dharwad (180), and Chikmagalur (150) Dts. Inscribed memorials are yet to be brought to light from the Bidar Dt., and the memorial stones now found in the Gulburga (2) Belgaum (3) and South Kanara (9) Dts., are too small a number to indicate that there are more to be brought to light.

This data regarding numbers may interest very few art-historians, but there is little doubt that their plastic form, their stylistic idiom, and their decorative and thematic detail would be of immense interest to all of them. It is to be noted that the art history of several minor dynasties and feudatories can be known, or known better, only from the memorial stones of their time. The very few Ganga or Kadamba structures, for example, are no doubt, revealing architecturally, but their plastic idiom is better known through their memorial stones.

The size of the stone, the number of panels into which the tablet has been divided, the schemata, and also the rich plastic vocabulary, are so complex that any general remark would be only half-true. A cluster of anonymous tablets of Rāṣṭrakūṭa times at Gadag-Beṭgeri, the Ganga *vīragals* at Hire-Guṇḍagal, the western Cālukyan cluster at Chikkerūr, the Vijayanagara cluster at Kaikiṇi, not to mention hundreds of memorials found in several clusters in the Mysore, and North and South Kanara Dts., deserve greater attention than what has been paid to them so far. To reveal the nature of these memorials, we may draw attention to the following types:

(*a*) *Cattle-Raids: (turu-goḷ)*: *Vīragals* established in honour of those who succumbed while resisting the attempt of, or retrieving cattle from, raiders form the most popular variety. All these relate to the *gograhan* skirmishes. Several hundreds of memorials found in the State honour the hero who died in this cause, but the most interesting among them are those found at Siddhenahaḷḷi[20] and Kembāḷu[21] which mention respectivley the death of a heroine and of a queen who launched an offensive by capturing cattle.

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[20] *EC* IX, Ht. 11 of 1041.

[21] *EC* V, Cn. 205 of 1200.

(*b*) *Rape and Molestation of Women: (peṇbūyal):* Memorials erected in honour of those who laid down their lives defending the honour of women who were molested by enemies were of no uncommon incidence in medieval India. One of the most vivid portrayals of this kind of incidents in Karnataka is found on a tablet at Korakoḍa in the Shimoga Dt.[22]

(*c*) *In Defence of Land and Lord: (era-vesa)*: Memorials erected in honour of those who died defending their land or lord, probably as trained soldiers, or as a part of feudal obligations, constitute another variety. Hundreds of hitherto unknown *vīragals*, with only the names of heroes engraved on them, are found at Malliganūr. This is the most varied cluster, though a memorial stone at Maḷavaḷḷi provides the most vivid description of this type in relief and words.[23]

(*d*) *In Rescue of Friends and Relatives: (neṇṭan-eḍar):* Memorials erected in honour of those who died lending support to friends and relations on an occasion of crisis form yet another group. An inscribed memorial from Hūli is a typical example,[24] while another found at Shikaripur[25] reveals an heroine laying down her life in this cause.

(*e*) *In Defence of Town or Village: (ūr-aḷivu):* Citizens of a village who laid down their lives defending their land received such honours. The enemies may have been either robbers,[26] or kings and princes, or recalcitrant individuals, or oppressive officers.[27]

(*f*) *Fight Against Outlaws and Wild Animals:* When robbers and wild animals attacked the villagers, some heroes exhibited extraordinary courage at the cost of their lives, and tried to defend the weak and the helpless. Memorials erected in honour of such heroes form a distinct group. Inscribed memorials at Baḷḷigāme and

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[22] *EC* VIII, Sb. 175 of 1156.

[23] *Ibid.*, Sb. 10 of 800.

[24] *EI* XVIII, pp. 199-201.

[25] *EC* VII, Sk. 2 of 1446.

[26] *EC* VIII, Sb. 224 of 1219.

[27] Chidanandamurti, M., *Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana*, (Mysore, 1970), p. 285.

Sāsuvehaḷḷi[28] are examples of this. In about fifteen such memorials, we note encounters between heroes and turbulent elephants, cows, boars, hogs, tigers and even horses. The evidence brought to light from Begūr, Tambūr, Puradakeri, Maidūr, Korṭageri, Mercara, Kaṭṭesomanahaḷḷi, and Kāñchigallu bears this out.

(*g*) *Memorials for Pets:* As if to recognise heroism of every sort, memorials were erected in honour of even pets like dogs which died fighting. The finest example of this was at Atkūr, now in the Government Museum, Bangalore[29]. At Tambūr (Dharwad Dt.), we have another example, which shows king Jayakesi of the Kadamba family not only commemorating the death of his pet parrot, but also laying down his life in remorse.

Besides these seven types of *vīragals*, we meet several other types of immolation stones. The *niśidhis* are peculiar to Jains. Men and women, saints and lay-disciples, who accepted death by *sallekhana*, were honoured, and hundreds of such memorials are noticed at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. The *satī* stones are also immolation tablets — in Karnataka, they are found in considerable number and variety. We meet one of the earliest instances in the early Kadamba kingdom dated by some in the 4th and by some others in the 6th cent.[30] One of the latest recorded *satī* stones belongs to the 17th cent. and to the Keḷadi kingdom.[31] The most interesting of the immolations is the one found at Tambūr. The Kadamba king Jayakesi of the 12th cent. was so struck by remorse at the death of his pet parrot attacked by a cat in his palace, that he decided to end his life by plunging into a pyre. As the entreaties of his courtiers and consorts failed to dissuade him, it is further mentioned, that his wives, near relatives, and servants also followed his example and ended their lives.

Like the wives, dedicated servants also ended their lives either to prove their loyalty to the master or to fulfil a vow. The devout servants are popularty known as *joḷavāḷis*, *veḷevāḷis* and *tuḷilāḷs*. The *veḷevāḷis* are the same who are known as *kulaputran*, *mane-magan*, *premālaya-sutan*, *porada-magam*. They lived and died with their lord. To die, they either adopted the process of *kīḷguṇṭe*[32] (live burials) or of *siḍi-tale*,[33] (offering ones head to a spring device), plunging into the pyre[34], falling from a height[35], allowing oneself to be skinned[36] etc. The *kīḷguṇṭe* practice, or burying oneself with the lord, appears to have become very rare after about the 10th cent. A.D., while the *veḷavāḷi* (also called *lenka-vāḷi*) practice continued even after this period. The 1000-*lenkas*, (*lenka-sāsirvaru*) obtained their subsistence from their lords; lived as well as died with them. Their dedication was so great that they are often compared to, and called after the *garuḍa*, vehicle of Viṣṇu.[37] '*Garuḍa*' memorial pillars found at Haḷebīḍ and Bāchaḷḷi are interesting not only for their historical details but also for their architectural and sculptural content.

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[28] *EC* VII, Sk. 159 of 1183 and Hl. 85 of 1189 respectively.

[29] *EC* III, Md. 41.

[30] *EC* VIII, Sb. 523.

[31] *EC* VIII, Sa. 35.

Another type of immolation relates to the conviction that death on certain auspecious occasions, such as at the eclipse, would ensure salvation. Several tablets commemorate immolation at the time of solar or lunar eclipse[38]. The method of dying however, varied; some plunged into fire, while others got drowned in holy rivers.[39] Kannaḍa literature, folk lore, and folk-plays, throw as interesting a light on all these aspects of hero-worship as the inscriptions. The reaction of Jains and Vīraśaivas to some of these observances, and their ridicule of the superstition involved in them should be of more interest to social historians than to art-historians. Kannaḍa literature is replete with the cult of *tuḷilāḷs*, or *lenkavāḷis*; the term *tuḷilāḷ* is, however, rarely met in the inscriptions of Karnataka.

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32. *EC* III, TN. 91 of 840.
33. *SII XI*, Pt. I, No. 2 of 865.
34. *IA* XX, *p*. 69 of 900.
35. *EC* VII, Sk. 192 of 1060.
36. *Ibid*., Sk. 62 of 1070.
37. *EC* V, Bl. 112 of 1220.
38. *KI* VI, 19 of 1200; *EC* VIII, Sb. 310 of 1129.
39. *EC* VII, Sk. 136 of 1068.

THE CĀYĀ-STAMBHAS FROM NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA

H. SARKAR

THE *cāyā-stambhas* from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a site now under complete submergence, constitute an invaluable source of the history of memorial pillars in India. Several clusters of them, datable in the third cent. A.D., were found in this valley. There are very few memorial pillars in other parts of the country, which go back earlier than this period; and one such example, from Andhau, in Kutch Dt., is the memorial of a Kṣātrapa king, whose name is now lost, dated the year 89.[1] But so far as south India is concerned, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa series is undoubtedly the earliest. Innumerable hero-stones have been discovered in recent years from Cengam Tk., of the North Arcot Dt., in Tamil-Nadu,[2] but none of these is earlier than the reign of the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu, who possibly ascended the throne in 536-37.[3]

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[1] *Indian Archaeology - A Review*, 1968-69, p. 46.

[2] Nagaswamy, R., (ed.), *Seminar on Hero-Stones*, (Madras, 1974).

[3] Krishnan, K.G., "Hero-stone Inscriptions of the Pallava times", *Ibid.*, p. 3. The concentration of hero-stones in the Cengam area, which borders the Karnataka plateau, bears certain interesting geographical features. By and large, these hero-stones record the death of heroes in course of cattle-raids. The intruders followed the narrow opening, 24 kms. broad, flanked by the Javvaji Range on the north and the Kalray Annamalai Range on the south. In the middle of this pass flows eastward the river Pennaiyar, suggestive of a border-line between the two feudatories or clan-chiefs. In this connection, mention may be made of the discovery, by Shri Narasimhaiah, B., a unique monolithic anthropomorphic figure raised in the midst of megalithic burials at Mottūr, a hamlet of Vellur, in Cengam Tk.

All the memorial pillars at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were raised during the rule of the Ikṣvākus, who succeeded the later-Śātavāhanas in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley some time in the second quarter of the third cent. A.D. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, known then as Vijayapurī, was their capital. They had close, sometimes even matrimonial, connections with various contemporary ruling families, including the Śakas of Ujjain. The founder of the Ikṣvāku line of rulers was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla, followed successively by three more rulers — Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvala Cāmtamūla and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta.[4] Of these four, we have only the memorial pillar in honour of Cāmtamūla, the founder.

These memorials, generally tetragonal in section, are freestanding limestone columns. They are invariably inscribed and carved, but, unfortunately, most of them are damaged and inscriptions thereon are very badly defaced. Many of these pillars were located near some pillared hall which may have been a wayside rest-house.

All of them belong to the same architectural pattern, though they conform to four classes on the basis of the personalities for whom they were raised: (i) memorial pillars in honour of kings or queens, (ii) of chieftains and generals, (iii) of religious personages and artisans, and (iv) of soldiers. We will briefly deal with each of these classes. The earliest known memorial pillar from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is that of king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla,[5] while the last known *cāyā-stambha* of the dated series pertains to Śrī Vammabhaṭā, a queen of Ehuvala Cāmtamūla and mother of the last Ikṣvāku king, Rudrapuruṣadatta.[6] Fortunately, both these examples are in a fairly good state of preservation. The earliest memorial pillar came from an area close to *Stūpa* 9 in the centre of the valley, but its exact provenance is not known. Tetragonal in section, with a rounded top, it is about 12 feet high. A thirteen line inscription has been found at the base, above which are five sculptured panels, arranged one above the other, from bottom to top. In the centre of the lowermost panel, or the first scene, is a corpulent person wearing a simple dress and sandals, but holding a staff, a *rāja-daṇḍa*, in his left hand. The absence of crown is noteworthy here. A man behind him holds the parasol over the king's head, and on the dexter is the priest with a vessel in both the hands. Five other figures appear like monks or ascetics. Undoubtedly, the scene represents the distribution of gifts during the performance of the *hiraṇyakoṭi* ceremony. As the inscriptions of his successors say, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla performed *hiraṇyakoṭi*, *aśvamedha*, *vājapeya*, *agniṣṭoma* and other sacrifices (*āgiṭhoma-vājapeya-samedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasaha-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa*).[7]

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[4] Sarkar, H., and Misra, B.N., *Nagarjunakonda*, (New Delhi, 1972), pp.12-18.

[5] *EI* XXXV, (1963-64), pp. 1-4; *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 63-64 where the photograph of the pillar has also been published.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, (1961-62), pp. 20-22.

The next scene or panel portrays the same royal figure on an elephant; a man seated behind him holds the parasol over the monarch's head, while the four marching attendants, surround the elephant. Above this is a palace scene, in which the central figure is surrounded by ladies — three of them, perhaps musicians, being seated on the floor and the one, dancing to his left. In the next panel occurs another palace scene, an oft-repeated theme in the art-tradition of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Here, the corpulent male figure is seated on the throne in the *ardha-paryanka* posture. On either side of him stands a lady, while two other women are to be seen behind them, one of them holding a fly-whisk in her hand. The two ladies on either side are possibly queens of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāmtamūla. The uppermost panel delineates an edifice in three vertical panels, denoting a palace, or the idea of *vīrasvarga*. All this clearly shows the developed nature of the memorial pillar, its evolved plastic form, portraying the life-story of the king.

The inscription below the sculptured panels is a sort of an epitaph. Significantly, though the *cāyā-stambha* was erected in the

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7. *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 3. His own inscriptions have not been found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. There are only two inscriptions of his reign — one at Rentala and another at Kesanapalli, Guntur Dt.

early years of the rule of Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta, the son and successor of Cāmtamūla, the persons responsible for its installation were all ladies — mothers, sisters or queens of the deceased monarch. The majority of the names bear the honorific *Śrī*; the two names without it are of Sarasikā and Kusumalatā, described in the inscription as *abhatarikā* (*abhyāntarikā*) meaning probably an intimate female friend or concubine.[8]

The one raised in honour of the Śaka princes Vammabhaṭā, the queen-mother, by King Rudrapuruṣadatta, in his eleventh regnal year, was found in the precincts of a Buddhist monastery (Fig. 1). No other memorial pillar comes either from a Buddhist monastery or a Brahmanical temple. Here, the sculptural embellishment is confined to only one panel, depicting Vammabhaṭā as seated on a stool and holding a mirror in one of her hands. She is dressed like a foreign lady, accompanied by two female attendants. We have no hesitation in identifying the relief as the portrait of the queen-mother. The inscription, engraved in the usual ornate style, runs to nine lines.[9] This is the only memorial pillar raised in honour of a lady at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. There are, however, at least two memorials at Andhau, of the time of Rudradāman I, raised in memory of ladies.[10]

Yet another pillar representing a memorial to a royal personage, prince Elī Ehavūladāsa, a step-brother of the ruling king, Ehuvala Cāmtamūla, comes from the vicinity of pillared hall (site 61).[11] It is just a fragment in which only one panel and the inscription are extant. The scene depicts a princely person seated in the *ardha*-

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[8] *EI* XXXV, (1963-64), p. 3.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXXIV, (1961-62), p. 22.

[10] *Ibid.*, XVI, (1921-22), pp. 19-25. These two records register the erection of funerary pillars by one Madana, son of Simhila to the memory of his sister Jaṣṭavīrā and his wife Yaśodattā. The Wandh inscription of Rudrasimha I, dated in 183, records the erection of the *yaṣṭi* in memory of a woman who has been described as the servant of the mother — *Ibid.*, XXXVII, (1967), pp. 142-44.

[11] *EI* XXXV, (1963-64), pp. 10-11.

paryanka pose, surrounded by four ladies. To his left is a dancer, while to his right is a lady playing on the *vīṇā*; two other ladies are seated at two corners with outstretched legs. Dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Ehuvala Cāmtamūla, the inscription uses the characteristic Śaka title *Svāmī* for the Ikṣvāku kings for the first time at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Though hailing from the royal family, Elī Ehavūladāsa has been described in the inscription as *mahāsenāpati*.[12] Besides this, there are about a dozen mutilated memorial columns, raised in honour of *senāpatis* and *mahātalavārs*. Of all such memorials, the one set up in memory of the Kuḷahaka chief, Cāmtapuḷa, occupied the most prominent position by virtue of its location just outside the main, or eastern, gateway of the citadel. There was also a pillared hall close by. The relief on this pillar depicts an elephant with a rider (Fig. 2). Three epithets — *amita-janasa dapa-damana, khamdhā-vārāna okhamdhaka* and *olabaku-hathi-gahaka* — are applied to his name; the expression *hathi-gahaka* (Skt. *hasti-grāhaka*) may mean one who seizes the elephant, evidently of the enemies.[13] Besides elephants, the *cāyā-stambhas* sometimes bear a horse and chariot while delineating the life-sketch of the *mahāsenāpatis* or *mahātalavāras*. For instance, one of the memorials shows a rider on a prancing horse. Originally, it must have been a beautifully-carved pillar with at least four registers, arranged one above the other; but for the three small lotus medallions, the topmost panel is lost. In the relief below it is a bulky figure, with a dancing woman to its left. There is no trace of the next panel; the last one, however, portrays a rider on a prancing horse, followed by an attendant. In front of the horse is a human figure. It bears a brief inscription (*mahāsenāpati mahātalavara Mayabhala*). An interesting relief on a fragmentary *cāyā-stambha* contains on ornate chariot occupied by a person having a squarish face and tightly-fitted headgear. The hero is looking through the opening of the wheeled chariot, and a seated lion is shown to its front left. Obviously, it is a hunting scene in the Girnār forest, the only place in India where lions are still found.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

About five memorial pillars, raised in honour of dead soldiers and their chiefs, were discovered at site 133, close to a pillared hall. Sometimes, a single column was set up for a number of dead soldiers. These fragmentary pillars are both inscribed and carved with battle-scenes. One such example depicts a horseman approaching a fortress, guarded by three cavaliers with drawn swords. Another pillar at the same time portrays four warriors with a sword or spear and a shield in their hands. The pillar-inscriptions provide names of at least three leaders: Raṭaputa, prince Karadaru, and Haraka. While the last-mentioned person has been referred to as a *raṭhika* (*rāṣṭrika*) or governor of a *rāṣṭra*, the other two seem to be only *senāpatis*.[14] It is worth noting that all of them, soldiers and their leaders, hailed from a place called Magalaraṇa, the location of which is not known.[15] But all this certainly indicates that a battle was fought near the Ikṣvāku citadel, and these columns were raised in memory of the dead soldiers and their generals.

The tradition of setting up *cāyā-stambhas* was not confined to royal personages, generals or soldiers; for there is at least one example each where the death of a religious teacher and an artisan has been commemorated. At site 56, which has escaped submergence, was installed a memorial close to a temple, in honour of one Koḍaraka, who has been described as *araka-bhaḍaraka* (Skt. *āryaka-bhaṭṭāraka*) and *yati-samaṇa-kṛta*.[16] These epithets suggest that Koḍaraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a religious institution. A short pillar with a curved top, later used as the base of a limetrough at the site of the *stūpa* with *svastika* inset, contains an epigraph, but it is not incised in the characteristic ornate style of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This is also a memorial pillar, in honour of a foreman of artisans

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[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

[15] One of the suburbs of Vijayawāḍa, Krishna Dt., is known now by the name Mogalrājapuram. It is, however, difficult to say if the present name has anything to do with the Magalaraṇa of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions.

[16] *EI* XXXV, (1963-64), p. 13.

(*āvesani*), Mūlabhūta by name, who hailed from a place called Pavayata.[17] A narrow-necked vase, perhaps the guild-mark of Mūlabhūta, has been incised above the inscription.

It is thus evident that the raising of memorials was a widespread practice at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. It is also certain that the reliefs carved on various pillars are real episodes from the life of the persons for whom these have been erected. There is hardly anything conventional in the theme, for, the scenes are not only varied but also realistic in delineation. They may have been termed *cāyā*-(image) *stambhas* (pillars) because the reliefs were almost true reflection of the hero's life and actions.[18] These memorials, taken collectively, reflect a developed idea as well as a high artistic attainment. The line of evolution that gave rise to this level of achievement is, however, not easy to trace, though there is scope to imagine that the monumental character of the memorial and their lasting form, may have had their germination in the areas where the Śakas held their sway in the early Christian era. Mention has already been made to the memorial pillar of a Kṣātrapa king at Andhau in Kutch; to this, we may add, among several others, the *stele* found at Salad and the '*pāliya*' stone erected by the Mahākṣātrapa Svāmī Rudrasena I at Mulwasar.[19] The word used in the Kṣātrapa inscriptions for memorial stone is not *cāyā-stambha* but *śilalaṣṭi*, *śilā-yaṣṭi* or merely *yaṣṭi*. It occurs not only in the Mulwasar inscription dated in C. 200 A.D., but also in the Bhuj inscriptions (dated in 130) of the Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman I.[20] There is, thus, indubitable evidence of the prevalence of inscribed memorial stones during the first and second centuries of the Christian era in Gujarat. The Mulwasar inscription records that the sepulchral

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, XXXIV, pp. 20-21 for the meaning of the term *cāyā-stambha*. It has been translated by Mirashi as the sculptured pillar. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, (1967), p. 202.

19. Goetz, Hermann, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, (Oxford, 1950), p. 88.

20. Gadre, A.S., *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State* I, (Baroda, 1943), pp.1-4. For Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman, see *EI* XVI, (1921-22), pp. 19-25.

stele was raised for the son of Vāṇijaka. Unlike the Prakrit tablets of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman, its language is Sanskrit.

The fragment of a dark, grey, slate *stele* from Salad, near Baroda, has a rounded top; its upper part, writes Goetz, "is covered with a clumsy relief, or rather a drawing on a slightly deepend background. It represents a tree, flanked on both sides by curious animals, distantly resembling heraldic bulls. There is no inscription, nor any other indication of the time and purpose of the curious monument."[21] Goetz has called it elsewhere a warrior memorial stone.[22] There are pitfalls in assessing the archaeological evidence without having any personal knowledge of it, but one may be tempted to say that two types of memorials were erected in Gujarat specially before the third cent. — one bearing only the inscription, and the other with only the reliefs. Both these trends merged at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, to give birth to a new artistic as well as evolved sepulchral form during the middle of the third cent.

The Śakas of Ujjain, or parts of Central India that came under their influence, must have acted as an intermediate point for dispersal of the tradition, as can be testified from the discovery of a memorial pillar at Pawni, on the bank of the Waingangā, in Bhandara Dt., Maharashtra. It is a Prakrit inscription of a Mahākṣātrapa Rupiamma and datable palaeographically in the second cent. The pillar being fragmentary, it is difficult to say whether it bore the relief panels similar to those of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. That there is a possibility of its containing some reliefs can be surmised from the occurrence of a half lotus motif immediately above the inscription. A significant point is the occurrence of the very term *cāyā-kambha* in this epigraph (*Mahakhattava-Kumārasa Rupiammasa cāyā-kambho*).[23] This is, indeed, the earliest reference to this word and appears to have been used only in the case of sculptured memorial columns.

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21. Goetz, Hermann, "An Early Indo-Scythian Monument", *BBSMPG* III, Pt. I, (Baroda, 1947), p. 13.
22. Goetz, Hermann, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, (Oxford, 1950), p. 88.
23. *EI* XXXVII, (1967), pp. 201-203.

In all likehood, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa rulers derived their inspiration from the Kṣātrapa rulers of Kathiawar via the Śakas of Ujjain; but, the developed type of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, representing high artistic excellence and architectural beauty, never found its way into Gujarat or Kathiawar. A *yaṭṭi*, or *yaṣṭi*, set up in 283 at Mevasa, Bhuj Dt., during the reign of Bhartṛadāman, shows, in outline, a lamp-stand, a *ḍamaru* and a small stand.[24] Evidently, the conception of *cāyā*, or depiction of the life-history, did not find favour in Gujarat, the area where the memorial pillars had, so far as our present knowledge goes, their early beginning.

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[24] *EI* XXXVII, (1967), pp. 144-46. An early example of memorial, containing reliefs, comes from Belvaḍigi, Gulbarga Dt., Karnataka. The inscription on it clearly states that it is "the memorial image of Kalaka" (*Kalakasya Cy -p*[*aṭimā*], *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32. Another early example, mentioning the word *cāyā-stambha*, comes from Gangaperūru, Cuddapah Dt., Andhra Pradesh. Ascribable to the third or fourth cent. it records the death of Śivadāsa in a fight arising out of a cattle-raid. See *ARSIE* 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 228. This *cāyā-stambha* appears to be the precursor of the Pallava hero-stones.

MEMORIAL STONES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

M. L. K. MURTHY

ERECTION of memorial stones was a common practice in India, particularly in medieval times, and the Telugu country, whose history kept in step with the general course of events in other parts of the country, also shared some of these cultural practices. For the sake of convenience, the act of laying down one's life is here distinguished under two categories: self-sacrifice and immolation. The term 'self-sacrifice' is used to denote the act of sacrificing life in a battle as a warrior, or while fighting to protect a cow, a Brahmin, a woman, one's master or even one's own life. The individual who perished in such a heroic deed was considered to have performed *vīrakarma* and he was revered by his posterity as a hero. The term 'immolation', on the other hand, is applied to indicate the act in which one voluntarily killed himself with profound faith in a religious belief, or for fulfilling a religious vow. Immolation was also considered heroic, for the individual could not have sacrificed his own life without extraordinary will-power and determination to perform that act. Even so, unlike the hero who died in battle, the individual who immolated himself only attained *puṇyakarma*. Memorial stones raised in honour of those who died by either process are found in different parts of Andhra Pradesh, and as elsewhere in the country, are also known as *vīrakallu*.

I

Self-sacrifice: According to *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (XVI. 18), "desertion of life, regardless of reward, in order to save a *Brāhmaṇa*, or a cow, or for the sake of a woman or child, may confer heavenly bliss even upon (members of those) base castes."[1] The same work (*Ibid.*, III. 45) also says that "those who have been killed in protecting a cow or a *Brāhmaṇa*, or a king, or a friend, or their own property, or their wedded wife, or their own life, go to heaven."[2] Apart from these references in the *Smṛti*, some Telugu literary works of the medieval period also emphasize this aspect in no uncertain terms. For instance, the *Simhāsanadvātriṁśaka* of Śrīnātha, the greatest Telugu poet of the 14-15 cent. tells us that it was customary to sacrifice one's life for the protection of cattle (particularly cows), for the liberation of a Brahmin from captivity,[3] for the protection of one's master and also for the fullfilment of one's vows. Several memorial stones in different parts of Andhra Pradesh corroborate this evidence. These memorial pillars were called by the following terms — *chāya-thaṁbha*, *chāya-khaṁbho*, *chāya-thabha*, *chāya-khaṁbha*, *chaya-khambha* and *chaya-khabha*.[4]

A memorial stone found in the village of Gangaperūru in Siddhavaṭṭam Tk., of the Cuddapah Dt., is considered to be of a unique type.[5] It has an inscription of Brāhmī script characteristic of the 3-4th cent. A.D. The epigraph states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chāyā-khambha* (Skt. *chāyā-stambha*) of Gona, who died (*saga-ga[ta]sa*-Skt. *svarga-gatasya*) during a cattle raid (*go-gahane*-Skt. *go-grahaṇe*) by Śivadāsa. Gona, in this epigraph, is referred to as the *putra* (son) of an *ācārya*: this has been taken to mean that Gona was a devout pupil of the latter. Srinivasan holds that this might be the earliest example of the kind as no memorial stones of persons who died in a cattle raid prior to this period have been brought to light so far. He further states that, although memorial stones of later period erected in honour of those who died in cattle raids are known in Western Deccan, and Western as well as Northern Tamil Nadu, very few of them pertain to a man of religious disposition.

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[1] Jolly, J., *The Institutions of Vishnu, Sacred Books of the East, VII*, (Delhi, 1965), p. 67.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[3] There were several occasions when Brahmins were molested. According to the 7th cent. sources the Beḍars of the Deccan molested Brahmins who had received land grants and settled in the new areas. These plundering raids had to be warded off by the villagers themselves as the ruling king could not enforce law and order in those areas. Such a situation continued until about the 13th cent. See Thapar, R., "The Image of the Barbarian in Early India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 13 (1971), p. 49.

[4] Srinivasan, P.R., "A Brahmi Inscription from Gangaperuru," *EI* XXXVI, (1970), p. 207.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

That it was considered a sacred duty to rescue cattle (particularly cows) involved in a *go-grahaṇa*, even at the cost of life, points to the importance attached to cattle during this period. For that matter, even during the Vedic and Mahābhārata times, cattle were considered a great asset, and instances of cattle-lifting were recorded.[6] By the time of the Nandas, agriculture had replaced the pastoral economy based on cattle-breeding, in the rich alluvial deltas of the Gangetic valley. This resulted in less dependance on cattle, and probably because of this cattle-raids were rarely reported in the records of medieval times in Northern India. In Southern India, on the other hand, cattle rearing continued to be the mainstay of the economy, as it was best suited to the semi-arid grasslands of the Deccan. The numerous instances of cattle-lifting, cattle-raids, and disputes even for pastures between two adjoining kingdoms, found in the medieval records of Southern India, are due to this change.

Memorial stones raised for a prince of the Ikṣvāku family, who must have died fighting for his king, for a commander of the forces, for a religious personage, and also for an artisan are found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a well known Buddhist centre in the South.[7] In the Palnāḍ region of the Guntur Dt., where the famous Palnāḍ battle took place, there are several memorial stones erected in honour of warriors. These are found at Gurajāla, Mācherla and Kārempuḍi, and the Palnāḍ heroes are worshipped to this day. There are also several temples and *maṇḍapas* at Kārempuḍi dedicated to the Palnāḍ heroes, popularly called *palanāṭi virulu*. One of these is a two-storyed structure called *nāyuḍu-maṇḍapa*, constructed in the years 1445-46. On the architrave of this *maṇḍapa* are some reliefs representing scenes from the life story of the Palnāḍ heroes and having an inscription dated 1445. The Telugu work *Palanāṭivīracaritra*, by Śrīnātha, not only gives an account of the heroic deeds of the Palnāḍ heroes, but also depicts the veneration bestowed on them by society.

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[6] *MBH*-IV — *Virāṭaparva.*

[7] Sircar, D.C., "More Inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa," *EI* XXXV, (1966), pp. 13-17.

II

Immolation: Immolation was resorted to in order to propitiate a deity whose wrath was believed to have been manifested in the form of a pestilence or of a calamity, or in order to fulfil a vow taken to get one's cherished desire granted.[8] Immolation was performed by offering one's head either to a god or goddess; and there were also instances where a devotee threw himself under a running temple car and got crushed to death.

The rite of immolation was in fact an ancient custom. It was known as *talai-bali* in Tamil and *miḍi-tala* in Telugu. The classic Tamil work of *Ilango-Aḍigaḷ*, the *Silappātikāram*,[9] refers to the *talai-bali* and narrates how the most valiant warriors and leaders of the army vied with one another to reach the great altar. There is the testimony of a few sculptural representations during the Pallava period suggesting the practice of this rite. As Vogel[10] has pointed out, these sculptural representations are clear in the Śiva temple at Pullamangai (16 kms. south of Tanjore), in the lower cave temple at Tiruccirapalli, in the Draupadī shrine and in the Varāha Maṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram, all in Ṭamil Nadu. These Pallava sculptures reveal that the head was offered to the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī, or Durgā. A hero stone found at Mallam in the Nellore Dt., set up in the twentieth year of the Pallava king Kampavarman, represents the hero holding in his left hand the tuft of his severed head while the right hand holds a sword.[11]

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[8] Sarma, M.S., *History of the Reddi Kingdom*, (Waltair, 1948), p. 340.

[9] Dikshitar, V.R.R., *The Silappadikaram*, (London, 1939), p. 113. Also note that the warriors went to the altar proclaiming "may all evil to our mighty king be warded off and may you (the *būtam*) stand firm on the side of those who propitiate you with offerings." Stone slingers, and different classes of soldiers who held shields stained with blood and human flesh, as well as lances, patted themselves on their shoulders, shouting exultingly, and cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked, and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious, when those headless trunks seemed to speak through the drums of untanned leather those words of thunder: "We have given you our lives as a sacrifice: Accept them," (*Ibid.*, p. 113).

The act of immolation assumed great importance during the Kākatīya and Reḍḍi periods, and, before it spread to the Telugu country during the former rule, it was practised in the Coḷa kingdom.[12] This period broadly coincides with that religious phase when Pāśupata Śaivism became the dominant cult and received the patronage of both Kākatīya and Reḍḍi monarchs. Alongside with Pāśupata Śaivism, some tantric cults also became widely prevalent.[13] Several Śaiva-*kṣetras* were also established, of which Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam, Drakṣārāma, Pālakollu (Kṣirārāma), Bhīmāvaram, Guḍipūḍi and Amarāvatī were renowned, the first three being the strongholds of Pāśupata Śaivism. Another notable feature of the age was consecration of *lingas* in the names of deceased persons, a practice which had come into vogue during the Gupta and early-Cālukya times. After the death of Allāḍa Reḍḍi (C. 1420), a stone temple was built and the *Allāḍeśvara linga* was installed and some land was granted for its worship by Nara Bhūpāla. It is no wonder that in an atmosphere where sectarian institutions and dogmatic faiths conditioned the psycho-social attitudes of the people, acts such as self-immolation (and *sahagamana*) received social sanction. Even the contemporary Telugu works like *Vikramārkacaritra*, *Simhāsanadvātrimśaka*, *Paṇḍitārādhyacaritra* (by Śrīnātha), *Bhojarājīyam* (by Ananta), *Keyūrabāhucaritra* (by Mañcaṇa) and *Ṣoḍaśakumāracaritra* (by Annaya), inspired and inculcated a conviction among the people that life should be sacrificed for a noble cause, either mundane or spiritual. The *Simhāsanadvātrimśaka* tells us that the goddess Durgā granted the desires of all those who worshipped the Aṣṭabhairavas of the eight quarters with the blood of their *aṣṭāngas* (eight limbs of the body) and made an offering of their heads soaked in blood. As Sarma has pointed out this immolation "by a devotee in his excessive devotion to his tutelary deity was the best offering he could make on earth. This dominating desire to sacrifice his all, in fanatic religious devotion, made the devotee spill his own blood on the altar of his deity, by cutting open his heart, his belly or any part of his body, or to pluck out and offer his eyes whenever necessary. He gave his precious life, which was the best and the highest offering he could make. The zeal, enthusiasm and unflinching faith in the ideals made the offering appear to the devotee a very easy, simple and ordinary affair, unworthy even to get elated in making it."[14]

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[10] Vogel, J. Ph., "The Head Offerings to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, (1930-32), pp. 539-43.

[11] For this sculptural representation see, *SII* XII, No. 106, pl. VI.

[12] According to Malkāpuram (Kurnool Dt., Andhra Pradesh) stone inscription, Kākatīya Gaṇapatideva, (1261) gave away the village of Mandaram (now known as Mandadam), and his daughter queen Rudrāmbā, donated another village by name Velangapūṇḍi (now called Velagapuḍi) to Gaṇapatideva's spiritual *guru*, Viśveśvara Śiva. Viśveśvara Śiva constituted these two villages into an *agrahāra* with the name of Viśveśvara Golaki, in which he founded a temple to God Viśveśvara, a Śaiva *maṭha*, and so on. This village was peopled with sixty Brahmin families specially brought from the Tamil country. These families, apparently, followed the Kalanana (Kāḷāmukha) form of Śaivism, which was represented by Viśveśvara Śiva. They had to be brought from the Tamil country, as Brahmins of this sect were not available in the Telugu country. Ten persons bearing the appellation Vīrabhadra, were appointed gaurdians of the village (*grāmasya rakṣakaḥ*). They were to perform certain duties, such as cutting off testicles, heads and stomachs (*bījacceda śiracceda kukṣiccedi kārambhiḥ*). In addition to the *vīrabhadras*, there were about twenty *vīramuṣṭis*. According to this inscription, these *vīrabhadras* were born in the Coḷa country (*Coḷa deśajaḥ*). See Pantulu, J.R., "Malkapuram Stone Pillar Inscription of Rudradeva," *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (1930), pp. 147-62.

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[13] For details see Sarma, M.S., *op. cit.*, pp. 310-11.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

Immolation grew into a distinct institution during the Kākatīya and Reḍḍi periods and the act that came to be known as *miḍi-tala* was also called *gaṇḍa-tala*. Apart from a sword or dagger that was generally used for chopping off one's head, there was a special iron implement with a broad circular edge called (in Telugu) *gaṇḍa gattera*, used for this purpose. The term *gaṇḍa-tala* was probably derived from the use of *gaṇḍa gattera* for cutting off the head. Immolation attained its highest popularity during the Reḍḍi period, and special temples of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra and Kāḷī were erected, where alone the performance of this gruesome act of offering one's head was permitted. It was also believed that those who performed the rite in the presence of Bhairava, Vīrabhadra, Bhadrakāḷī or Durgā would go to heaven. These temples to this day are known as *campuḍu guḷḷu* (temples for killing) in Telugu. According to the Śrīśailam record of the year 1378, Anavemā Reḍḍi built a 38-pillared stone pavilion called *vīraśiromaṇḍapa* (hall of the head of the heroes) at Śrīśailam, in the courtyard of the Mallikārjuna temple. He also built a separate pavilion for immolation. The inscription on the pillar of the *vīraśiromaṇḍapa* proclaims: "How wonderful it is that here in this maṇṭapa hosts of Ekāṅgavīras, who proudly make a votive offering of their eyes, hands, heads and tongues, by cutting them off, attain instantaneously a brilliant body of blessed limbs. The next moment, endowed with three eyes, ten arms, five faces (heads), and five tongues, they shine as if they were *aṣṭamūrtis* (eight-bodied Śivas)."[15]

Apart from literary and inscriptional evidence, there are also eye-witness accounts of foreign travellers like Friar Odoric, Friar Jordanus and Nicolo de Conti, who visited South India in the 14th cent.[16] These travellers vividly describe how the immolator proceeded to the altar accompanied by his kinsmen and friends singing songs, and in a frenzy of devotion, cut off his head from the trunk before the idol. Friar Odoric also saw individuals throwing themselves under the wheels of a temple car carrying the idol in procession and getting crushed to death. He reported as many as five hundred cases of immolation by this method, thus testifying to the great popularity of this custom. Nicolo de Conti also witnessed this custom in Bizengalia (Vijayanagara). These gruesome rites appear to have been common among the Śaivas, like Vīrabhadras, Vīramuṣṭis and Mailāra Vīrabhaṭṭas. The *Krīḍābhiramam* provides a graphic description of the ghastly deeds performed by these communities.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[16] For details see Sastri, K.A.N., *Foreign Notices of South India*, (Madras, 1939), pp. 196-7 and 209.

III

Vīrakallu-Vīrācāram: Stone tablets, with sculptural representations of heroic acts, were installed by masters or relatives or by the public, in memory of those who lost their lives fighting in a battle or who had immolated themselves to fulfil a vow. Such tablets, called *vīrakallu* are commonly found in the Śaiva centres, in almost all parts of Andhra Pradesh. In front of the central shrine of the Tripura-Sundarī temple at Tripurāntakam (Kurnool Dt.,) are a number of *vīrakallu*, arranged in a line, showing human figures in various postures: some with daggers thrust into their neck, abdomen, left thigh, chest etc. An inscription on one of these says that a Śivācārya by name Somaivagurudevaru offered his head to Tripurādevī so that good may befall a hero called Allā(ḍa) Vīramallu. There is a sculptural representation of Bhairava in a standing position with four arms, in the Śiva temple at Karempuḍi, in Palnāḍ (C.1600). The right arms are destroyed, one of the left arms holds a trident, the lower one holds a human head, while a dog jumps to bite at it.[17] Temples, dedicated to Vīrabhadra, Bhairava, Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī etc., and the *vīrakallu*, *nāgakallu* (serpent stones) and *māstikallu* (*satī*-stones) are found in Palnāḍ and its neighbourhood.

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[17] Sewell, R., *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Archaeological Survey of Southern India, (Madras, 1882), p. XV.

The erection and worship of *vīrakallu* gave rise to a religious cult called in Telugu *vīrācāram* (hero-cult), and land grants were made for the worship of these stones by the end of the Kākatīya period. A stone inscription at Mācerla, in front of three small temples dedicated to the Palnāḍ heroes, registers a land grant during the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra, for the worship of *vīrapuruṣulu* (heroes). Hero-worship and the hero-cult attained their climax by the end of the Reḍḍi period. Ballads are sung in praise of the Palnāḍ heroes, even to this day, accompanied by music and dance.

IV

Sahagamana–Māstikallu: Immolation was as important a rite to women as to men. Following the death of her husband, the wife prepared to immolate herself on his funeral pyre. The Telugu works *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* (by Śrīnātha) and *Rukmāngadacaritra* (by Prauḍhakavi Mallaṇa) testify to the popularity of this custom during their time. This has been corroborated by accounts of Friar Odoric and Friar Jordanus. Friar Jordanus has recorded that, sometimes, as many as five wives of the dead, immolated themselves on the pyre of their husband.[18] Such women were revered as *perantāḷḷu*, or *mahāsatī*, and the memorial pillars raised in their honour are known as *satīkallu.*

V

Conclusions: The ancient practice of erecting memorial stones for war heroes and religious personages in the Telugu country has to be understood against the political, religious, cultural and historic background of this area. As we know from the pages of history, the medieval period witnessed the emergence of several local kingdoms in Southern India, as elsewhere. Intra-geographical ecological imbalances and economic pressures, coupled with the aspirations of the local chieftains to power, set centripetal and centrifugal forces at work, involving territorial violations, deceitful (cattle) raids and battles. Added to this there were foreign invaders. All these forces brought the people under the grip of constant tension, and produced determined warriors to face these challenges. Religious tenets were metamarphosed to inculcate martial spirit among the people; sectarian and dogmatic institutions exploited this and exerted considerable socio-cultural pressure on people and made them dedicated to the various cults. As a result, immolation received social sanction and those who committed that act became heroes. Subsequently hero-cult and hero-worship were integrated into the social and cultural life of the period.

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[18] Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, p. 195.

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HERO-STONES OF THE KADAMBAS OF GOA

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THE Kadambas of Goa, whose dominion comprised the divisions of the Konkaṇa Nine-hundred and Palasige Twelve-thousand, ruled from 950 to 1270 A.D. A systematic survey of all the memorial stones — including hero-stones — of the Kadamba dominion, has not been attempted so far; hence, our inquiry in this paper is confined to a few examples only.

I

Form: The hero-stone, as the name suggests, is a stone tablet erected in memory of a hero who took part in a battle, fight, skirmish or scuffle, and died fighting the enemy. In a hero-stone which is divided into three vertical panels, the lowest panel represents the scene of the fight; the middle panel represents the hero being taken to Heaven in a *vimāna* by celestial nymphs, to the accompaniment of music; and the top panel represents the hero sitting before God in Heaven and offering prayers to Him. Occasionally, the panels are four (as in the Janagā hero-stone) or five (as in the Amminbhāvi hero-stone). The additional panels usually represent either a second battle-scene or heroe's procession to heaven.

The god represented in the top panel is usually a *Śivalinga*, occasionally with a bull squatting in front. Sometimes, a cow with a suckling calf, and the Sun and the Moon are also shown. In the next lower panel, the hero is found seated in the *vimāna;* two celestial nymphs, one on each side, carry the *vimāna* to Heaven. Two nymphs with *cauries*, one on each side, also appear on some. Occasionally, the nymphs hold the *vimāna* in one hand and a *cauri* in the other (as in the Kāvalavāḍ hero-stone). On some hero-stones, these ladies carry water-pitchers on their heads (as in the Tambūr hero-stone) which is a symbol of auspiciousness. Sometimes the *vimāna* has flags fixed to either side of its top (as in the Rāya *vīragal* of the reign of Jayakesi I). The musical accompaniment generally consists of drums, pipes and cymbals. In the next lower panel or panels, we find either battle scenes or scenes of cattle being rescued with the hero fighting against the lifters. A major battle is represented in the Amminbhāvi hero-stone in two panels; the Tambūr hero-stone records the fight of Bijjaḷa. The Janagā hero-stone also represents the battle on two panels. Skirmishes are seen in the Bailandūr hero-stones and the cattle-raid on the Kāvalavāḍ hero-stones. The hero, generally shown prominently, is represented in action, either on foot or on horseback. Where a king or general is involved, an umbrella is shown over his head, as in the Tambūr and Amminbhāvi hero-stones. Hero-stones representing naval warfare, with a number of soldiers seated in battleships, are seen in the Goa region. Elephants appear in the Tambūr hero-stone, and Bijjaḷa is found on one of them. The hero generally wears a short *dhoti*; he also wears ornaments, such as armlets, anklets, necklaces or garlands. Warriors generally tied their hair in a knot on the back, top or sides of the head, and some of them grew beard. A sheath often hangs from his waist-band. Swords and shields, spears, lances, clubs, scimitars, bows and arrows are the different weapons used by them. There are foot-soldiers, horsemen and, occasionally, fighters seated on an elephant.

Language: All the hero-stones discussed in this article, including the one found in Goa, bear Kannaḍa inscriptions.

Style: The record is generally written in terse language, and the expression is matter-of-fact. In a regular *dāna-śāsana*, the question of economising space is not as vital as in a hero-stone, for the latter contains large panels of reliefs and only marginal space for narrating the incidents in words. The two hero-stones from Tambūr, one of Mallikārjunadeva, dated in 1135 and another of Bijjaḷa, dated in 1136 A.D., are excellent examples of such compositions, expressing the maximum details in the minimum of space.

II

Composers and Sculptors: Only the composer of the Tambūr record is known to us. He was Īśvaradeva, the *senabova,* of Māvaḷe-nāḍu. The Bailandūr record was also composed by a *senabova,* but unfortunately his proper name is not given in the record. Most of these hero-stones are artistically executed. The cattle, soldiers, horses and elephants, weapons, nymphs, musicians, battle-scenes, etc., are all realistically depicted. The names of some sculptors are also recorded. The hero-stone at Kiravatti (dated in 984) was carved by Maruḷoja. The sculptor of Bailandūr hero-stone (dated in 1115) was *kalkuṭiga* Kampaṇoja. The second hero-stone at Kiravatti was engraved by Kālidāsoja, son of Vardhamānoja. The *rūvāri* of Kāvalavāḍ hero-stone (dated in 1127) was Bharatoja, a skilled youth. A certain *Māheśvara* (name lost), son of the preceptor of Hānumgalla Binkeśvara, was the *kalukuṭiga* of the Tambūr hero-stone (dated in 1135). The Nandigaṭṭa hero-stone (1135) was engraved by Hāloja, described as a gifted son of the goddess Sarasvatī.

Cost: Two of the hero-stones discussed here mention the payment made to the sculptors: one, at Nandigaṭṭa says that the sister of the hero paid two *honnus* to the sculptor, Hāloja; the parents of the hero paid two *honnus* for the sculptor of the Tambūr hero-stone. *Honnu* or *honna* is the same as the *gadyāṇa.* A *gadyāṇa* weighs from about $\frac{1}{3}$ *tola* to $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola.* So, two *honnus* would mean about $\frac{2}{3}$ to 1 *tola* of gold. It may be noted that the Nandigaṭṭa hero-stone is a finely carved specimen, and the artist is described as *sarasvatīya-vara-putra.*

The hero-stones are generally erected by the relatives and friends of the hero. Sometimes, the *mahājana* or the *prabhus* also erected them. The Kiravatti (984), the Māvaḷḷi (1006-7), and the Godhoḷi (C. 1120) hero-stones were installed by Candiga, Ranga and Bāca respectively, but, their relationship with the heroes is not known. Another stone dated 1126 at Kiravatti was erected by the hero's son. The Kāvalavāḍ tablet (dated in 1127) was erected by Māḷeya-nāyaka, the hero's elder brother. The patron of the Nandigaṭṭa hero-stone was Māyakka, the hero's younger sister.

The Tambūr hero-stone (dated in 1139) was erected by Siḍila-Keta, Nāgiyakka and Ajaṇa, the parents and the son of the hero, respectively. The Tambūr hero-stone (dated in 1252) was erected by Malliyabenāyakiti, the hero's elder sister.

The role of hero-stones in the reconstruction of our history cannot be over-estimated. Besides supplementing details to material obtained from gift-deeds and other records, they indicate likely alignments of feudatories and other local powers. Besides throwing useful light on the social conditions of the day, they also reveal the martial spirit, and a sense of social responsibility in the youth of the time.

III

A Survey of Kadamba Memorials: With the exception of the one found at Rāya in the Goa territory, all the hero-stones discussed here, have been found and brought to light by me. Of two hero-stones of the ruler of Palasige-Twelve-thousand country, (before this area was occupied by the Kadambas of Goa), one at Tambūr (932-33) mentions the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, Govinda IV, and his feudatory, Kaṇṇiha *mahārāja* and records the death of Aṇṇiga of Tambūr in battle; the other of the same family, found at Kiravatti, (984), mentions that when the *mahārāja* (name lost) was ruling the country of the Palasige-Twelve-thousand, and Sariyabbarasī was administering Kiravatti, a certain hero died in a scuffle arising out of a cattle-raid.

Coming to the reign of Gūvaladeva I, of the Kadamba family (C. 975 to 1006-7), who was the first important king to carve out a principality for the Kadambas, we find mention of him on a damaged hero-stone at Māvaḷḷi, near Tambūr. This is dated in 1006-7. The ruler of Palasige country was still of the *mahārāja* family, named Taripayya, who was a feudatory of the Cālukya monarch, Satyāśraya. Gūvaladeva seems to have raided Māvaḷḷi and lifted the cattle. A hero named Āyca died while resisting him.

A hero-stone found at Rāya in the Goa territory (dated in 1071) mentions the reign of Jayakesi I (1050 to 1078), the grandson of Gūvaladeva I, and seems to record death of one Bhūpadeva of Vaḷḷiyapura in battle. His wife became a *satī*.

Five hero-stones of Gūvaladeva III (1078-1125), son of Jayakesi I, are extant. The first is from Sangameśvar, in the Kalghatgi Tk., (dated in 1081) and it states that Gūvaladevara-baṇṭa, younger brother of Paḍavaḷa Barmaca, died in battle. The second from Janagā, a village in Halyal Tk., (dated in 1108) states that the village was attacked by a certain queen, when a hero of Barmadevayya resisted her, killed many before being killed. A third hero-stone from Bailandūr in Yellapur Tk., (dated in 1115), records that one Nāga-gāvuṇḍa, son of Honnāji of Hamdinīra (Bailandūr), died fighting with robbers. A forth (undated) hero-stone, found at Godhoḷi, (C. 1120), records the death of one Demiga, son of Caṭṭa, of the *agrahāra* village Godhuvaḷḷi, when the ladies of the village were being molested. A fifth (undated) hero-stone, found at Aḷnāvar, Khanapur Tk., describes the hero as a Māruti to Gūvaladeva.

Seven hero-stones have been traced of the time of Jayakesi II (1125 to 1147), nephew and successor of Gūvaladeva III. The first from Kiravatti, (dated in 1126), mentions that a hero died fighting with raiders who had lifted cattle and were molesting the women of Kiravatti. The second hero-stone is from Kāvalavāḍ, in Halyal Tk., (dated in 1127). It records that *mahāsāmanta* Lasamayya attacked the *daṇḍanāyaka* Chaṭṭiyaṇṇa of Hambevoḷal (Kurḍikeri in Hubli Tk.,) and besieged the village when Kāḷiyaṇṇa, a hero on the side of Lasamayya, plunged into the fight from the rampart (*koṭe-gāḷaga*), vehemently attacked the foot-soldiers and horsemen of Caṭṭiyaṇṇa, died in action and went to *Śivaloka*. Two hero-stones from Bailandūr unfold rivalries among local chiefs. The first, (dated in 1129), states that one Māḷayya died fighting when the village was attacked by Nāgavarma of Iḍugumdaṇi, a village in Yallapur Tk. The second, (dated in 1131), mentions that one Tailaya Sāvanta of Ajjagāve (a village in the neighbouring Halyal Tk.,) attacked Bailandūr when a hero named Kagga, son of Oḷajikabbe, attacked the enemy horse and went to heaven. Tailaya Sāvanta appears again in the next hero-stone in Kaṇḍḷi, in Kalghatgi Tk. It records that when Tailaya Sāvanta raided the cattle of Kiravatti on 27th March 1132, Āhavamalla-nāyaka of Kaṇḍḷi rushed to the place hearing the row, confronted the enemy in the open space called Suntena Bayalu, had a hand-to-hand fight with archers, lancers and spearmen, rescued the cattle and, in the act, laid down his life.

The next hero-stone from Tambūr (dated in 1135) reveals interesting aspects of the political activity of the day. It states that when *mahāmaṇḍaḷeśvara* Mallikārjunadeva (1132-1146), of the Kadambas of Hānagal, was camping at Samsi (Kundagol Tk.), he summoned *daṇḍanāyaka* Tikkapayya and *māṇḍaḷika* Pāṇḍya to his presence. When they turned hostile, Pāṇḍya was put in prison, while Tikkapayya escaped. Mallikārjuna then issued orders to pursue him and bring him in to his presence. In a scuffle that seems to have ensued near Aṇṇigeri (Navalgund Tk.), Mācayya-nāyaka, son of Mokeyara Hemmāḍi-gāvuṇḍa died after exhibiting exemplary valour.

A hero-stone, lying on the side of the shallow moat surrounding the Tambūr fort, now in the museum of Karnatak University, states that, while *mahāmaṇḍaḷeśvara* Mallikārjunadeva (the same king of the previous hero-stone) was ruling from Hānumgalla, Tarikāḍa Bijjaḷa came to attack Hānagal and camped with his army to the east of the capital in 1136. He then attacked the fort with some infantry, along with horsemen, himself seated on his elephant. Thereupon, *mahāsāmanta*, *mayduna*-Mallarasa came out of the fort and, opposing Bijjaḷa's force, fought with him. At this juncture, Ketaya-nāyaka, son of Jalagari Māciseṭṭi, the commander under *mayduna*-Mallarasa, rushed out and created havoc in the armies of Bijjaḷa, having converted the battle-field into a bed of dead bodies. He attacked the cavalry in particular. 'Ketaya-nāyaka cannot be conquered except by myself', Bijjaḷa thought and then rushed his troop of elephants against him. Ketaya-nāyaka, however, repulsed this elephant force and, succumbed, exhibiting great heroism.

This hero-stone appears to be the earliest to record the name of Bijjaḷa, the one known so far being the Waḷasang inscription of 1142. It is a fine specimen. Rarely do we come across the portrait of a king, or a royal dignitary, of the status of Bijjaḷa carved in stone. He is riding an elephant, seated in a beautiful *howdah*, with a spear in his hand. The royal umbrella is held over his head, and goaded by the *mahout*, the elephant is rushing towards Ketaya-nāyaka, who, firmly placing himself in the centre of the battle-field, is attacking the horsemen with sword and shield. A dead soldier is lying on the ground, crushed under the hero's left foot. Obviously, this was intended to show that the battle-field was strewn with corpses. In the middle panel, nymphs are carrying Ketaya-nāyaka to heaven, holding the *vimāna* with one hand and the *cauri* with the other. The musicians play upon their instruments, such as flutes, drums and cymbals, and the celestial-nymphs carry water-pitchers on their head. In the top panel, Ketaya-nāyaka is seated in front of Śiva, while a priest is worshipping the *linga*. The reliefs of the Nandi, and the cow with the calf, the sun and the moon, can also be seen.

Two more hero-stones come from the period of Jayakesi II. The first is at Nandigaṭṭa, a village in Mundgod Tk., and is dated 1138. It introduces the hero, Nariya Boppa, a trusted servant of Mallayya-Sāvanta of Bharaṇi. When the fort was besieged, Nariya Boppa rushed out, fought with the enemy, killed some, and, went to the world of the gods. The second is a hero-stone from Tambūr, dated in 1139. It states that when *Sāmanta*-Malarasa attacked Medaṇige in Yallapur Tk., the hero, son of Siḍila Keta and servant of Malarasa, died paying back the debt he owed to his master (*joḷa-vāḷiyamnīgi*).

Two hero-stones from Kāvalavāḍ, (dated in 1148), of the period of the son of Jayakesi II, of the Permāḍideva, record the death of heroes, Ketaya and Kabbeya while fighting in a cattle-raid at Toyimanahaḷḷi, a village near Kāvalavāḍ. The heroes pursued the robbers, killed some of them and recovered the cattle before they laid down their lives.

Bailandūr hero-stone No. 4, (dated in 1167) states that when Mallayya-Sāvanta of Tambūr attacked Hamdinīra (Bailandūr), and tried to molest ladies and carry away the cattle of the village, a certain man (name lost) attacked the horsemen, rescued the cattle, and went to heaven.

Three hero-stones of the reign of Jayakesi III (1186-87 to 1225-26), have been found. One of them commemorates the death of Nāmika Boppa, who lost his life in 1201 fighting in a cattle-raid in his village. Another, at Garag in Dharwad Tk., (C. 1204-5) is fragmentary and no details can be deciphered. The third, from Doḍwāḍ, in Bailhongal Tk., (dated 1206) states that Lahaḍa, a body-guard (*dingariga*) of Jayakesi III, died in a fight.

Another hero-stone (C. 1220), also from Doḍwāḍ, records the death of Vijayarma-Sāhaṇi, a trusted body-guard of Vajradeva, eldest son of Jayakesi III, in a great fight.

Two hero-stones belonging to the period of Tribhuvanamalla (from 1226 to 1245-46), second son of Jayakesi III, are found. The first from Bailandūr (dated in 1233) states that Kalnāyaka died defending the village, and went to Heaven. The second hero-stone, from Amminbhāvi, in Dharwad Tk., (now in the Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University) represents a major war in which Māguḍada Hiṭṭeya-nāyaka, commander-in-chief (*tantrādhiṣṭhāyaka*) of Tribhuvanamalla, died in an aggressive war under orders of his master. This hero-stone, about four feet broad and ten feet high, bears elaborate battle scenes in the lower panels. It is dated in 1243. Hiṭṭeya-nāyaka appears in an inscription from Kaṭnūr, Hubli Tk., (dated in 1242), as ruling over Kaṭnūr and other villages.

Of the period of Ṣaṣṭha III (from C. 1246-47 to C. 1270), the last king in the dynasty and son of Tribhuvanamalla, we have three hero-stones: two at Yalivāḷ in Kundgol Tk., and one at Tambūr, in Kalghatgi Tk. The former bear identical inscriptions, except for the names of the heroes, who died in a cattle-raid, carried out by *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Joyideva III of Guttoḷal (Guttal in Haveri Tk.,) at the instance of Chaṭṭayyadeva (Ṣaṣṭha III). They are dated in 1248. The Tambūr hero-stone states that a certain warrior died in 1252, discharging his duty to his master (*joḷa-vāḷi*), when Sāteyanahaḷḷi was besieged.

Thus we come across hero-stones which commemorate the death of heroes in different contexts. They represent major wars (Ketaya-nāyaka's Tambūr stone and Hiṭṭeya-nāyaka's Amminbhāvi stone); predatory raids (Gūvaladeva's Māvaḷḷi stone and Ṣaṣṭha's Yalivāḷ stones); political activity (Tambūr stone of Mallikārjunadeva); raids of turbulent local chiefs (Janagā, Nandigaṭṭa, Bailandūr and Kaṇḍḷi stones); and robbery, rape as well as raids (Bailandūr, Kāvalavāḍ, Tambūr, Godhoḷi and Kiravatti hero-stones).

RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA HERO-STONES : A STUDY

S. RAJASEKHARA

WITH the establishment of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule over the Deccan, the practice of erecting memorials to warriors appears to have gained prominence in Karnataka. An interesting variety and number of Rāṣṭrakūṭa hero-stones are noticed at Gadag-Beṭgeri,[1] Roṇ,[2] Aṇṇigeri,[3] Bentūr,[4] Siruñja,[5] Yali-Sirūr[6] etc., in the North-Karnataka area. Most of these are noted for a combination of plastic and architectural excellence. In this paper, an effort has been made to study the group of memorials found at Gadag-Beṭgeri in the Dharwad Dt.

A cluster of sixteen tablets (Fig. 1) was found in an enclosure called Mallarāyana Kaṭṭe at Beṭgeri, thirteen of which are of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. Only two are inscribed, and, with the exception of a tablet, each of these is divided into three panels. The lowest has the relief of the hero in combat, the middle reveals the ascent of the dead warrior to Heaven, and in the top panel, the hero is shown sitting in Heaven.

The first (lowest) panel is generally broader than the middle panel. The principle of composition is that the hero occupies the second quarter of the space from proper right; the first is occupied by his fellow-warriors, while the other half is occupied by the enemy

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1. *SII* XI, Pt. I, No. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 36.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 32.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 10.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 19.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 25.

forces. In most cases, the adversaries are cavalrymen aided by infantry, and, in two instances, they ride elephants. In one panel, the hero is launching a vigorous assault and pushing back the enemy. He is holding aloft a broad curved sword, and is about to inflict a fatal blow on the enemy cavalry. His fellow-warriors, eager to make further dents in the enemy ranks, follow him (Figs. 2-3). In another example, undaunted by the arrow piercing his shield, the hero has struck a fatal blow on the enemy general and felled him, while the riderless horse is in panic, and the parasol-bearer, dazed. The supporting infantry is also reeling under the assault. The hero stands in a firm posture — his determination to rout the enemy and to defend every inch of his territory is effectively conveyed by it. On the ground are the dead and the wounded. In another panel, assisted by two fellow-warriors, the hero is fighting a cavalryman with a long spear who, in turn, is supported by a troop of infantry. After killing a foot-soldier, he is about to assault the cavalryman, unmindful of the arrows that have already pierced his neck and left shoulder. In another panel, the hero and his adversary are locked in a fierce combat, the placement of the shields and the swords particularly attracting our attention (Fig. 4). In yet another panel, the hero fights with an enemy general who is seated on an elephant. Here, he has plunged a long spear into the neck of the elephant causing it to panic. The vigour of the fight is also indicated by the belligerent posture of the elephant. The fleeing of the soldiers, or the raised forelegs of the horses with their necks turned back, the headlong plunge of a general from the horse, and the static posture of the enemy ranks arrest our attention and evoke our admiration.

To add an element of reality to the war scene, as many soldiers as possible are thrust into each of these panels. In one panel, nearly thirty seven figures can be counted. The soldiers are generally set in rows, shooting arrows, or holding swords and shields; the enemy and his troops are depicted in a disorderly manner, probably to indicate the panic that had struck them. However, in one panel, the entire enemy force, set in three rows, is trying to retreat from the battlefield in an orderly fashion.

The second panel invariably reveals the journey of the dead hero to Heaven, accompanied by the *apsaras*. The hero and the *apsaras* on either side of him are prominently depicted. In contrast to the lowest panels, the composition of the middle panel, and the distribution of space is more judicious. The hero is taken through the clouds. These clouds are indicated by wavy designs. The hero is accompanied by divine musicians and *caurī*-bearers. In one such panel, there are four musicians to the right of the hero and three *apsaras* holding garlands to his left, all emerging out of thick clouds. Very often, the hero and the two accompanying *apsaras* are shown within a halo which is bordered by clouds and musicians (Figs. 5-6). In one of the panels, the entire group is surrounded by clouds (Fig. 9).

The third, or the uppermost panel, represents the Heaven. This panel is either rectangular or it resemble a large *kuḍu*. In some cases, the panels showing the ascent of the hero to Heaven, and the heavenly abode itself, are in relief within a pillared frame, which is generally surmounted by a *kapota*, a *simhavārī* and on top of it a *śāla* with the *kalaśa*. Sometimes the *kuḍu* on the *śāla* has the Śaiva or the Vaiṣṇava deity, indicating the faith to which the deceased belonged. In one such *kapota*, a *linga* is shown in relief. In another, Narasimha in the act of slaying Hiraṇyakaśipu is shown (Fig. 7). The hero is generally shown seated on a throne, in the *sukhāsana*, and holding a *padma* in the right hand (Fig. 8). He is flanked by *caurī*-bearers and occasionally by some other attendants. In one instance, the panel is so elaborate that it shows the hero enjoying music and dance. The panel is divided into three vertical sections by pillars. The central section is broader than those in the sides. The *kuḍus* on the *kapota* have the figures of Gaṇeśa and Nandi in relief. The *kuḍu* on the *śāla* has a *linga*.

Two stylistic variations can be seen in the depiction of *apsaras:* in one, the flying *apsara* to the right is shown with the toe of her slightly bent right foot pointed downwards; in the second, her right foot is bent and lifted skywards. In these flying figures, the unmistakable influence of the early-Cālukya sculptures is seen.

A point of interest is the presence of various architectural features and motifs which are integrated into the sculptural schema of these tablets. A careful study of the pillars, pilasters, *kuḍus*, *makara*-terminations, rosettes, *kapotas*, *śālas* etc., are bound to throw interesting light on the chronology of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa architecture. Another interesting feature is the carving in relief of a plough on some of these hero-stones (Fig. 9). This symbol of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is also noticed in their memorial stones and inscriptions found elsewhere. In one tablet, there is a representation of what looks like a cylinder and a measure of weight, with a handle. It is not easy to understand this.

It is unfortunate that most of these tablets are uninscribed. An inscription at Roṇ refers to a conflict between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Ganga ruler, Būtuga.[7] The historical reasons that prompted the erection of these tablets are lost; it is only from circumstantial evidence that they could be guessed.

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7. *Ibid.*, No. 36.

ARUHANAHAḶḶI MEMORIALS

VASUNDHARA FILLIOZAT

ARUHANAHAḶḶI, about five miles from Maddūr, in Maḷavaḷḷi Tk., is rich in inscriptions, hero and *satī* stones, though the majority of its temples are in a dilapidated condition. It figures for the first time in an inscription of Ballāḷa III of the Hoysaḷa dynasty.[1] On 22nd October 1316, the king donated this village to Kīrtirāju as a *tyāgada koḍagi*. The reasons for this gift are not stated, but it was a posthumous award to the family members of the hero.

This hero stone is set up in the Kīrtirāju yard. Above the inscription are the following reliefs : the moon; a *linga*; a person (probably a woman) with out-stretched hands; two persons (Kīrtirāju and his wife Māḷavve?) seated with joined hands, a *daṇḍa* on the shoulders of one of them; and the Sun. Between these and the inscription are the reliefs of a horse, a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*, a tiger, a footprint and an elephant.

After praising Ballāḷa III, the record gives the titles of Kīrtirāju, "Kaivārahara, Kaivāra niśśamka-malla" etc., indicating the affiliations of this hero with Kaivāra, in the Kolar Dt. Kīrtirāju belonged to *baḍavārakula*, who were bards. His descendants at Aruhanahaḷḷi say that they were bards at the court of the late Maharāja of Mysore.

We learn that Kīrtirāju had four sons: Bācappa, Devappa, Cikka Bācappa and Pāciyappa.[2] Devappa died either on 28th March

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1. In *EC* IX, Ma. 38, an inscription from Gejjegārkuppe is almost a replica of this inscription of Maḷavaḷḷi, except for the name of the person. Instead of Kīrtirāju and Aruhanahaḷḷi the copier has put Vidyārāja bhāṭu and Gejjegārkuppe village.
2. *EC* III, Ml. 21, 22 and 23.

or 26th April 1362.[3] Bācappa got this memorial pillar (*stambha*) erected for his brother Devappa, and his wife Bayicakka and had their figures (*rūhu*) engraved on it[4] (Fig. 1).

Bācappa, Kīrtirāju's eldest son, continued to serve Bukka I of Vijayanagara. In one of the records of Maḷavaḷḷi we read his titles, but the meaning of many of them, cannot be made out.[5] The term, "Tirāyāṃbā mulapaharadabhāṭu" appears to indicate that they were either bards or guardians of the royal family's goddess. This Bācappa was also a court wrestler. In 1358, he got dug several tanks in the name of the ruling king, Bukka I of Vijayanagara, in the name of his parents, Kīrtirāju and Māḷavve, and in the name of his cousin, Cauḍappa, and he had a town built in his own name.[6]

One of the inscriptions from Maḷavaḷḷi reads as follows:[7]

Surrounded by good poets, a Cupid among women, with eyes as of the timid deer, of a form glorious with light, of arms as strong as the king over Baka (*i.e.*, Bhīma), a Rāhu in seizing the evil, a treasure of all goodness, was Bāci-Rāja. Courage from the lion, patience from the earth, dignity from the ocean, beauty from Cupid, mildness from the moon, known as comprising all these qualities which Brahmā had created, was Kīrtti's son Bāca in the world. A terror to foreign princes, a support to the good, ever a moon to the ocean of kindness, powerful of arm, a cabinet of good qualities, of a shining face, great, of a beautiful form, a Meru in bravery, of lotus eyes, thus did the world ever praise Kīrtti's son Bāci-Rāja. This was composed by the poet Narasimha. This Bācappa had been honoured with a gold *daṇḍige*, *catra* and *cāmara*.

This Bācappa, along with his *kaḷatra* (wife), obtained the *paramapada* at the feet of Virūpākṣa on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. His son Bukkaṇṇa performed *prāyāścitta* at Virūpākṣa, and sent the relics to Vāraṇāsi.

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[3] There were two *Vaiśākhas*, *adhika* and *nija* in this year, but the week day does not agree with the details given in the record.

[4] *ASMAR* 1947-56, No. 18, p. 87.

[5] *EC* III, Ml. 22; for explanation of the titles, see my *L'Epigraphie de Vijayanagar*, No. 50, p. 41.

[6] Cauḍappa was Kīrti's younger brother, Mādegauḍa's son. *EC* III, Ml. 19.

[7] *EC* III, Ml. 21.

This memorial is now called *Vīraraguḍi*. An inscription to the proper right of the temple bears reliefs of five women in one line, and of six in another (Fig. 2). All of them are seated, with joined hands. In the middle stone, below a horse-rider, are a man with a balance on his shoulders (*kanaka-daṇḍige* ?) and three raised right hands of women who observed *satī* (Fig. 3). Above this frieze are an elephant-rider, a horse-rider, an umbrella bearer; Bācappa in a palanquin, carried by two bearers; and a person who appears to be greeting the hero (Figs. 3-4). Above this, is a *vimāna* in which Bācappa is seated with four of his spouses, two on each side, carried by celestial nymphs. Two elephants guard the *vimāna*. On the top relief, Bācappa is welcomed by a celestial personage. Bācappa's four wives are represented behind him, all with folded hands, as if they were taken to the *Śivaloka* with pomp, dance and music. There are two cells: one for Nandi and another for *Śivalinga*. A lovely lotus is carved on the ceiling. On the right side stone there is a carving of five more raised hands (Fig. 5).

It is a matter of curiosity to know the total number of Bācappa's wives and those who observed *satī* soon after his death. On one side, there are eleven women, and along with Bācappa only four are represented. And only eight raised hands are seen. Of all these, we know the name of only Nārāyaṇadevī.[8]

There is also a *tulasī-vṛndāvana*, constructed by a certain Nāgadeva, son of Māyideva, on 4th August 1390. The merit (*phala*) of this *vṛndāvana* will go to Bācappa's wife Nāraṇadevī and to his (Nāgadeva's) mother Ratna-nāyikī.

There are several hero stones of this type in this village.

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[8] *Ibid.*, Ml. 15.

MEMORIALS FOR PETS, ANIMALS AND HEROES

C. V. RANGASWAMI

AS long as the art of warfare was confined to brawn, there remained a need to reinforce the army by war animals not only to secure swift military movement, and commissariat facilities, but also to serve as an auxiliary or main force for defence and security. Different modes of warfare, the technique of which still baffles military experts and scholars, were in practice. Mention may be made here of *Koṭekāḷaga*[1] (to capture a fortress) which finds detailed description in the *purāṇas* of medieval Karnataka like the *Candraprabha*, *Anantanātha* and *Puṣpadanta purāṇas*. To enable them to participate in such works, princes and soldiers were given training in *dhanurvidya* (science of archery) and *aśva* and *gaja-vidyas* (use of horse and elephants in war). War animals were also trained and disciplined; sometimes a war animal was let loose on another to exhibit its valour.

In defence of their master, cattle, land, institutions and women, heroes fought against their enemies. The distribution of hero stones, bounded by significant topography, reveal that normal areas of friction were either border land, trade routes, strategic centres or fertile zones of agriculture. From field surveys recently undertaken in Bellary, North Kanara and Shimoga Dts., and from the location of hero-stones, we learn that the encounter took place either at strategic outposts or in hilly and forest areas where the enemy could lie in wait.

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[1] Betgeri, Krishnasarma, *Karnāṭaka Jana Jīvana*, (Dharwar, 1939), pp. 1-59.

If a war or pet animal laid down its life, the master intensely mourned its death. There are a good number of examples of this in our literature and history. Bhagadatta, ally of Dhuryodhana, lamented the death of his valiant elephant, named Supratīka[2] (having the strength of 6,000 elephants and believed to be invincible) when it was killed by Arjuna. During his Indian campaign, the Emathian General, bemoaned the death of his war horse, Boukephala,[3] when it died on the bank of the river Jhelum in B.C. 326. In course of time, there developed a practice of erecting memorials to the animals (as in the case of heroes) which died in the fight. We have commemorative lithic records which were erected in memory of war and pet animals and also for heroes who fought against wild animals.

An interesting variety of lithic tablets commemorating the death of a hero fighting against wild or war animals, or of an animal dying in a fight against another animal, is found in Karnataka. Fifteen instances relating to fights between a hero and elephants; two instances of cattle-stones (*gokal*), a tomb for bulls and another buffalo-stone; fourteen memorials to those who died fighting against tigers; ten against war-horses; nine against boars; one against a hog, and a solitary instance of a prince dying for a parrot are noted in this study. This helps us know that heroes fought against or for the sake of animals or let his animal fight against that of a foe. The object was to provide security to the people against wild animals which were a recurring threat to the life and property of people. Sometime what began as a pastime ended in the death of the hero, his animal, or his pet. A graphic picture of the heroic spirit is found in a Belūr inscription, the gist of which is cited here:

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[2] Puttappa, K. V., and Iyengar, M. V., (ed.), *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*, (Bangalore, 1958), p. 405; Sastri, A. R., Krishna, *Vacana Bhārata*, (Mysore, 1966), pp. 272 and 282.

[3] Smith, V.A., *Early History of India*, IV ed., (Oxford, 1957), p. 75.

> "... Narasimha-Deva in Bijjaṇa's alarm having sent for the chiefman to guard his elephant — Jasapāla, leaving with Māceya were, pleased, stationed his elephant behind and causing it to strike, destroyed Bijjaṇa's army, seized his horse alive, and making it over again, went into the fight and attained to the world of gods".[4]

We may briefly survey the distribution of these memorial tablets and describe one or two from each category by way of illustration.

Elephant Memorials: About fifteen tablets which mention the death of heroes fighting against elephants are found at Begūr (Bangalore Dt.,); Tambūr, Puradakeri and Meḍūr (Dharwad Dt.,); Gubbi (Tumkur Dt.,); Mercara (Coorg Dt.,); Kaṭṭesomanahaḷḷi and Kembāḷu (Hassan Dt.,); Koḍagalunada and Kañcigallu (Chikmagalur Dt.,); Hirebūdnūr and Madivāḷa (Kolar Dt.,); Madake Hosūr (Mysore Dt.,); and Bisalahaḷḷi (Shimoga Dt.,).[5] Of these, the Begūr, Tambūr and Puradakeri inscriptions deserve detailed study.

The Begūr memorial was erected in honour of a hero named Nāgattara who fought against an elephant. The reliefs on the tablet reveal a hero standing in front of a horse, musicians, soldiers in different postures, wounded men being carried away from the field, vultures consuming the dead and wounded animals falling or panicking. This hero fought against his master's (Eṛeyapparasa) foe, Bīramahādeva. In the encounter, the hero is killed by the elephant of Bīramahādeva. Appreciating the valour and service of Nāgattara, the king not only gave twelve villages for the maintenance of his family, but elevated the deceased hero's son Iṛuga to the position originally held by the hero. The details elaborated in relief reveal that it was a fierce battle and that the hero died overwhelmed by the animal.

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4. *EC* V, Bl. 113.
5. *EC* IX, Bn. 88; Kalburgi, M.M., (ed.), ***Dhārawāḍa Jilleya Śāsana Sūci***, (Dharwar, 1975), No. 25, p. 25; *Ibid*., No. 3, p. 75; *KI* IV, 43; *EC* VI, Mg. 33; *ASMAR* 1919, para 70; *EC* I, 13; *EC* V, Hn. 164; *EC* VI, Cm. 81; *Ibid*., Kd. 115; *EC* V, Cn. 206; *EC* X, Sp. 6; *Ibid*., Gb. 4; *ASMAR* 1926, 112; *ASMAR* 1927, 159.

The Tambūr memorial belongs to the time of Cālukya Someśvara III. It records that when Kaḷacūrya Bijjaḷa laid siege to the fort of Hānungal in 1136, a hero named Ketala Nāyaka fought against elephants and died. Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana made a raid on the Cālukya dominions, took Banavāsi, the fort of Ucchangi and then attacked the Kadamba feudatory at Pānungal. However, eventually, the Hoysaḷas met with defeat. This memorial tablet is very artistically carved with Bijjaḷa on an elephant and the battle scene is vividly portrayed.

The memorial at Puradakeri is located in the Basavaṇṇa temple. It belongs to the reign of Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa II and is assigned to about the 13th cent. Though the purpose of the inscription is to honour the death of a hero in an encounter with an elephant, it reflects the state of affairs in the Hoysaḷa dominions. Ballāḷa II, son of Vijaya Nārasimha, was associated with his father in the administration. But being unhappy with his misrule, he rebelled against his father in 1172-73. Several persons died in the rebellion that had broken out. Taking advantage of the internal conditions of the empire, the chiefs of Malanāḍ, the Kongāḷvas and the Changāḷvas made an attempt to shift their loyalty at the centre. They were led by *Tantrapāla* Hemmāḍi of the Baḷegār family of Aihoḷe. Pleased with the assistance of *Tantrapāla* Hemmāḍi, Ballāḷa II appointed him as his feudatory (*māṇḍaḷika*). *Vīragals* of this period reveal the loyalties of the heroes who were involved in this brief war.

Cattle Stone[6]*(gokal)*: There is a *gokal* at the entrance to Chikka-Byālatkere near Heggere (Chitradurga Dt.,). It bears an inscription in Telugu which is unintelligible. There are also a few sculptures, figures standing side by side holding something in both the hands and a fine *māstikal* containing a female figure holding a lime in the right hand and a mirror in the left, a *giṇḍi* (water-flask) being carved at the right bottom as at Heggere temples.

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6. *ASMAR* 1918, para 32; *Ibid.*, para 44; *Ibid.*, para 27.

Another instance of a beautifully carved cattle stone slab is found at Aggunda (Hassan Dt.,).

A number of *samādhis* and tombs of bulls dedicated to the temple at Dabbegaṭṭa (Tumkur Dt.,) are of importance.

In a recent survey made at Hosūr (North Kanara Dt.,) we found a Buffalo-stone near the Bankeśvara temple. The legend associated with it deserves mention. In a dispute between two families, one of the persons killed a buffalo and as an expitiatory measure, set up a stone in memory of it. Among the descendants of this family one or the other member suffers from mental trouble even to this day.

Tiger Memorials: Memorials of those who fought against a tiger and died are found at Hiremorab,[7] Varnva, Hirekerūr, Āladgeri, Aṇaji, Kallihāḷ and Yemmiganūr (Dharwad Dt.,); Tāvarekere, (Kolar Dt.,); Aḷattūru and Doḍḍakatimukha (Mysore Dt.,); Goḍabanāḷu (Chitradurga Dt.,); Śravaṇaguḍi (Tumkur Dt.,); Chikka-Inglabirūr (Chikmagalur Dt.,); and Būdiguppe (Bangalore Dt.,).

Of these, the inscription from Tāvarekere is interesting. It belongs to Dilīpa Noḷambayya and is dated A.D. 950. It states that when a tiger carried off a calf, the hero, Maṇḍikal Kambaladaṇṇa made a vow to kill the wild animal. He slew it in one watch and the tiger died only after killing the hero's dog. It is usual for a hero to sacrifice his life in defence of his master and kingdom or for protection of people, but here, the hero has laid down his life while attempting to protect the cattle.

Memorials to War-Horses: Inscriptions recording the death of a hero fighting against a horse are from Mūḍalahippi,[8] Haḷebīḍ and

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7. Kalburgi M. M., *op.cit.*, No. 283, p. 80; 39, p. 71; 220, p. 78; 272, p. 80; 37, p. 44; 5, p. 70; *KI* IV, 16; *EC* X, Mb. 162; *EC* IV, Gu. 66; *EC* XI, Cd. 26; *ASMAR* 1918, para 17; *ASMAR* 1919 para 25; *EC* IX, Kn. 39.

8. *EC* XV, Hn. 132; *EC* V, Bl. 120; *Ibid.*, Mj. 43; *EC* VI, Cm. 36; *EC* VIII, Sb. 469; *EC* VI, Cm. 81; *EC* XI, Hk. 41; *EC* XII, Tp. 21; *EC* X, Sg. 28; *Ibid.*, Gb. 76.

Rājendrapura (Hassan Dt.,); Indāvara, Kaḍagolu (Chikmagalur Dt.,); Kuntalagadde (Shimoga Dt.,); Mattigaṭṭa (Chitradurga Dt.,); Kaḍasūr (Tumkur Dt.,); Amarāvatī and Nagarakere (Kolar Dt.,). The Haḷebīḍ inscription is an instance of the graphic description of how the Hoysaḷa army fought against the horse in the army of Bijjaḷa.

Memorials to Boar: Lithic records from Haḷebudnūr and Ātkūr[9] (Mandya Dt.,); Kuṇiteppa and Belgāmi (Shimoga Dt.,); Gollarahaṭṭi (Anantapur Dt., a border district of Karnataka); Chilakanerpu (Kolar Dt.,); Allasandra (Bangalore Dt.,); Niḍuvani (Hassan Dt.,); and Yelahanka (Bangalore Dt.,) describe the death of a hero or an animal while fighting with a boar. The inscription from Gollarahaṭṭi states that a hunting dog named Puṇīśa died after killing a wild boar. Similarly, the Ātkūr inscription also commemorates the death of a dog named Kāḷi which fought against a wild boar while hunting. It is an excellent specimen of a memorial tablet erected to honour an animal which breathed its last while fighting. In the battle that followed between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III and Coḷa Rājāditya, fought at Takkoḷam (A.D. 949), Ganga Būtuga II and his *ankakāra* (aid-de-camp) Maṇaḷarata fought valiantly. If Būtuga received great honour at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, Maṇaḷarata requested his master, Būtuga to give him a dog named Kāḷi in return for his bravery. On a certain day, the dog fought against a wild boar in the hill tract to the west of the village Beḷtūr in Keḷalenāḍ (Mandya Dt.,). Somaṇaḷarata erected a stone in memory of the dog at Ātkūr. He struck a note of warning that if the local watchman (*goṟava*) ate his food without worshipping the memorial, he would be guilty of the sin committed by the dog. It is worth citing the relevent lines here —

sthānamanāḷva goṟavanā kallaṁ
pūjisaduṇḍarapoḍe
nāyigeyda pāpamaṁ koṇḍan

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9. *EC* III, Md. 116 and 22; *EC* VIII, Sb. 232; *EC* VII, Sk. 159; *SII* IX, 37; *EC* X, Sp. 82; *EC* IX, Bn. 32; *EC* XV, Hn. 128-129.

Memorials to Hounds: The inscription from Melāgaṇi[10] (Kolar Dt.,) states that Aṇuva's hound named Loka killed seventyfive hogs. It further states that with the help of the hound named Dalga, Parisanidi's son killed twentysix hogs.

Memorial to a Parrot:[11] Commemorative stones were erected in honour of persons or animals who died in fulfilment of the promise to a pet animal. We come across a unique instance of the immolation by a king of the Goa Kadamba dynasty, Jayakeśi for the sake of a parrot. The circumstances which led to the king's death were as follows: It was usual with the parrot to give its company everyday when king Jayakeśi took his food. On a certain day, it so happened that the parrot saw a cat sitting beneath the king's seat. Inspite of the king's repeated calls, interspersed with affection and threat, the parrot would not come out of its cage to give its valued company to him. Finally, the king, out of frustration, shouted that he would even risk his life in case the parrot were to meet with any fatal situation. Evidently he had made this assurance not knowing the presence of the cat under his seat. However, when the parrot came out of the cage at his final call, the cat pounced on it and killed it. The king was overcome with grief at the loss of his pet — the apple of his eye — and in fulfilment of his promise, he died along with the parrot by burning himself. This is a rare case of a person giving up his life for the sake of the promise made to a pet animal. Naturally, a sense of duty and probably to some extent the fear of the consequences of not keeping one's promise permeated minds of men in those days. It was generally held that a relationship like this was an outcome of *ṛṇa* (debt) that one owes towards another living soul. Probably, this belief led to impulsive acts such as this.

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[10] *EC* X, Mb. 85.

[11] Gurav, R.N., *Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions*, (Unpublished thesis, K. U. Library, Dharwar, 1969), p. 97.

MEMORIAL TABLETS IN KERALA

K. K. N. KURUP

THE geographical isolation of Kerala from the rest of the continent caused by the Western Ghats has never denied her share of the common cultural heritage of the neighbouring regions. Her history begins as part of Tamizhakam, under the ancient Cera empire of the Tamil Śangam age. Basically, it was a Drāviḍian kingdom, exposed to a certain extent to Āryan influences through Jain, Buddhist and Brahmin missionaries coming from the Deccan and Karnataka and the Kalinga regions.[1] The Āryan institutions and concepts had from time immemorial also found their way to the Drāviḍian south through these missionaries.

The worship of hero-stones seems to have originated from the concept of "*Vīra Svarga*" for a hero or warrior who had lost his life in action.[2] This cult was a popular social institution in Tamizhakam, known as *Naṭukal* (the planted stone), or *Vīrakkal.*[3] Such hero-stones, discovered in different parts of Kerala, reveal that the cult was a common practice in the region as elsewhere in South India. However, the memorial stones of Kerala have not so far been brought out under a comprehensive study. Many such

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1. Narayanan, M.G.S., *Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire* (800 A.D. to 1124 A.D.), (Ph.D. dissertation in the University of Kerala, 1972), pp. VI-VII.
2. Hirananda Sastri wrote about an old hero-stone dt., *Śaka* year 122 (Second cent. A.D.,) found in Kathiawad-Gujarat. See Hirananda Sastri, "An old hero-stone of Kathiawad Gujarat", in the *Dr. Bhandarkar Volume*, (Calcutta, 1940), ed., by B. C. Law.
3. *Puranānūru*, (Śangam Anthology), 264.

stones are still hidden in forests, specially in Wynāḍ, the region adjacent to Karnataka.

Some recent archaeological explorations made by the members of the Department of History, Calicut University, in the Wynāḍ forests have revealed several *sati*-stones and hero-stones in and around Pulppalli (Fig. 1), Puthadi and other places. One such stone brought to the Department is supposed to be of C. 4th cent. A.D.[4] This has three sections: the lower section represents the fight between two warriors with bows and arrows; the middle shows the reception or carrying of the heroine by celestial damsels to Paradise; and the top portion depicts the resting of the heroine in '*Śivaloka*', or the world of Śiva. The figure of the Nandi in a recumbent pose, *Śivalinga*, and a priest with a devotee, are depicted in this portion to symbolize the eternal happiness, or *Mokṣa* of the heroine. The *linga* and the bull point out that the heroine belonged to the Śaiva sect. Such hero-stones belonging to the Śaiva sect and consisting of three stages of fighting, carrying and resting, can even now be seen worshipped in some temples.[5] Such a practice highlights the uninterrupted continuity of the worship of hero-stones in Kerala. A verse in Śangam literature declares that there are no gods except hero-stones.[6] When temples became the seat of gods and centres of worship, the cult of the hero and heroine worship was incorporated into these new social institutions.

Some hero-stones relating to the Vaiṣṇava sect have been discovered by M. R. Raghava Varier, Epigraphist, Department of History, and the present writer, in the Cheeyambam forests of Pulppalli village. The top portion of these stones bear Vaiṣṇava symbols like the conch. The workmanship and details of the figures probably reveal their origin in a later period. It is generally believed that the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult became popular only some time after the Śaiva Bhakti cult had established its roots in Kerala.[7] However, both sects had accepted and popularised the Śangam institution of *Naṭukal*, or *Vīrakkal* in Kerala.

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[4] This was first discovered by K. Damodaran Nambiar, Teacher, Pulppalli. See for details, Raghava Varier, M.R., "A Tamil Brahmi Inscription on a Sati-stone from Pulppalli", *Proceedings of the Epigraphical Society of India*, (Mysore, 1976).

[5] In Śrī Gopāla Kṛṣṇa temple at Koodalu and Śrī Mahānandeśara Vināyaka temple at Madhur in Kasaragod Tk., such Śaiva hero-stones are used for worship. This information was conveyed to me by K. J. John, who identified those stones in one of his field explorations.

[6] *Puranānūru*, 335.

Huge hero-stones are found in Sasimala and other places of Wynāḍ. But none of these bears inscription having the name of the hero or his achievements. So far only one inscribed hero-stone has been discovered at Kaliyampalli in the northern part of Kerala. This commemorates the death of a soldier named Martāṇḍan, about the 11th cent. The figure of the soldier, formerly attached to this, is now worshipped in a private house.[8] Another hero-stone with an inscription was discovered by Prof. Sundaram Pillai at Arambali, in Kanyakumari Dt., now in Tamil-Nadu.[9] It consists of an image of the hero with a bow in one hand. This stone, now kept in the Trivandrum museum, is in memory of one Raṇa Kīrti, who defended Karaikoṭṭai for his master, the Pāṇḍya king Marañjaḍaiyan, against the Ceras and lost his life hit by an arrow. The inscription dated in the 27th year of Marañjaḍaiyan and belonging to the 8th cent. A.D., records a *Rakta-Kāṇikka*, or a land-grant in return for the blood shed by him.[9a] This inscription highlights some historical facts relating to the conflict between the Ceras and the Pāṇḍyas and their fight to Viḻingam in the 8th cent.[10] It might also reveal a social custom, founded on humanity and charity of granting land to the family of a deceased hero. One of the peculiarities of this memorial stone is that it does not include the destination of either *Śivaloka* or *Viṣṇuloka* for the fallen hero.

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[7] Narayanan, *op.cit.*, No. 1, p. 588.

[8] *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* No. 8 of 1901.

[9] Rao, T.A., Gopinatha, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VII, (Trivandrum, 1911), pp. 154-159.

[9a] *Ibid.*

[10] Elamkulam, P.N., and Pillai, Kunhan, *Studies in Kerala History*, (Kottayam, 1970), pp. 171-172.

In an analysis of the hero cult in Tamil-Nadu, Prof. N. Vanamamalai has put forward the following hypothesis: The heroes for whom the monuments were raised were folk heroes who fell in skirmishes connected with cattle lifting. The village to which they belonged performed rituals for invoking their souls to bring them good luck, to infuse them with power to fight intruders and enemies. The rituals were standardised following a universal pattern of belief. The highest destinction to which the souls of the heroes went was first conceived to be the glorious world of the dead souls. A change came over the belief after the spread of Śaivism in Tamil-Nadu. Then the destination conceived of was *Śivaloka*. Though the soul went to a far-off world, it could return and keep contact with the stone erected as a monument to it. A half of the soul remained at the place of the monument.[11]

This is applicable to the hero-worship found in Kerala too. The Wynāḍ region opens passages to the Kerala coast from the Deccan, and from the Śangam period there may have been a number of trade routes linking these distant places. The heroes who fought against high-way robbers and cattle thieves were respected and worshipped by the villagers by erecting memorial stones to them. N. Subramanian suggests that the institution of a *Naṭukal*, or hero-stone was in vogue till at least the 10th cent. in the Tamil and Kannaḍa countries.[12] But the institution continued without any considerable change even in the 13th cent. in South India.[13] A few hero-stones with the figures of the heroes are preserved in the Trichur museum.

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[11] Vanamamalai, N., "Interpretation of Non-verbal Folk Materials", Seminar papers on Folkloristics by Dravidian Linguistic Association in February 1974, Mysore University.

[12] Subramanian, N., *Sangam Polity*, (Bombay, 1966), p. 131.
(In Karnāṭaka, the popularity of erecting memorials reached its zenith in the 12th cent., and continued for another half a millennium. — eds.).

The foregoing survey reveals that this cult had been widely prevalent in Kerala until the medieval times. So far, no hero-stones belonging to the late medieval period has been discovered in this region. This rightly proves that the cult had been gradually neglected by the village folk in the changing political, social and economic situation. But such total neglect of a custom or tradition is impossible, for, we are aware that a modified form of the old tradition comes into existence when a dominant tradition declines. In the northern part of Kerala, another system of hero-worship had come into prominence, attracting the tribal and rural folk. An attempt to interpret this significant aspect of present-day folk-life will lead us to interesting findings of the continuity of Śangam institutions in Kerala.

The cult of Teyyam, a kind of Malabar folk dance, has incorporated within itself several folk heroes and treated them as gods.[14] This cult has an identity with that of Śangam institutions, like the cults of Velan and hero worship. A number of 'Teyyams', or folk gods, after the memory of heroes like Kativanūr Vīr, Payyampalli Candu and Tacoli Othenan, have been found in Malabar.[15] These were but local heroes revered by the village folk. In annual festivals, they are propitiated by the villagers to obtain certain boons. The folk hero, Kativanūr Vīr or Mandappan, lost his life in Coorg, while he fought the cattle thieves. If the practice of erecting hero-stones had prevailed in his period, such a stone would definitely have been erected in his memory. But now the old cult had been substituted by another cult, in which a dancer invokes the hero's spirit, recollects his story and transforms him into a god for blessing the villagers.

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[13] See *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, No. 12 of 1934. This inscription from Bhaṇḍipur forest dated A.D. 1249 is a hero-stone in memory of one Kaṭiyan Pillai, who fought against highway robbers and was killed by them. The significance of this inscription and *Vīrakkal* was noted by Narayanan and Namboodiri: "More Light on Hoysala Inscription", *The Hindu*, 13 June 1970.

[14] Kurup, K.K.N., *The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala*, (Calcutta, 1973).

[15] *Ibid.*, Pt. II.

The historical approach towards this system of hero-worship helps us trace its roots in the Śangam age. During this period, the hero-stone had become identical with the image of a deity and it was even worshipped by the peasantry.[16] It was also usual to plant the spear or lance of the dead hero by the side of the hero-stone and lean his shield on it.[17] The stone was erected under a large shady tree. The sacrificial food offered to the stone at dawn was called 'Natpali'.[18] The women bathed the *Vīrakkal*, put the *karnantai* garland on it and danced the *kuravai*.[19] It was also customary to sing to the beating of drums, (*murasu*) the praises of the warriors. Men and women, joined together in dancing the Tunangai dance in their honour.[20] Thus, make-up or vivid dress, dance, native musical instruments and the *pattu* or song, were the features adopted in the commemoration of a dead hero. All these aspects are still kept up in worshipping heroes through Teyyams in Malabar. The Teyyam of Kativanūr Vīr is performed under the shade of a large tree and so the old tradition is still maintained.

The cult of Velan which prevailed in the Śangam period also largely contributed to the shaping of the cult of Teyyam. *Velan Veriyāttu* or *Velan Veriyāṭal*, was a popular cult in the Śangam age.[21] According to the Śangam tradition, Velan, the indigenous priest, or *pūjāri*, propitiated Murukan to exercise the malignant spirits from love-lorn girls. He made a '*kaḷam*', or magic square, offered blood to it and conducted a dance at the end of the ceremony.[22] Even at present in the cult of Teyyam, *Kaḷam* and blood offerings have a significant place.[23]

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[16] *Purapporul Venba Malai*, 252; *Puranānūru*, 306.

[17] *Ahanānūru*, 131.

[18] *Puranānūru*, 306 and 329.

[19] *Ahanānūru*, 269.

[20] Pillai, n. 10, p. 32.

[21] *Ahanānūru*, 22.

The cult of Velan and *Vīrakkal* of the Śangam period later merged together, and Velan himself represented the hero as he previously represented Murukan in his ritual dance. Infact, the Teyyam dance is a later sophistication of the *Velan Veriyāṭal.* Simultaneously, it became a form of hero-worship. The same cult, or the worship of heroes in the form of folk dance, is found in the Tuḷuva country too. Practically every spirit worshipped by the Tuḷuvas represents some famous man or woman (*e.g.*, Koṭi and Cennayya) who once performed great deeds of valour.[24]

Hero-worship through the Teyyam dance is found only in Kolat-nāḍ, or the northern part of Kerala. The Bhakti movement led by the Āḷvārs and Nayannārs in Tamil-Nadu derided the cult of animal sacrifices and of minor deities. Worship of hero-stones had no place in the Bhakti cult. The middle and southern parts of Kerala were also flooded by this new religious movement. On the influx of these new religious ideas, the primitive cult of *Velan* was given up by the people among whom the Bhakti movement had grown deep roots. But the extreme north of Kerala, which was rather related to Tuḷuva, was left untouched by the Bhakti movement. The *Velan* with all his primitive rituals, continued in this region and later culminated in the cult of Teyyam. The cult of the hero also assimilated with this new form of *Velanāṭṭam*, permitting serveral folk heroes to live permanently in the minds of the village folk.

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22. As a religious symbol '*Kaḷam*', or the square has a prehistoric origin. The Indus Valley seal No. 2430 consists of a square with three compartments. Some megalithic paintings are discovered in Marayūr village, Idikki Dt., of Kerala. Among these sketches, the auspicious *Kaḷam* is also seen: "The sketch of megalithic paintings from Marayūr", *Sunday Standard* 1 - 12 - 1974.

23. Kurup, *op.cit.*, No. 14, pp. 25-28.

24. Saletore, B.A., *Ancient Karnataka*, (Poona, 1936), p. 372.

To sum up, worship of hero-stones was wide spread in Kerala under the cultural influence of the Śangam age, as elsewhere in South India. In the ancient period, generally the image or figure of the hero was inscribed on the hero-stone. When Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava concepts gave new religious dimensions to devotees, they incorporated the destination of *Śivaloka* and *Viṣṇuloka* also for the heroes and heroines on their memorial stones. Finally, the practice of erecting hero-stones went into oblivion in Kerala, although its memory was not eliminated from the rural areas. The cult of *Velan Veṇiyāṭal* which prevailed among the village folk had now culminated in another popular cult of Teyyam in northern Kerala. Thus, a large number of folk heroes are still worshipped as folk gods through the folk dance of Teyyam, as the people of the Śangam age worshipped hero-stones for victory and other human aspirations.

MEMORIAL STONES IN MAHARASHTRA

D. H. KHARE

PRE-HISTORIC men used to preserve the skeletons and articles of their relatives in earthen pots and bury them in their own houses, believing not only that they were thus keeping the memory of the deceased persons alive, but would perhaps also get help on difficult occasions from their spirits. In some cases, monuments were erected on these memorial articles. The rock paintings and bruisings, which generally depict hunting scenes and battles, may have been associated with the memory of those that had died in action.

Of the memorials, stone cairns, circles, dolmens, *tumuli*, *thaḍes*, hero-stones, *satī*-stones, *niṣadhis*, *samādhis*, *catrīs*, tombs, *devaḷīs*, *muñjās*, victory columns, etc., are the most popular. Out of these, *thaḍes*, *devaḷīs*, *satī*, hero-stones, *samādhis* as well as *catrīs*, are the most common in Maharashtra. Some of these are briefly dealt with here.

1. The simplest of memorial stones found in Maharashtra are square stone-blocks of different sizes tapering either upwards or downwards. If it tapers upwards, its top (about 8"-10") isrounded. If the stone tapers downwards its top would sometimes bear either a pair of foot-prints, or a *Śivalinga*. This is called *thaḍe* in Marāṭhi. It may have been erected in memory of a woman who performed *satī*, of a man who had died a heroic death. As they bear no inscriptions or decorations except one or two *kangūras* on the downward tapering stones, their precise dates cannot be ascertained. However, we may tentatively assume that those which taper upwards may belong to the pre-historic period, while those tapering downwards may belong to the historical period.

2. The simple form of *satī* memorial to be found in Maharashtra is a small semicircular niche (*devaḷī*) in which there is a small rectangular stone with a pair of foot-prints or a *Śivalinga* on its top, with or without inscriptions. A *devaḷī* erected in the early British period on the bank of the river Muthā, in Poona, refers to the *satī* performed by a lady of a Pawar family. Another simple form of the *satī* memorial is a square structure, about three to four feet in height, with a basin at the top to plant the *tulasī*. This is called a *vṛndāvana*. Such *vṛndāvanas* are very commonly met with in Maharashtra. For instance, in Theūr (Poona Dt.,) and at Raigaḍ (Kolaba Dt.,) there are several such specimens. But the *vṛndāvanas* are not limited to *satīs*. The memory of holy persons, saints, kings, etc., has been perpetuated by such monuments erected at the site of their cremation. Such *vṛndāvanas* are to be found at Simhagaḍ (Poona Dt.,), Brahmanāḷa (Sangli Dt.,), Vaḍgaon (Satara Dt.,) and in a number of other places. Some were erected to perpetuate the memory of persons at places where they were not cremated. Śikhara Singhaṇāpūr (Satara Dt.,) is the best example of this type. There, *vṛndāvanas*, dedicated to Ṣahājī, his son Śivājī, and the latter's son Sambhājī, have been erected. None of them either died or was cremated at the site. In addition to the above mentioned *devaḷīs* and *vṛndāvanas*, there are a number of *satī*-stones. On these, a hand, with the fore-arm held vertically and the other arm held horizontally, is shown with the palm facing us. Bangles are also shown on the wrist. Some sitting or standing figures are depicted above the upper arm. If they are two, one would be the husband and the other the wife. If there are more than two, then one would be the husband and the rest his wives. In some sculptures only women are shown; obviously all of them may have performed *satī*. Above all these, are shown the figures of the sun and the moon, symbols which ensure the memory of the *satī* as long as they exist. Inscribed memorial stones rare in Maharashtra. The earliest is from Sānkśī (Kolhapur Dt.,). It depicts the funeral of a lady. On palaeographic grounds, it has been ascribed to the 6th cent. A.D.[1] There is another inscribed

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[1] *EI* XXVIII, p. 129.

stone which commemorates the death of a hero and of his wife by *satī*. It is found embedded in the wall of a house at Aṣṭe (Sangli Dt.,) and dated 1321. It states: 'the Pāṭolā of the village Aṣṭagrāma fell in the battle of Niḍhorī; look here, his wife Rūpāī, of the Daḷavī family, performs the *satī* ordeal'.[2] So far as I know, these are the only two inscribed *satī*-stones in Maharashtra proper, but there are scores which are uninscribed.

3. There are a very large number of *Vīragals* in Maharashtra. A very simple form of memorial is the one which is a small, shapeless stone daubed with vermilion. They are found in some places in Khāndeś, where they are called *vīras*. A little superior in workmanship are those which bear the effigy of a single male figure, with or without a weapon. An even superior tablet generally has three panels. In the lowest panel, the fight is shown; in the middle panel the hero is shown being carried either in some type of a vehicle or by some celestial males or females, and, in the uppermost panel, the dead man is shown worshipping the *Śivalinga*, generally accompanied by one, but occasionally by more than one, celestial damsel. The whole represents the idea expressed in the popular verse:

Jitena labhyate Lakṣmī mṛtenāpi surāmgaṇām ।
Kṣaṇaviddhvamsini kāye kā cintā maraṇe raṇe ॥

As in a *satī*-stone, the uppermost part of this hero-stone also bears the figures of the sun and the moon.

This is a description of hero-stones found in very large number in Maharashtra. Regarding the heroism they commemorate, there are several varieties. For instance, if a man died fighting with a tiger, the tiger fight is represented on the stone. If a man died in a naval battle, he is shown fighting with men seated in a ship working it with oars. If a man died fighting with a ghost, their struggle is likewise depicted. Certain abnormal body features are attributed to a ghost. It is believed that a ghost has eyes at the back of its head and its feet are turned backwards. Besides this, the ghost's face is also deformed. If a newly initiated celibate (*navopanītabrahmacārin*) dies, he is shown as a boy standing and holding a staff in his right hand, with a begging satchel sometimes hanging from his left forearm. These are met with in some parts of Khāndeś. At times, cows led by a cow-herd, are shown in the lowest panel, implying that the hero died while resisting a cattle raid (Skt. *godhanaharaṇa*). Sometimes, all the four sides of a stone are carved with the usual scenes. Sometimes, the panels are interchanged and their number increased.

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[2] *Sahyādrī*, Marāṭhi monthly, (March, 1938), p. 3.

4. *Samādhis* and *Catrīs* are other forms of memorials. The word *samādhi* is used for the memorial of a holy or a royal person universally respected in society. There is no rule as to the form of the *samādhi*. In its simplest form it is a cylindrical stone buried in the ground facing northeast or southeast of the circumambulatory path of a Śiva temple, when the latter faces either east or west respectively. This is named *canda*, and there the circumambulation would be *Somasūtrī*, *i.e.*, three-fourths one way and one-fourth the other. This is a memorial to a *sanyāsin*. He is compared to a warrior who dies fighting, in the following verse:

Dvāvimau puruṣau loke sūryamaṇḍala bhādinau ।
Parivrāṭ Yogayuktaśca raṇe cābhimukhe hataḥ ॥

Sometimes, only a square or rectangular stone with a *Śivalinga* carved or placed on it is installed on the cremation spot. In some others *vṛndāvanas* are seen. On several such spots, moderate or imposing buildings are erected. If important personalities are commemorated by such buildings, they are called *catrīs*. Peṣwa Bājirao I, Rāṇojī Sinde, Malharrao Hoḷkar, Mahadāji Sinde, and a host of other eminent Marāṭha persons, have been commemorated by the *catrīs* erected on their cremation sites. At a place called Maṇḍovara, near Jodhpur, there are *catrīs* of almost all the Jodhpur kings. Though they are empty, the majority of them are multi-storied and built of cut and hewn stones. These may be called stone-memorials.

A SATĪ MEMORIAL FROM MĀRKAṆḌĪ

S. B. DEO

AS is well known that more number of memorial stones have been located in the Karnataka state than in the Maharashtra. Some of them have been termed *vīrakals* or *vīragals*, and are supposed to have been erected to the memory of a person who has laid down his life in a battle or skirmish. Although the popularity of the memorial stones is normally traced in the 9th-10th cent. in Karnataka, the antiquity, and the ritual cult associated with them go back to the days of Śangam literature, if not earlier, in the Tamil-Nadu. It has been pointed out in this connection that the institution of *naḍukal*, or hero-stones, was in vogue till at least the 10th cent. in the Tamil and Kannaḍa regions, "where several inscribed hero-stones bearing dates in the 9th and 10th centuries and answering to the description given of them in Śangam literature" are found.[1]

The southern regions of Maharashtra and the northern regions of Karnataka being contiguous and with more or less open boundaries, it was but natural that there was abundant cultural exchange. Throughout the historical period, major parts of these two present-day linguistic states were under the hegemony of dynasties like the Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Hoysaḷas and Yādavas, which did not obstruct cultural and social exchange.

It is significant to note that the largest number of memorial stones, or *vīragals*, is encountered in the Sholapur Dt.,[2] in Maharashtra, which borders on the present state of Karnataka. Next comes the Kolhapur Dt., which is also close to Karnataka. The provenance of the memorial stones in the rest of the region of Maharashtra, including Vidarbha, is sporadic. They have been located in the Ahmadnagar, Kolhapur, Poona, Satara, Sholapur, and Thana Dts.[3] Their occurance in the eight districts of Vidarbha, is much less common than in the districts mentioned above.

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[1] Subrahmanian, N., *Sangam Polity*, (Bombay, 1966), p. 131.

[2] Kapre, K. R., *Archaeology of the Place-names in the Deccan*, (unpublished), p. 220.

The Maharashtra region shows the following categories of hero-stones or *vīragals:* (1) The *vīragals*, or conventional columns or stele, bearing reliefs on its panels. (2) The *vīrs*, a simple type of tablet with its single panel bearing a human figure with the symbols of the sun and the moon on his either side and dated generally in the late Marāṭha period; and (3) *satī* stones, bearing a carving of upraised female hand with the palm facing us and with the reliefs of the sun and crescent moon. The two latter varieties are later and cruder in execution.

Restricting our observations to the *vīragals*, it may be stated that the stones generally have three similar panels on each face. In several cases the square shaft is embellished by a conical *śikhara*-like upper end. The panels from bottom upwards show, respectively, the hero fighting with several persons, generally armed with a sword and a shield, and, in a few cases, with a javelin; the second panel depicts the fallen hero being escorted by divine damsels to Heaven; and the third and topmost panel shows the hero worshipping the *Śivalinga*. These are generally repeated, but there are some deviations as at Herle and Hatkanangle in the Kolhapur Dt. In these two centres the *Śivalinga* is replaced by the relief of the standing Tīrthankara or a goddess, respectively.

Standing apart from these, and quite outstanding in the conception, are seven memorials reported from Borivli in the Thana Dt., first noticed by Cousens.[4] The panels depict a naval battle.

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3. Verma, O.P., *The Yadavas and Their Times*, (Nagpur, 1970), p. 254.
4. Cousens, H., *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, (Calcutta, 1931), pl. XV.

This tempted Altekar[5] to propose that the naval battle, in which the celebrated heroes died, was probably fought between Someśvara of the Silahāra dynasty and Mahādeva of the Yādava dynasty. Whether one accepts this or not, the fact remains that the Borivli memorial stones form a class by themselves. Being devoid of any record, these memorial stones hardly help their precice identification.

Considered against this background, the memorial stone reported from Mārkaṇḍī,[6] in Canda Dt., of the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, forms a class by itself. It deviates from the memorial stones reported from the districts of Maharashtra referred to earlier, and those recovered at Borivli.

The memorial is at present found in front of the Mārkaṇḍi Ṛṣi temple within the compound. The main temple in this group has been assigned to c. 11th cent. It is obvious that the pillar has no relation with the temple group, and that it was erected there sometime later. It is cubical in shape, with a broad square base. All the four faces have been relieved and each of the squarish or rectangular panels bears interesting motifs. The base has plain faces and the top of the shaft has a tapering, square, finial, capped by a circular knob. This finial rests on a square platform whose edges protrude over the uppermost panel on each face.

The arrangement of the panels appears to be unparalled: the eastern face of the shaft has five panels, the southern has four, the western has three and the northern only two. This schema, and the presence of the *kīrtimukha* in the top-most panel of each face, give this memorial a distinct place in the monuments of this class. Nowhere else in Maharashtra an instance like this has been reported so far.

Of the five panels of the eastern face (Fig. 1) the first from the bottom depicts the widow seated on a funeral pyre, with the head of her dead husband on her lap (Fig. 2). The pyre has been depicted with four rows of horizontal flutings, whereas the flames are depicted realistically on either side of the widow. The dead husband is shown lying full length horizontally. The widow has held her right hand with the palm outward. The second panel from bottom shows a woman riding a fully caparisoned horse (Fig. 3). She stands in front of the horse with a basket on her head. The rider holds some indistinct object in each hand. The panel above this shows a standing male and a female figure on either side of the *Śivalinga*, the lady holding her right hand over the *Śivalinga* (Fig. 3). The fourth panel, which has been deeply cut, shows a couple seated on a cot (Fig. 3). The topmost panel shows the *kīrtimukha* with its large and bulging eyeballs, open mouth and fangs.

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[5] *Indian Culture* II, p. 417.

[6] Deo, S.B., *Markandi Temples*, (Nagpur, 1973), pp. 16-17.

Of the four panels of the south face of the memorial (Fig. 4), the lowermost bears a fully caparisoned elephant in march with its trunk upraised. It is out of proportion, as the legs have a greater height and the body has been somehow accommodated in the panel. Above this is a blank portion which isolates the elephant panel. The second panel on this face comprises of standing male figures, each on either side of the central motif of a *gadā* capped by a *śankha*, which is topped by a *cakra* (Fig. 5). The club, the conch and the wheel are Vaiṣṇavaite motifs. The panel immediately above it, shows Veṇugopāla with Kṛṣṇa standing with left leg folded and kept upon his right (Fig. 5). He plays a flute holding it in his two hands. A cow, with its raised head, is standing on either side of Kṛṣṇa. The topmost panel bears the *kīrtimukha*; it is smaller than the one on the eastern face.

The western face has three panels (Fig. 6), the topmost being that of the *kīrtimukha*, as on the eastern and southern faces. The lowermost panel shows two dancing females. The second panel depicts a seated couple worshipping Gaṇeśa, *Śivalinga* and Nandi. The Nandi is seated on a lotus. The four-armed Gaṇeśa is seated in the *ardhaparyankasana*. He holds a *paraśu*, an *ankuśa* and a *modaka*, while one of his hands rests on his lap.

The northern face of the pillar has only two panels: the upper bearing the *kīrtimukha*; the one below it reveals two archers engaged in a fight.

This memorial arrests our attention by its distinctive characteristics. The four-feet high square pillar has a base which is broader than the shaft of the pillar. The arrangement of the panels appears to have been planned in descending numbers: the eastern face has five, the southern four, the western three, and the northern only two. The crowing *kīrtimukha* on each of the four faces is also noteworthy. However, the most outstanding feature is depiction of both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava motifs. Whereas Śiva has been shown invariably in the *linga* form on the eastern and western faces, Viṣṇu has been represented by his cognisances, like *śankha*, *cakra*, and *gadā*. Except Gaṇeśa, neither Śiva nor Viṣṇu is shown in his anthropomorphic form. Though the panels depicting a fight, a *satī* and the hero's departure to Heaven to find solace in the company of his wife there as the fourth panel on the east face shows, are the normal features, the panels on the southern and western faces showing emblems of Viṣṇu, Veṇugopāla and Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Nandi, tend to suggest the amalgamation of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions. As is well-known, this type of memorial stones noticed so far have almost invariably revealed the *Śivalinga*. This commemorative pillar of probably a lady who performed *satī*, thus, represents a unique specimen.

HERO AND SATĪ-STONES OF MAHARASHTRA

GUNTHER D. SONTHEIMER

SYSTEMATIC investigation of the hero and *satī*-stones of Maharashtra should be a substantial contribution to the religious, social and economic history of this region, and — linked with a similar study of this phenomenon in other parts of India — to the history of India in general. The enormous quantity of archaeological remains in India may have caused the neglect of memorial monuments like the *vīragals*, the ancestor shrines etc., They were either noticed sometimes in passing or utilised (provided they were inscribed) for the purpose of reconstructing dynastic history. Though the hero-stones of Maharashtra, with a few exceptions, do not have inscriptions, their sheer multitude, a certain uniformity and at the same time a remarkable variety in detail, (obviously in response to particular events or the wishes of the sponsors of the stone), would make them an urgent case for detailed study. This urgency is also enhanced by the fact that, more than other archaeological remains, they are in danger of destruction by road-building, wall-building, simple neglect etc. Illustration of such neglect would demand too much of our space.

Naturally, the explanation of the silent memorials of Maharashtra — silent as far as inscriptions are concerned — would need supplementation by local history, literary evidence and comparison with other areas, especially Karnataka. The instances we refer in this note mainly come from the Districts of Poona, Satara, Sholapur, and Kolhapur. In a considerable number of villages we find clusters of hero-stones which may have, however, been recently collected by villagers, as *e.g.* in Kiklī (Wai Tk., Satara Dt.,), or in

Nāygāv Peṭh (Haveli Tk., Poona Dt.,), Mhāḷuṅg, and Veḷāpūr (both Malsiras Tk., Sholapur Dt.,) to mention some remarkable assemblages of hero-stones.

The hero-stones are invariably found in old villages which existed in the pre-Yādava times, *e.g.*, in Corācī-Āḷaṇḍī (Āḷaṇḍī of the "brigand") and in Koregāv-on-the-Mūḷā which are both mentioned in a copper-plate charter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇrāja I, dated March 23, 768 A.D., donating the village of Koregāv-on-the-Mūḷā (Kumārī-grāma) to a group of brahmins from Karhāḍ.[1]

In the following study we shall place lesser emphasis on the art styles of the stones than on the contents depicted in these stones in the context of other extraneous evidence like historical, social, religious references, physical ecology and literary sources.

1. *Vīragals Depicting Cattle-Raids:*

Though the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate inscription is symptomatic of the beginning of a steady, but slow (and at times, relapsing and stunted), expansion of regular agriculture eastward of Poona, especially near river-beds, this was a process which was, actually accelerated and brought to near completion only after the "Pax Britannica" and during post-Independence developments. The area to the east of Poona included the notorious famine tract and was traditionally a pastoral, millet-growing land. Villages like Koregāv-on-the-Mūḷā remained essentially based on cattle-economy and thus two out of three stones in this village (built into the wall of a Mahādev temple) show in their lowest relief, heads of cattle bent over the hero who was killed while defending or retrieving cattle, or have some similar scene depicting a cattle-raid. The nearby Nāygāv Peṭh shows an even larger concentration of hero-stones with depiction of cattle (Fig. 1). Interestingly enough, in Nāgāv-Peṭh there is a near absence of the otherwise familiar panel with *apsaras* carrying the hero to Kailās — it may have been too sophisticated an idea for the inhabitants of this pastoral village. The panels with cattle and the dead hero, the fighting scene, the hero worshipping a *Śivalinga* with *yoni* in the uppermost panel, popular in the depictions of the stones of Nāygāv, make them somewhat unique.

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[1] *EI* XIII, pp. 275-92; Kosambi, D.D., *Myth and Reality*, (Bombay, 1962), p. 146. f.

To whatever old villages or hamlets of the famine tract we turn, these cattle-raid stones are found, that is, in the valleys of the Bhīmā, Karhā, Nīrā, and Mān. Invariably, oral traditions and historical sources point to a continuity of pastoral life in these villages and hamlets up to modern times. Though the contents of the *vīragals* are forgotten by the villagers, the oral pastoral traditions persist and there is sufficient evidence, (*e.g.*, in the Śāhū Daptar records of king Śāhū of Sātārā, referring to prominent Dhangars in the area east of Sātārā) of the continued tradition of cattle-raids, and the existence of professional cattle-lifters. To cite a few instances:

(a) Corācī-Āḷaṇḍī: This village has three beautiful cattle-stones outside and one (out of two) inside the Mahādev temple which is situated at the edge of the older ruined settlement. It is associated with "brigands", *i.e.*, Rāmośīs or Beraḍs, and the pastoral Gavḷīs who brought the worship of the cattle-god Mhātobā (Mhasobā). He has remained the most important god in the village.

(b) Koḷvihīre: Situated in the Purandar Tk., Poona Dt., this village has two cattle-raid stones in front of the temple of Bhairava, (originally a *kulsvāmī* of a pastoral, exogamous Haṭkar-Dhangar group). More stones have been recently unearthed by the villagers which show a high percentage of cattle-raids. The village tradition refers to the presence of Vālmīki Koḷī, the erstwhile robber, and to Gavḷīs and Dhangars, both groups remembered to have owned herds of large cattle.

(c) Mūrti Moḍhve: Not far from Koḷvihīre, it has about five cattle-raid stones; (Fig. 2) one is a square pillar, later used to support the "*sabhāmaṇḍapa*" of a small Mahādev temple. Mūrti Moḍhve was an *inām* of the More family obtained during Śāhū's times.[2]

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[2] Dikshita, Ma. Gam., and Khobrekar, Vi. Go., *Śāhū Daptarātīla Kāgadapatrāṃcī Varṇātmaka Sūcī*, (Nagpur, 1969), *daptara aṃka* 26, *puḍke* 1, 33236, S. 331.

They are Hāṭkar-Dhangars. Not far off are the ruins of a Gavḷī settlement, deserted because of deteriorating pastures and expansion of agriculture during the last hundred years or so.

(d) Guḷuñce: Situated in the Purandar Tk., Poona Dt., it has two exquisite hero-stones, one possibly depicting the hero being killed in a stampede of the cattle-herd. Near by, there is a deserted settlement of Gavḷīs with their deities still being worshipped by the Dhangar shepherds.

(e) Bhāde on the Nirā River: This village near Vīr in the Purandar Tk., Poona Dt., has broken pieces of hero-stones at the Bhairava temple. Pastoral traditions are continued by the nearby temple of Bīrobā and Iṭhobā (Viṭhobā), the famous Dhangar god and his "elder brother."

(f) Mhasvaḍ: Etymologically derived from Mahiṣavāḍā ("the camp of the buffalo demon"), this village is mentioned in an unpublished Kannaḍa inscription[3] of the Siddhanāth temple. The inscription of the year *Śaka* 1060 (1138 A.D.), mentions the donation of some land to a brahmin for the performance of the daily *naivedya* by a predecessor of the Kalacūrya king Bijjaḷa of Kalyāṇī, who ruled from Maṅgaḷveḍha as a subordinate of the Cālukya king Jagadekamalla of Kalyāṇī. But in spite of the settlement of brahmin, the place has retained its pastoral traditions.[4] The oral traditions refer to a Mhasojī Gavḷī, who first had his *vāḍā* there. The legends relate to a Gosāvī or Kāḷbhairava who killed a demon Mahiṣa here, whence the derivation of the name of the place. The only extant hero-stone in the precincts of the temple, in a small so-called "father-shrine", shows the hero defending cattle. Mhasvaḍ eventually became the headquarters of the Māne family, who were *śiledārs* ("cavaliers") and the whole valley of the Mān river remained an area for grazing flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and horses, and was reputed to be inhabited "by a thin, unsettled, and in some degree predatory population" .[5]

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[3] An account of the inscription was published by Khare, G. H., in *Samartha* (25th May 1932, published from Satara). A copy of the article was made available by the kind help of Mr. K. B. Mhaske.

[4] For the traditions and history of Mhasvaḍ and the area around see the author's "*Birobā, Mhaskobā und Khaṇḍobā: Ursprung, Geschichte und Umwelt von pastoralen Gottheiten in Mahārāṣṭra*", (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 26ff.

(g) Doḷāsaṇe: Situated on the Nāsik-Puṇe Road (Sangamner Tk., Ahmednagar Dt.,), we find here a hero-stone depicting a cattle-raid. It is built into the back wall of the Kāḷbhairava temple (Fig. 3). As so often, Kāḷbhairava is here connected with the pastoral Gavḷis who are said to be the "first" settlers.

(h) Paṇḍharpūr: Instead of multiplying the same instances, we may refer to the role of Viṭhobā of Paṇḍharpūr who has been portrayed as a cattle-lifter in a 13th cent. literary work of the Mahānubhāva sect.[6] This role assigned to their god in the *Līlācaritra* might, no doubt, enrage and wound the feelings of the Vārkarīs, the devotees of Viṭhobā. While there is every justification for such a possible reaction of the Vārkarīs, I feel that this problem needs to be studied in its historical context, not forgetting the social values of the time. From the religious point of view, Viṭhobā could have, of course, no connection with the cattle thief. The Viṭhobā of the *Vārkārīs* is different, from the one who lived at the time when the cult was not fully evolved. One of the great achievements of Indian religion is its ability to transform rustic, or somewhat gruesome, cult into a sober and peace-loving sect, and this is most often done by slowly shifting the original beliefs and practices. The cult of Viṭhobā was evolved at a time when no outright social disrepute was attached to cattle-raids. It was considered a formal invitation to a feud or a war and an act of bravery, according to the Śangam literature.[7] Even today, we hear of traditions in Rajasthan and

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[5] *Memoir on the Satara Territory* by Olgilvy, T., in: *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No XLI, New Series (ed.), by Hughes Thomas, R., (Bombay, 1857), p. 3 ff.

[6] Sontheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 72, fn.10. See meanwhile the discussion by S. G. Tulpule in "The Origin of Viṭhṭhala — An Interpretation", in: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Diamond Jubilee Volume*, 1978, pp. 1005-1009.

[7] *Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram* 60.

Gujarat of cattle-raids marking the beginning of a feud. The *daṇḍanāyakas* of the time when Viṭhobā took his form seem to have liberally indulged in robbing cows and women.[8] Then the "thief" also had a claim to a hero-stone when he died in a raid,[9] if only in order that his spirit may be laid to rest and not haunt his relatives. Thus the *Līḷācaritra* (*Uttārdha, līḷā* 411) may have, in the hitherto easily accessible version,[10] plausibly explained to the Mahānubhāvas the origins of a very popular cult by referring to circumstances prevailing at that time in a way which was persuasive and sufficient to discredit the cult in their eyes. Because whatever bravery the hero may show — and bravery and prowess were the prime criteria to qualify him for being commemorated by a hero-stone —the *defence* of cows tended to be spiritually and religiously meritorious and prestigious. The really blasphemous passage in the *līḷā* which represents a third layer should have convinced nobody and is contained in a variant reading relegated to a footnote by S. G. Tulpule. Viṭhala vīru, the "hero" Viṭhala, as he is called in the *līḷā*, is another indication that the worship of a hero was initially involved. But the argument that it could have well been a cattle-thief who was initially involved in the cult has become somewhat otiose, because meanwhile the new and final edition of the *Līḷācaritra* ed. by Dr. V. B. Kolte contains the original, rather short *līḷā* and it is clear that the present version in Tulpule's edition must be a later accretion twisting the original *līḷā* beyond recognition. As a matter of fact in the original *līḷā* Cakradhara, the founder of the sect, answers the question of Mahadāisā as regards the festive show (*naḍanācu*) and attachment (*upādhi*) displayed in Paṇḍhrī thus: "My lady, this hero died in the cause of (defending) cows. His name is Viṭhalu. In his name this hero-stone was erected (*bhaḍakhaṃbā māṃḍilā*). There the deity viewed it as belonging to itself. [or: The deity apprehended identity with the *bhaḍakhaṃbā*: *tetha devatā abhimānu ghetalā*]. He (*i.e.*, the *bhaḍakhaṃbā*) fulfills the wishes [of the devotees]".[11] One more fact makes the story that Viṭhobā died defending cows more likely: an unnoticed *vīragal* of the Yādava period is actually found on the side of the *samādhi* of Cokhāmeḷā. The stone is near the spot which must have been according to Tulpule the original site of the original shrine of Viṭhṭhala.[12] It is built into a wall and heavily covered with oil and soot. The scenes show a fight, heads of cows, and the usual *apsaras* accompanying the hero. The top portion is apparently broken off, but there can hardly be any doubt that it must have contained the panel which is never absent on hero-stones of that period in the pastoral area, namely the hero worshipping the *linga*.[13] This may reinforce the view that there was a popular pre-Vaiṣṇava cult, before the Vaiṣṇavas and their Bhakti arrived.[14] Even today, Viṭhal or Iṭhal is, in the eyes of the pastoral groups, rather not a Vaiṣṇava Kṛṣṇa, but a pre-Vaiṣṇava pastoral Gavḷī, who came from Karnataka. He is considered to be a brother of the pastoral god Bīrobā/Bīrappa worshipped by the shepherd communities of the Deccan. Sometimes Bīrappa is said to be in the form of a *liṅga* and is carried by Viṭhobā around his neck.

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[8] *Maharashtra State Gazetteer, History. Pt.* 1: *Ancient Period*, (Bombay, 1967), pp. 350 ff. *EC* VII, Sk. 256; VIII, Sb. 339.

[9] *Malaipaṭukaṭām* 387 ff.: inscribed stones for heroes and the Maḷavars (the robber tribe). For the "deification" of robbers after their decease, see Crooke, William, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. ii, (Calcutta, 1896), p. 326. For an excellent account of the transformation of a robber of the "criminal" Mīna tribe (Rajasthan) into a "Hindu dev", see Jain, Jyotindra, *Bavaji and Devi, Besessenheitskult und Verbrechen in Indien*, (Wien, 1973), p. 44 ff.

[10] Tuḷpuḷe, Śaṃ. Go., *Līḷācaritra, uttarārdha: bhāga* 2, (Nagpura: Pune, 1967), p. 101. See, Kolte's edn. (Bombay, 1978), *līḷā* 508.

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[11] Kolte, V. B., (ed.), *Līḷācaritra.*

[12] Tuḷpuḷe, S.G., (ed.), *Prācīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekh,* (Pune, 1963), pp. 89-90.

[13] Deleury's view that Viṭhobā must have been a hero who died in a cattle-raid seems confirmed. However the hero-stone found at Paṇḍharpūr leaves the *mūrti* of Viṭhobā unexplained. Deleury traces the *mūrti* to images of Bir Kuar, the Ahir deity and refers to similar depictions on "hero-stones" near Wāī (Satara Dt.,), but such "hero-stones" are of a much later (Marāṭhā) period, derive from the worship of Viṭhobā, are modelled after the *mūrtis* of Viṭhobā and Rakhumāī, and are actually ancestor memorials. Deleury, G.A., *The Cult of Viṭhobā,* (Poona, 1960), p. 197ff.

[14] Mate, M. S., "Pandharpur: Myth and Reality", in: Mate, M. S., and Kulkarni, G. T., (eds.), *Studies in Indology and Medieval History,* (Prof. G. H. Khare Felicitation Volume), (Poona, 1974), p. 134 ff.

The "local deity" mentioned in the original version of the *līḷā* may have been the pre-Vaiṣṇava Śaivite cult. The later, twisted and inflated, version of the *līḷā* says that the mother of Viṭhobā consecrated a *liṅga* at the *bhaḍakhaṃbā* of Viṭhobā which for all the twisting may correctly echo that it was originally a place of Śaivite worship assimilating Viṭhala whence the Śaivite cult received its name. Subsequently the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti must have emerged in the foreground and the fact that Viṭhobā had been protecting cows must have made this easier—Kṛṣṇa being the "protector of cows" *par excellence*.

It may be said that the *Līḷācaritra* is rather late, but the date of its composition given by Tulpule as *Śaka* 1205 (1283 A.D.,)[15] would still allow us to say that the passage retains a memory of the real origin of the cult.

(i) Veḷāpūr, Mhāḷung: Veḷāpūr is situated in the Malsiras Tk., Sholapur Dt., (Fig. 5). About sixty known hero-stones, including fragments, form a remarkable assemblage, but equally striking is the relatively small percentage of stones (five) depicting cattle-raids. Veḷāpūr was situated at an old cross-roads between North and South, West and East. It reminds one of the passage in the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*,[16] where it is said that at many cross-roads, where the enemies of the king live, inscribed stones can be seen which are reminders of the dead heroes and of the Maḻavars (the robber tribe). It was probably a border town where many a battle must have been fought between the powers of the South and the North. Veḷāpūr was probably attacked and defended by the *daṇḍanāyakas* of the border area. Two villages on the road to the North, Mhāḷung and Bavḍā, and the town of Āklūj on the way to Indāpūr may have had the function of securing this road. In each of these places we find hitherto unnoticed stones which show the hero conquering a small fort which must have been the local fortified *vāḍā* (Figs. 6, 7 and 8). In Bavḍā, the local *vāḍā* has disappeared, whereas in Mhāḷung and Āklūj the forts exist, and, in fact, hero-stones have been used for their walls. Bavḍā, and especially Mhāḷung, again, have "cattle-raid stones" in their sizeable collection: in Bavḍā, three out of 21 hero-stones, and at Mhāḷung, four out of 50 hero-stones are cattle-raid stones.

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[15] Tuḷpuḷe, S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[16] See fn. 9.

Many of the stones in Veḷāpūr show "*daṇḍanāyakas*" or some royal heroes with *chatrīs* and in one case with a banner bearing an unidentified symbol. One of the most impressive stones has been moved to the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, according to Cousens.[17] It has four panels, and the two lower ones represent fighting scenes. The second panel from below shows the hero as a *daṇḍanāyaka*, or high-ranking officer on horseback, and with a *chatrī*, the lowest panel shows him on foot. May be the stone depicts two battle scenes wherein the hero rose in rank. Even more interesting are the *bhūts*, or goblins, which hover around the battle-field. One of them has a Bhairava-like halo, a dagger and a *kapāla*, the other actually sucks the blood of a dying enemy.

Such *bhūts* frequenting the battle-field are well-known to literature, and the nearest reference comes from the *Śrīśivabhārata*.[18] The depiction of "*bhūts*" is also found at Mhāḷung on stones showing the same style and craftsmanship as those in Veḷāpūr (Fig. 12). On the lowest panel of the stone in the Prince of Wales Museum we also come across a group of four warriors with bugles and bows. They probably represent a contingent of tribals having hooked noses familiar from depictions of *yakṣas* or tribals. The villages around Veḷāpūr, again, show a high percentage of cattle-raid stones, *e.g.*, Khūḍūs, Paṭvardhan Kurolī, Mīre etc.

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[17] Cousens, Henry, *Medieval Temples of the Dekhan*, (Calcutta, 1931), p. 63, Pl. XCVI; Moti Candra, *Stone Sculpture in the Prince of Wales Museum*, (Bombay, 1974), p. 54, Fig. 160; Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer, "Some Memorials of Western India", in: *German Scholars in India*, Vol. II, (Delhi, 1977), Pl. IV, Figs. 1 and 2.

[18] *Śrīśivabhārata*, 22, 68-70 (Ānandāśrama Press edn.,) p. 66.

(j) Kiklī, Wai Tk., Satara Dt: Kiklī is situated on the eastern fringe of the Wai Tk., and on the border between the richer rainfall area to the east of the Ghāṭs and the dry "pastoral area". About fifty remarkable hero-stones including fragments are scattered in this village. Some of them were submerged in the soil to support the side of a steep access to the remnants of an old "Hemāḍpant" temple which was re-erected near by.[19] One of the steps of the access to the former temple turned out to be a *vīragal*. The others were recently retrieved by the villagers and re-installed near the village square as they were in danger of being destroyed by the pressure of the access path.[20] More *viragals* were used in house-building and may be retrieved from ruins. Initially, no cattle-raid stones were thought to be extant, but excavation unearthed some.

2. *Vīragals Outside the "Pastoral Area"*:

(a) The Kolhāpūr Museum and Bīḍ (Karavir Tk.,): If our theory is correct, namely, that social and physical ecology is reflected in the contents of the hero-stones, we should not find stones depicting cattle-raids to the west of Poona, the area up to the Ghāṭs (Māvaḷ), the area around Sātārā and Kolhāpūr, *i.e.*, an area receiving sufficient rainfall and traditionally more an area suited for rice cultivation. There are, indeed, only one or two hero-stones depicting a cattle-raid in the beautiful collection of hero-stones of the Śilahāra and Yādava period in the Kolhāpūr Museum. It may be said that this collection only contains selected stones and, therefore, none of the humbler cattle-raid stones. But if we go to Bīḍ in the Karavir Tk., to the southeast of Kolhāpūr, we come accross approximately hundred *vīragals*, most of them built into a wall facing the entrance to the Lingāyat Mahādev temple. None of them shows a cattle-raid. And though the Kolhāpūr farmer is proud of his

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[19] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Satara District*, (Bombay, 1963), p. 817.

[20] The author wishes to record the help rendered by Mr. V. G. Khobrekar, Mr. Inamdar and Mr. Jamsandekar, and the villagers of Kiklī, especially Mr. Babar, the Sarpanch, in helping me to study the stones.

Khilārī oxen, the Gazetteer informs us that they are mainly imported from cattle-fairs held annually in the classical pastoral area of the eastern parts of the Satara Dt., from the cattle-fairs of the Sholapur and Sangli Dts., and the eastern part of the Belgaum Dt.[21]

Savantvāḍi, the small former princely state, has similarly a large number of hero-stones. Most of them are of the Vijayanagara period and do not contain depictions of cattle-raids. Many of them indicate that the wife (or wives) committed *satī* symbolized by an arm emerging from a pillar (Fig. 16).

Kolhāpūr being one of the oldest and most famous *śaktapīṭhs*, the goddess Mahālakṣmī figures in the top panels of two *vīragals*. They are exhibited in the Kolhāpūr Museum. Here, the hero does not worship the *linga* and *yonī*, but he worships the goddess.

(b) Sea-battles: It is quite natural that in a coastal area like Konkaṇ and Goa we would not find any depiction of cattle-raids, but rather depiction of sea-battles. The famous stones of Eksār near Borivḷī (Thana Dt.,)[22] and the stones of the Kadamba period in the Goa Museum are proof of their existence. But this does not preclude the existence of the usual hero-stones depicting a fight in the lowest panel, *e.g.*, at Lohare, near Mahāḍ in the Kolaba Dt., though the present author has seen none depicting a cattle-raid. This corresponds with the lesser importance of cattle in an area where rice cultivation with the plough animal is male buffaloes.

3. *Religious Suicide*:

Veḷāpūr and Mhāḷung have hero-stones depicting suicides. In one case the head of the hero is carried on a platter in front of his just decapitated erect body, which in turn is followed by the decapitator and an army. May be this refers to a vow of the hero to offer his head in return for a victory of his master. This very depiction in stone has a precursor in an extremely elaborate stone of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī at Mangaḷveḍhā (Fig. 17). The lowest panel has disappeared, but probably contained a battle scene. On the second panel from below, the hero is seated on an elephant and is received and accompanied by musicians etc. On the third panel, his head is cut off and carried away on a platter. Again, this seems to be in consequence of a vow; on simpler stones at Mhāḷung, Toṇḍale and Boṇḍale — all in the Malsiras Tk., — we see a man who has also been just beheaded. There are two stones from Kiklī which show the hero in front of a low pillar from which three spears emerge on top, similar to the points of a *triśūl* (Fig. 20). This may indicate his imminent suicide, as we know of the suicide of heroes by throwing themselves on a bundle of *śūlas*, or spears.[23] Even today, the devotees of the god Mailār on Devaraguḍḍa, who are called *kañcavīra*, and the Gorappas (the equivalents of the Vāghyās of Jejurī) of the Kurubā community perform their self-mortifications in front of a huge stone-*triśūlam* which is also used for the tying of the iron chains which the Gorappas have to break. The pillar resembles the one depicted in Kiklī.

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[21] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Kolhapur District,* (rev. edn., 1960), pp. 293-5.

[22] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Here we may also refer to peculiar memorials, which are found in Karnataka,[24] and in Maharashtra, *e.g.*, in the Khaṇḍobā temple of Jejurī. Under the pavilion-like structure for the hook-swinging ceremony in Jejurī (*bagāḍ*) we find a small carved stone-plate with footprints of a saint (or Khaṇḍobā?) surrounded by heads of four rams (Fig. 21). Rams are still sacrificed by the Dhangars to Khaṇḍobā (or the goddess Bāṇāī) and other *kulsvāmīs* in a ceremony called *dāvaṇ* = 'a string of five rams': for five years a ram is set aside each year for sacrifice. According to the *Mhaskobācem-caritra* the god tested the *bhakti* of the founder of the cult and his five sons by asking for the sacrifice of the latter.[25] The sons agreed to be sacrificed but the god revived them, or rather replaced the human victims by rams. There often is a close identification of human beings with the animals of the god, *e.g.*, as the god's horses and the god's dogs, which are indispensable requisites for a warring and hunting god like Khaṇḍobā Mailār. Bhaktas behaving like barking dogs and eating from a wooden bowl without using their hands or behaving like horses by whipping themselves can still be seen on Devaraguḍḍa during the Dasarā festival.[26] The idea of suicide in order to obtain a god's response or merger with him may be one of the reasons of going to the extent of considering oneself a sacrificial animal. It is the idea of Paśupatī taken literally on the popular level. Eventually, the animal sacrifice completely superseded this identification, but the presentation of the *pādukās* and the heads of rams may still reflect an earlier identity of human and animal sacrifice. This identity seems to be indicated on a similar memorial in front of the Khaṇḍobā temple at Āklūj (Malsiras Tk.,) (Fig. 22). Here, the *pādukās* rest on a *nandī*, who in turn rests on a *yoni*-shaped pedestal. The *nandī* is flanked by two human heads and two heads of rams. A similar memorial is found in one of the small shrines at an entrance to the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ. Here, the *pādukās* are flanked by two beheaded human figures and various animals in addition to heads of rams. The *pādukās* seem to rest on a snake.

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[23] On Śūla Brahma stones see Kasturi, N., "The Hero Stones of Mysore", in: *Professor K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, (Bangalore, 1940), p. 205.

[24] Settar, S., *Hoysaḷa Sculptures in the National Museum Copenhagen*, (Copenhagen, 1975), p. 99 and Pl. XLVIII.

[25] Hari Balakrishna Arole, *Śrīnāth Mhaskobā Devācem-caritra*, 1st ed. (Pune, 1889), 4th ed. (Pune, 1972), p. 8 ff. Tr. into German as appendix in the author's *Birobā Mhaskobā und Khaṇḍobā* . . .

4. *The Concept of Vīra:*

The emphasis on the fortunes obtainable on the battle-field, but even more, the emphasis on the ephemerality of life, is well-known from Kannaḍa inscriptions. Earning fame and immortality and nearness to gods like Śiva, and Mahālakṣmī, and the ascension to *brahmaloka* or *sūryaloka* must have been powerful ideas. It was not just the idea of being commemorated as an ancestor, but, in addition, the idea of a *hero* which found emulators from all castes, at least in Karnataka. The hero, on account of his *vīrya*, had immediate access to the god. In that respect he resembled the *yogī* who became a *siddha* by attaining *siddhis*, or who, by controlling the spirits of the "fifty-two *vīr*" (Mar. *bāvan vīr*), could realize his god or merger with his god, or could attain a supernatural, godlike position. This would allow the *yogī* to use the spirits of the fifty-two *vīrs*. They are all heroic gods or godlings, like Bhairava, Mārutī (Hanumān, Mahāvīr) or Vikramāditya (of whom it is said, according to legend, that he prayed to the Mahākāl of Ujjain for victory, thus borrowing his powers).

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[26] Ḍhere, Rā. Ciṃ., *Khaṇḍobā*, (Puṇeṃ, 1961), p. 140: The Bhaktas in Khaṇḍobā's procession at Naḷdurg who whip themselves are called *vārū* (steed; war-horse).

What combines the hero and the *yogī* is the heroic and unconditional acceptance of suffering, pain and death. We have noticed above the *kañca-vīras* of Devaraguḍḍa. Similarly, even today, the descendants of the founder of the Mhaskobā cult in Vīr (Purandar Tk., Poona Dt.,) combine the martial and yogic aspects of the hero and the *yogī*: they strike themselves with swords to effect possession by the god Mhaskobā. They are called *siddhas*, but also *vīras* according to the old District Gazetteer.[27] Thus the famous *śloka* from inscriptions in Karnataka:

dvāvimau puruṣau loke sūrya maṇḍala bhedinau |
parivrāṭ yogabhuktaśca raṇe cābhimukhau hataḥ || [28]

may relate to the close similarity of the hero and the *yogī* as far as their motivations and aims are concerned.

5. *Form and Content of the Hero-Stones:*

(a) Normally, the *vīragals* have three, four or five panels. The middle panel shows the *apsaras* carrying the hero towards heaven. Sometimes, he sits in a celestial *pālkhī* with or without his wife. The topmost panel shows the hero as the devotee of some deity, generally Śiva in the form of the *linga* with *yoni*, attended by some priest. But the hero may also be the devotee of a *devī*, *e.g.*, of the Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpur, a Jina, or a *tīrthankara*, or of Gaṇeśa whom we accordingly find at times depicted in the top panel.

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[27] *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XVIII, Poona Dt., 1885, pt. 3, p. 464.

[28] The text may be found *e.g.*, in the *Mahābhārata*, (Calcutta edn. 5. 1031). In the critical edition the text is found in the critical apparatus after 5.33.32. See also *Pañcatantra* 1.345.

Sometimes, the hero is shown lying prostrate on the battle-field with *apsaras* descending to garland him. On one hero-stone we find the *apasaras* descending with garlands and the wife sitting near her slain husband raising her hand indicating that she is a *satī* (Fig. 7).

More often the hero is lying prostrate with heads of cattle bent over him in a small panel below the battle scene.

On some hero-stones, the story of the fate of the hero attracted much admiration, and this has normally led to an increase in the number of panels to five. Each of the three lower panels may describe different stages of the battle or different battles and, at times, the subsequent suicide of the hero. The above-mentioned hero-stones describing the conquest of a fort (Figs. 6, 7 & 8) tend to enlarge the size of the panel with the battle scene or scenes at the cost of the other panels. The hero-stone of Āklūj (Fig. 8) actually foregoes the normal partition into panels to save space and most of it is used to accommodate in one large square, a battle, the subsequent attack on the fort, and the carrying away of the "dead" hero in a palanquin. That the slain hero is carried away from the scene of the fight, seated in a palanquin to become a god, or — in the present case — to join Śiva, is reflected, *e.g.*, in oral traditions of Rajasthan.[29] The next panel, showing the hero, his wife (a *satī*?), *apsaras* and saluting elephants is very small, and so is the topmost panel where the hero has joined Śiva.

(b) The front of the slab is sometimes divided vertically to accommodate two sequences for two heroes (Fig. 28). The top panel, with *linga*, may or may not be divided. In the latter case, the heroes are shown worshipping together.

(c) Accordingly, the top of the stone may be crowned by two *kalaśas*.

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[29] See fn. 9, Jyotindra Jain, *op. cit.*

(d) In several places (Kiklī, Lohare, Mūrti-Moḍhve, Bāvḍe, Guḷuñce, Phalṭaṇ), we find a quadrilaterally carved *vīragal* which shows three panels of identical size with, sometimes, varying scenes. Probably, these are memorials which commemorate four heroes on the same stone. An exception to this is the stone in the garden of the Bhārat Itihās Samśodhan Maṇḍal in Poona, where the hero is depicted in larger size stretching over one side of the stone.

In Phalṭaṇ (Malṭaṇ) two remarkable hero-stones of the Yādava period may be seen outside the gate of the town wall near the Kaṇḍobā temple. Topping the vigorous battle and *apsara* scenes we find on the first stone (I) each of the four heroes apparently worshipping his particular deity, *e.g.*, Viṣṇu with Garuḍa, Śiva, Sūrya (two horses are carved below the deity) and what is probably also Śiva seated on a demon (Fig. 29a-i). The second stone (II) is crowned by slightly receding rectangular panels. On one side of them the hand and arm symbol with a *kalaśa* and one *pāduka* are shown. The opposite side is occupied by the sun and the moon and on the other two sides *kīrtimukhas* have been carved. It is worth mentioning about this stone — situated as it is near the walls of the town — that it depicts the conquest of a fort by some princely hero with a *chatrī*. Phalṭaṇ has always been an important trading town for the exchange of goods on the west-east route leading to Veḷāpūr (see 1.i.).

(e) A trilaterally carved fragmentary hero-stone may be seen in the open-air museum at the Devgiri Fort near Aurangābād.

(f) Multi-panelled hero-stones are known from the late Gupta period (the earliest being of the 6th cent. A.D.,) at the Gwalior Fort (Gujarī Mahāl). We can perhaps assume that the custom of carving panels came from there to Maharashtra and Karnataka, except for the representation of the hero on the top of the stone in the form of a bust, which seems to have been common in Madhya Pradesh in the post-Gupta period. The earliest multi-panelled hero-stones in Maharashtra and Karnataka seem to be those at Paṭṭadakal and belong to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. The early Dravidian hero-stones are not divided into panels.[30]

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[30] Nagaswamy, R., (ed.), *Seminar on Hero-Stones*, (Madras, 1974).

(g) The more we turn to the north-east from the southern districts of Maharashtra *e.g.*, to the Usmanabad Dt., and again in the Candrapur Dt., and to the east towards Andhra Pradesh the number of multi-panelled stones as well as the number of panels of the stones decreases. Here we come accross hero-stones which are not divided into panels (Fig. 41). On the stone which is generally about one meter high the warrior is carved in action holding a shield, wielding a sword, a bow, a battle-axe, or a spear and, occasionally, the sun and the moon are shown. Sometimes the hero is confronted by smaller-sized foes. Though from the artistic point of view the stones are at times quite elaborately carved, (*e.g.*, in the precincts of the temple complex at Mārkaṇḍī in the Candrapur Dt.,) one hardly hesitates to assign them to a tribal context. Unlike the hero-stones of southern Maharashtra and Karnataka, (Figs. 42 and 43) only in rare cases a top relief is indicated with the hero worshipping the *linga* (as *e.g.*, in the Museum of the Bīdar Fort). We find a number of memorials in areas which belonged and still belong largely to the forested tribal belt and these stones probably commemorate tribal chiefs. This type of hero-stone links up in its form and content with those of the Bastar Dt., (Madhya Pradesh) and eastern Madhya Pradesh. Similarly in Andhra Pradesh the same type of memorial occurs, and it is continued into the Vijayanagar period where the memorials, however, tend to be much larger in size.

6. *Satī:*

Much has been said about this institution, but many problems remain, not least in the area under discussion. There are essentially three ways of representing *satī* in our area:

(a) The symbol of hand and arm with bangles, emerging from a pillar, are carved on a slab of stone. The arm is bent at a right angle at the elbow. Often, the couple, or the husband and two wives, are depicted on the slab. To this the *linga* and *yoni* as well as the sun and moon are usually added. The origin of the pillars seems to have been in Madhya Pradesh or Rajasthan, where we find the *govardhana-kīrtistambhas* for heroes, *e.g.*, in the Jodhpūr area, but even up to

Pañcmāḍhi in Madhya Pradesh. In the Raipur Museum a pillar with a *kīrtimukha* and goose motif shows two right hands and arms carved in the upper part of the pillar. The pillar is otherwise similar to the *govardhana-kīrtistambhas* and, though said to be of the 17th cent. A.D., gives the impression of a much earlier date, though perhaps not contemporaneous with the *govardhana-kīrtistambhas*. The pillar as a memorial for *satī* and heroes seems to have been introduced from the North to Maharashtra, and the word used instead of *vīragal* was *bhaḍa-khamba*.[31] The presentation of the pillar on *satī*-stones, *i.e.*, slabs, gives the appearance of a relatively later date than the presentation on the multi-panelled hero-stones. Pillar and arm are common in the presentation of *satī* on the Vijayanagara memorials. The representation of pillar and arm in a *vīragal* is found on the stone in Māṭhgāv and is found on nearly all hero-stones at Savantvāḍi.[32] Notwithstanding the necessity of further exploring the meaning by intensive local field research and literary studies, the representation of the hand with arm and bangles may be explained as the *satī* giving her blessings. But the significance of the pillar still awaits explanation. It may, however, be a marriage pillar which represents the lasting union of the couple. The wife is not separated, and she does not become a widow if she "commits" *satī*. That the classical *vīragal* was considered to be a kind of *stambha* can be seen in Vālhā, (Purandar Tk., Poona Dt.,) where the arm is carved as an adjunct to an otherwise common hero-stone (Fig. 33). Another intermediary stage between the classical *vīragals* and the more simple *satī*-stones concentrating on "pillar and arm" may be found in a fragmentary piece at Rasin (Karjat Tk., Ahmednagar Dt.). Here the top of the hero-stone is still carved in the classical fashion showing a panel with the *linga* and the hero, whereas the lower part of the stone seems to be resolved into the arm, hand and pillar symbol with no further panels.

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[31] Tuḷpuḷe, S. G., *Līḷācaritra*, *ibid*. *Idem*, *Prācīna Marāṭhī Korīva Lekh*, p. 297. *Bhaḍ* is derived from Skt. *bhaṭa* which means "warrior, soldier, mercenary, outcast, barbarian", Apte, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, s.v.

[32] Tuḷpuḷe, S. G., *Prācīna* . . . , Pl. 65, panel 3.

(b) The depiction of the wife in the act of committing *satī* is found occasionally on normal *vīragals*, *e.g.*, on a *vīragal* at Bīḍ (Karavir Tk., Kolhapur Dt.,) where the couple is shown lying on the pyre.[33] In another hero-stone located at Kumbharvaḷaṇ in the Purandar Tk., of the Poona Dt., the wife is seen about to lie down beside her dead husband. Both are engulfed by the flames of the pyre and the left hand of *satī* is extended towards heaven as if she were blessing the living (Fig. 31). The middle relief on the *vīragals* normally shows *apsaras* carrying the hero to heaven. Occasionally some celestial vehicle is carried by them in which husband and wife are seated in a manner similar to the Ūmāmaheśvara pose. This presumably indicates that the wife has joined the dead hero as a *satī*.

During the times of the Yādavas *satī* was still confined to royalty and the gentry. According to the *Smṛtisthaḷa* of the Mahānubhāvas, Kamāīsā, the queen of Rāmadeva Yādava, (1271–1310) was forced to commit *satī*.[34] In the *Jñāneśvarī* reference to the *satī* rite could serve as a simile for a devotee who suffers peril for the sake of god.[35] On most of the hero-stones there is not yet any indication that the wife committed *satī*. But among people aspiring for prestige and rank the custom of divorce and remarriage might have been discarded and *satī* might have spread. The simple idea of *apsaras* carrying the hero towards heaven without a celestial vehicle or palanquin which was a sign of honour and at the same time allowed scope for the wife of the hero to be carved — seems to preclude the idea of *satī*. Yet at times we find the wife somewhat akwardly and artificially placed besides the *apsaras* and then perched behind the hero worshipping with him the *linga* in the top panel (Fig. 30). Spread of the custom of *satī* accounts for the tendency to include the wife in the middle panel besides the *apsaras*, and to show the couple worshipping in the top panel. However such depictions may not yet imply that

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[33] Sontheimer, "Some Memorials of Western India", in: *German Scholars on India*, Vol. II, (Delhi, 1977), Pl. V, figs. 1-4.

[34] Tuḷpuḷe, Śaṃ. Go., (ed.), *Smṛtisthaḷa* 149, (Pune, 1969), p. 48.

[35] *Jñāneśvarī* 16.185; 18.437.

satī was actually committed. On modern ancestor memorials, (*e.g.*, of the Dhangars in Maharashtra) the wife is also shown though she may be alive. But even if she remarries she will be united after death with her *first* husband with whom she was first united in marriage. Thus it would not be premature to show her on the ancestor stone at the death of her first husband.

Generally the evidence shows that the symbol of "hand and arm" and/or pillar is a later development, and is rarely found in the pre-Yādava and Yādava periods. There is an early exception at Phalṭaṇ where on a quadrilaterally and exquisitely carved hero-stone the arm and hand is shown without the pillar in the top panel to the left of a *kalaśa*. The right side of the *kalaśa* is occupied by *one pādukā*. The hand or arm is attached to the above-mentioned hero-stone in Valha (Purandar Tk., Poona Dt.,) again indicating a transitional phase (Fig. 33). Elements of the earlier hero-*satī*-stone and the later stones with arm and pillar are combined on a big boulder found in the Māruti temple at Nārāyanpūr (Purandar Tk., Poona Dt.,) (Fig. 34). Here the four *satīs* are seated behind the dead husband with raised arms in the lowest relief. Such a presentation is found on earlier, more realistic hero-*satī*-stones (Figs. 7 & 31) (cp. also S. B. Deo, A Unique Hero-Stone of Mārkaṇḍī). The right arms of the four *satīs* are shown emerging from a pillar. This is the later method of showing *satī*. The whole stone is carved in a style which is closer to " folk art " than are the classical hero and *satī*-stones. On the left of the stone horsemen are carved, perhaps members of the entourage of the hero. On the right side of the stone there is nothing but a crude Gaṇeśa suggesting that the hero must have been a devotee of that god, and was perhaps a brahmin. The stone is probably of the early Marāthā period.

Thus *satī* seems to have been relatively rare in the pre-Yādava and even Yādava period in Maharashtra and when it happened it was depicted realistically. Eventually the " classical ", multi-panelled hero-stone merged into the slab showing " arm, hand and pillar." without panels and the sculptor and the relatives of the deceased seem to have been satisfied with comparatively crude presentations of the hero and his wife or wives.

(c) The arm without pillar is also found, but this presentation seems to be relatively recent and the carving looks simpler.

7. *The "Pāliya"*:

Probably, the last old-style multi-panelled *vīragals* in Maharashtra are of the 14th cent., as exemplified by the inscribed and dated hero-stone of Māṭhgāv (1317 A.D.,).[36] The *vīragals* seem to have been eventually replaced by the one-panelled *pāliya* from the North, which is rather an ancestor memorial than a hero memorial. To the horse and rider a representation of the wife of the rider is added, seated behind her husband on the horse. The representation is similar to that of Khaṇḍobā and Mhaḷsā. Khaṇḍobā's dog is also shown at times. Obviously, an identification or nearness of the couple with Khaṇḍobā and Mhaḷsā is intended, as on the *satī*-stones in Madhya Pradesh. There, the depiction of the couples resembles Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Umāmaheśvara* pose.

Probably to the Marāṭhā period we have to assign stone slabs found *e.g.*, at Korṭī (Karmala Tk., Usmanabad Dt.,) and at the Khaṇḍobā temple at Jejurī (Poona Dt.,) showing the heads of "heroes who died in war" still remembered as such by the local population (Fig. 38). As a last trace of the old, classical hero-stones these slabs are crowned by the *kalaśa*. The Marāṭhā period is, more over, marked by the pavilion-like *chatrīs* from the North and by the *ghumṭas* built over the *samādhis* of heroes, saints, famous personages and prominent ancestors.

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The German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) for financing my stay in India which made it possible to supplement my work on the hero and *satī*-stones.

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36. Tuḷpuḷe, *Prācīna* . . . , p. 290 ff.

NIŚIDHIS IN KARNATAKA — A SURVEY

S. SETTAR & RAVI K. KORISETTAR

THE term *niśidhi*, (or its variants like *niśidhia*, *nisadhi*, *niṣṭige*), is frequently encountered in Kannaḍa inscriptions[1] and literature. Its Sanskrit equivalent, *niṣadhya* or *nisidikā*, and the Prakrit counter-part, *nisīhiya*, mean both a place and a posture chosen by the person under the vow of *sallekhana*. Terms like *samādhi*, *sanyāsa*, *sallekhana*, *ārādhana* and *pañcanamaskāra* are also used in Karnataka to identify a process of voluntary and orderly death. The majority of meditators appears to have favoured the *paryankāsana*, a cross-legged meditative posture, most suited to the one whose physical energy was gradually dwindling. But this was not the only posture recommended, for we also come across references to the *kāyotsarga*, *eka-pārśvaniyama* and several others. In the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Gṛdhṛavāyasādhi, Aṇṇikāputra, Govardana-bhaṭāraka, Buddhaja and others are described as having attained the *samādhi-maraṇa* adopting the *kāyotsarga* posture.[2]

The *sallekhana* and *samādhi* rituals, no doubt, resulted in the death of the meditator; nonetheless, this voluntary death is not to be identified with suicide. Pūjyapāda clarifies the difference between the two by drawing our attention to the presence of *rāga*, which underlies normal suicide and its absence in the *sallekhana*.[3] The latter is appropriately called *ingiṇīmaraṇa*.[4] Hemacandra holds that *sallekhana* is a kind of a *udyāpana* for the *śrāvaka-dharmma*;[5] Kundakunda lists it under the *śikṣāvṛatas*, supplementary vows of a house-holder.[6]

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[1] *EC* II, (Mysore, 1973).

[2] Śivakotyācārya's *Vaḍḍārādhane*, (ed.), Narasimhachar, D.L., (Mysore, 1972), pp. 74, 114 etc.

[3] Bhargava, *Jaina Ethics*, (Patna, 1968), p. 140.

[4] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, p. 192.

Though this process of contemplation could be adopted by an ascetic as well as a house-holder, of either sex, it was considered more justified in one whose body became incapable of observing the *vṛtas*. The *Sāgara-dharmāmṛta* recommends this to a person who was about to be confronted by death; the *Ratnakaraṇḍa-Śrāvakācāra* recommends it to those afflicted with calamities such as famine, senility, threat to the maintenance of routine spiritual practice etc.[7] The *Bhagavatī-ārādhana* considers it improper to resort to this rite, when one is free from incurable disease and still endowed with a long period of pious life. When one is able to observe the rules of *dharmma* and of the monastic order, he should not adopt the *sallekhana*.[8]

The rite of *sallekhana* warrants detachment from worldly and emotional bonds, realization and confession of mistakes, subjugation of the senses and renunciation of all that aids physical existence. Renunciation of worldly possessions, meditation under the guidance of a teacher, and adoption of graduated fasting, are some of the essential pre-conditions of this process. According to the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka-Śrāvakācāra*, this process of fast involves the abandonment of solid food in the first stage, fatty liquid in the second, and all other kinds of liquids in the final stage. Āśādhara and Samantabhadra recommend nudity irrespective of the sex of the person under vow.[9] The *Vaḍḍārādhane* lays down *dharmadhyāna* and *sukladhyāna* meditations, achievement of *darśana-jñāna* and *cāritra*, attainment of *ratna-traya*, adoption of heroic and courageous process of meditation, attainment of inner perfection (*antargata-kevali*) etc.[10] The *Tatvārthasūtra* lays down the conquest of all kinds of desires — desire to live or die, to revive past pleasures, to aspire to gain prosperity, to recollect past friends etc. The renunciation of food and water (*pasivu . . . dāha*); endurance of pain and punishment (*sule . . . vedane*), of cold and warmth (*sīta-vuṣṇa*) and the other twenty two *parīṣes* and the observance of *brahmacarya*, prepared the person to meet the end.[11] This makes it obvious that *sallekhana* was indeed a planned process of self mortification, the period taken being anywhere between a minimum of few days and a maximum of several years.[12] In actual practice, the period, however, varied considerably.[13] Nāgamatī-Kantiyar lasted for three months, a Jaina *gorava* of Kalantūr as many as one hundred and eight years (?), and a Jaina king only three days.[14] Other references point out that the normal period of endurance was anywhere between twenty-one days and a month.[15]

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[5] *Yogaśāstra*, 3. 145 cited by Bhargava, p. 272.

[6] Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 25 and p. 148 respectively.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[10] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 29, 52 etc.

As in the *Bhagavatī-ārādhana*, Kannaḍa works also recommend the *samādhi* vow when death is imminent. In the *Vaḍḍārādhane* several ascetics are stated to have taken to the *sanyāsa*[16] forseeing death; their lay-disciples were also initiated by them under similar circumstances. A saint, for example, predicts the death of Anantavīrya within a fortnight and initiates the latter into the *sanyāsa* vow. The following passage throws more light on this incident:

" . . . The devī stopped the *ṛṣis*, who were about to set off on their wandering (*carige*) saying that they "would not live any more, why continue your *carige*." Observing the rock that was as hot as fire, holding that 'this far only we would live', resorting to *siddhi* and *yogabhaktis*, retiring from active life, and eschewing physical care and the four kinds of food, revering teachers, mounting the *yoga-pīṭa* which was hot, discarding the internal and external *parigrahas*, beholding the universalism, enduring threat (*upasargas*) caused by the fire, chanting the four types *dharmadhyānas*[17] and *śuklādhyānas*,[18] and destroying all bonds of *karma*, they attained the *mokṣa*".[19]

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[11] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 49, 94, 131, 66 etc.

[12] Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[13] In the *Vaḍḍārādhane* we come across some ending their life after being in *samādhi* for as brief a period as one month, some as many as twelve years and some lasting for the full century, pp. 65-66.

[14] *EC* II, SB. 23(30); 25(22) and 64(59) respectively.

[15] *Ibid.*, SB.36(34), 252(157) and *SII* XV, No. 693.

[16] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, p. 82.

In practice, old age and signs of imminent death, natural or unnatural, appear to have led the saints and householders to resort to the *sallekhana*. Malamāca-gāvuṇḍa of Pombuccha, for example, realizing that his end was approaching, assembled all his relatives and observed the *sanyāsa* and expired by the rite of *samādhi*.[20] Seeing the approach of his death another Jain in Kodihaḷḷi (Mandya Dt.,), devoted himself to asceticism and prayer, observed two kinds of *nomtu* (internal and external), and died.[21] Several such instances are found in Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa records. But remorse, disappointment and accidents also led some to invite death early. The best-known example is that of Mācikabbe, mother of queen Śāntalā.[22] She was so much upset by the news of her daughter's death as to feel that life thereafter was not worth living; hence, she adopted the *sanyāsa* until her death. Akaṣayakīrti of Madure took to this vow after he was bitten by a snake.[23] When the son of Balacandra was attacked by severe and probably incurable fever, he was initiated into the rite of *sanyāsa*, and uttering the five salutations, he ended his life.[24] His wife Kāḷabbe appears to have followed him in similar manner.[25] Realizing that "as fleeting as the rainbow are the treasures of beauty, pleasure, wealth and power like the streaks of lighting or the early morning dews," saint Nandisena attained *sanyāsa*, for he did not "like the existence on this earth." The death of husbands by the rite of *samādhi*, appears to have led their wives to perform *satī*.[26] The example of Suranami Devaraguḍḍa Śeṭṭi and his wives, Somavve and Langave, of Isūr, Shimoga Dt., bears this out.

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[17] The *dharmādhyāna* is divided into *bāhya* and *ādhyātma*. The *ādhyātma* consists of ten sub-divisions—Cāvuṇḍarāya's *Triṣaṣṭhi-Lakṣaṇa-Mahāpurāṇam*, (Dharwar, 1975), p. 443.

[18] For *śuklādhyānas*, *Ibid.*, pp. 445-447.

[19] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, pp. 161-62.

[20] *EC* VIII, Nr. 49.

[21] *ASMAR* 1940, No. 34.

[22] *EC* II, SB. 173(140); SB. 176(143).

[23] *Ibid.*, SB. 24(21).

[24] *Ibid.*, SB. 539(391).

[25] *EC* VIII, Sb. 104 and 110.

Among some of the essential requirements of the *sallekhana* are the initiation into the *sanyāsa* as well as meditation at the feet of a teacher. In the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, we find, that the king Gandhabhājana meditated by the side of Yaśodhara Kevali[27] and Padmāvatī kantī. There is also another instance in which the queens, their attendants and some of the subjects adopt the *sanyāsana* and meditated by the side of Śivagupta-bhaṭāraka.[28] The majority of Kannaḍa inscriptions bears out this example. The end of Mārasimha, a Ganga king, who observed the vow at the holy feet of Ajitasena-bhaṭāraka is one such example.

The process of the mortification of the body is vividly given in Kannaḍa works. In the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, a *bhaṭāraka* is said to have exposed his naked body on the bank of a river and allowed himself to be drawn into the swelling water.[29] Another appears to have meditated on a rock, which was as hot as fire,[30] maintaining his composure as if he was standing in a pond. Yet another endured the pain caused by several arrows shot by a cruel king.[31] We find similar examples in inscriptions. Prabhācandra, one of the earliest saints we meet in Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, is said to have mortified his body on the wide expanse of cold rocks and attained *samādhi*.[32] Kalantūru is said to have adopted a penance "which was as difficult as walking on the sharp edge of a sword, or on fire, or of passing over the great fangs of a cobra."

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[26] *EC* VII, Sk. 7.

[27] *Vaḍḍārādhane*, p. 49.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[32] *EC* II, SB. 1.

Against this background, we may now examine the *niśidhi* memorials of Karnataka. From a study of the published inscriptions, we have found not less than 251 *niśidhi* memorials surviving in Karnataka. The earliest of them[33] belongs to about the 6th cent. A.D., and this is found at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. There are no reliefs on it commonly seen on the majority of the *niśidhis* of the late mediaeval period. The latest of the *niśidhis* belongs to the early 18th cent. — it is engraved on a rock surface near the Bhadrabhāhu cave at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. This also does not bear any reliefs.

Our study indicates that the establishment of the *niśidhi* memorials was very popular between the 6-7th and 15th cent. in Karnataka, but its peak periods were the 15th and 12th cent., respectively. Between the end of the 15th cent. and the end of the 19th cent. we hardly get half a dozen recorded references. Although our chart contains as many as twenty-one *niśidhis* of the 6-7th cent., and nine of the 8th and five of the 9th cent., we have to interpret this data bearing the fact that the *niśidhis* of the first two-hundred years (6-7 cent.) are not based on recorded chronology but on the palaeographical and other evidence. We may, however, infer that between the 6th and the end of the 9th cent. the practice of *samādhi-maraṇa* was more or less confined to the saints. The social ratio of those who attained *samādhi-maraṇa* between the 6th and the end of the 9th cent. was roughly as follows: twenty six *sanyāsis*, seven *kantīyars*, two *śrāvakas* and none of the *śrāvakīs*. Between the beginning of the 10th and the end of the 13th cent. we find a remarkable transformation in the ratio, for we find thirty-six memorials of saints and nuns as against the forty-two of lay-disciples. After the 13th cent. the *niśidhis* erected in honour of the householder were more than those erected in honour of teachers, and the establishment of memorials to the nuns ceased to be popular from the 13th cent. Although the memorials established in honour of the saints throughout history outnumbered those erected to the male lay-disciples, it is interesting to observe that the *niśidhis* erected to

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[33] *Ibid.*

R. C. AGRAWALA:

Govardhana Pillars from Rajasthan: An Iconographical Study

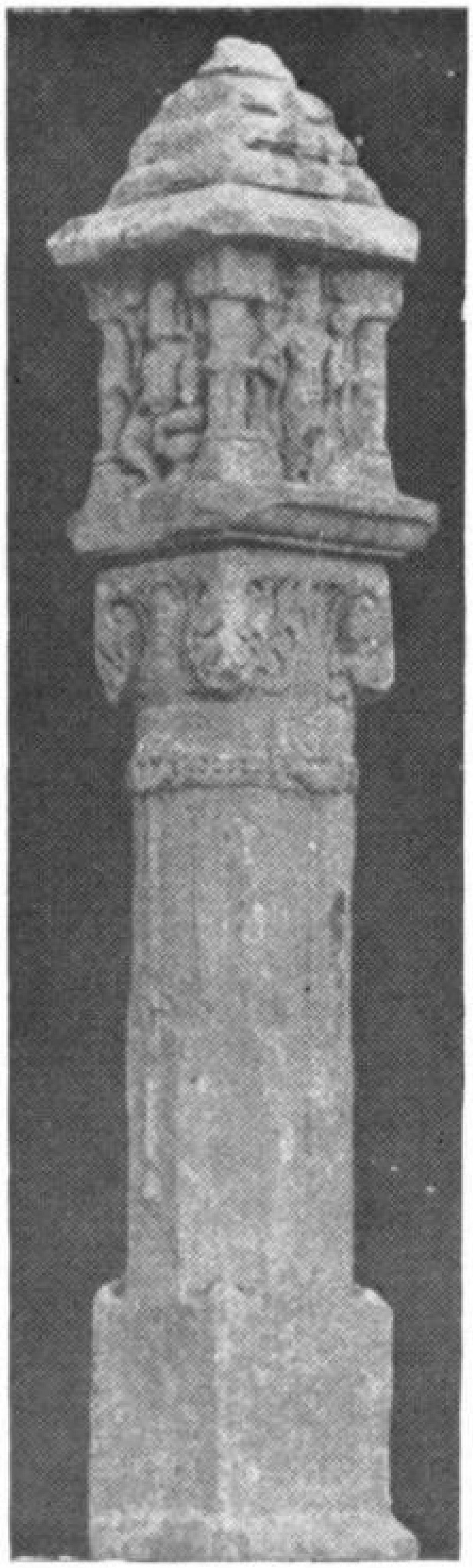

Fig. 1. Govardhana pillar from Buchkalā

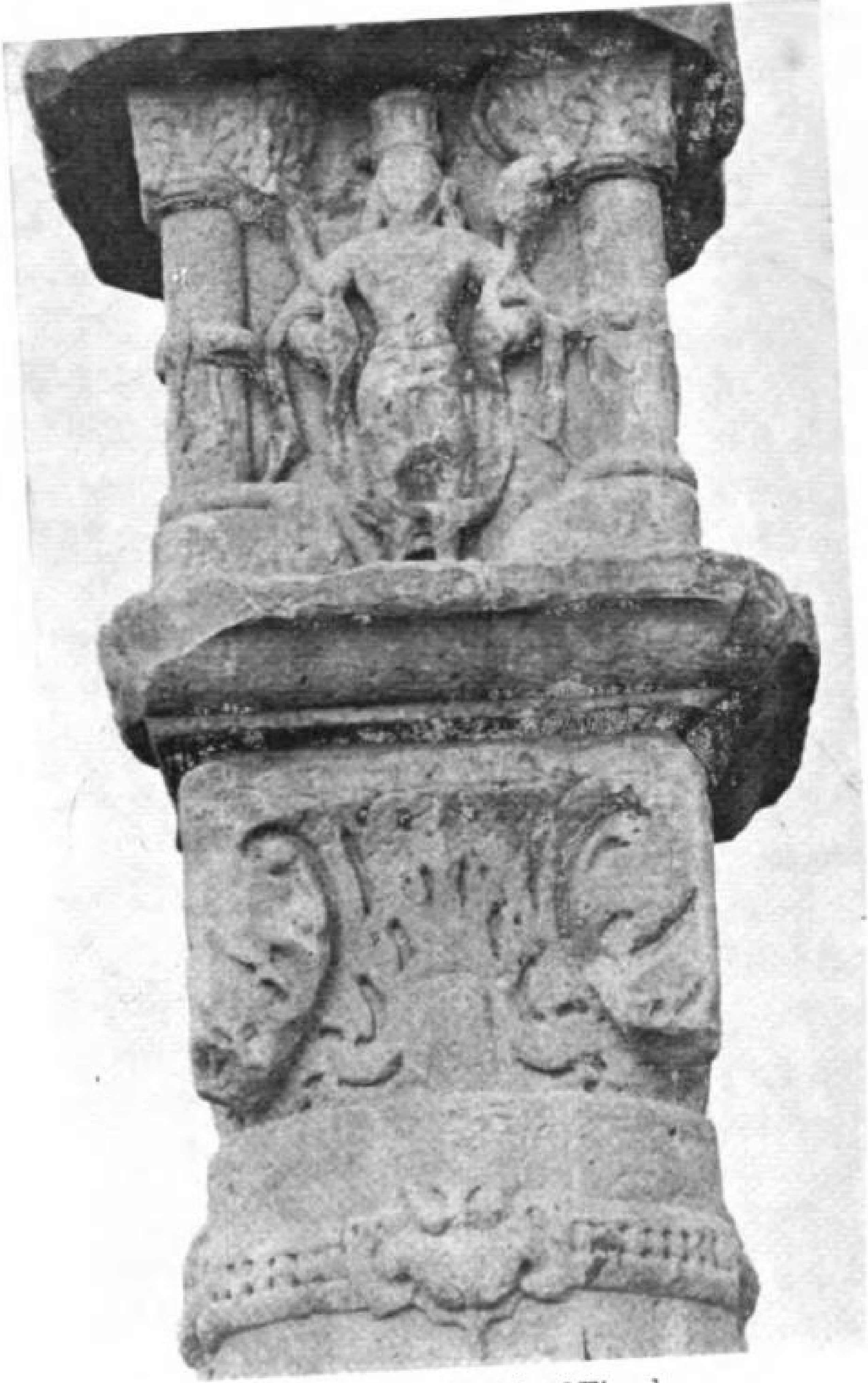

Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1

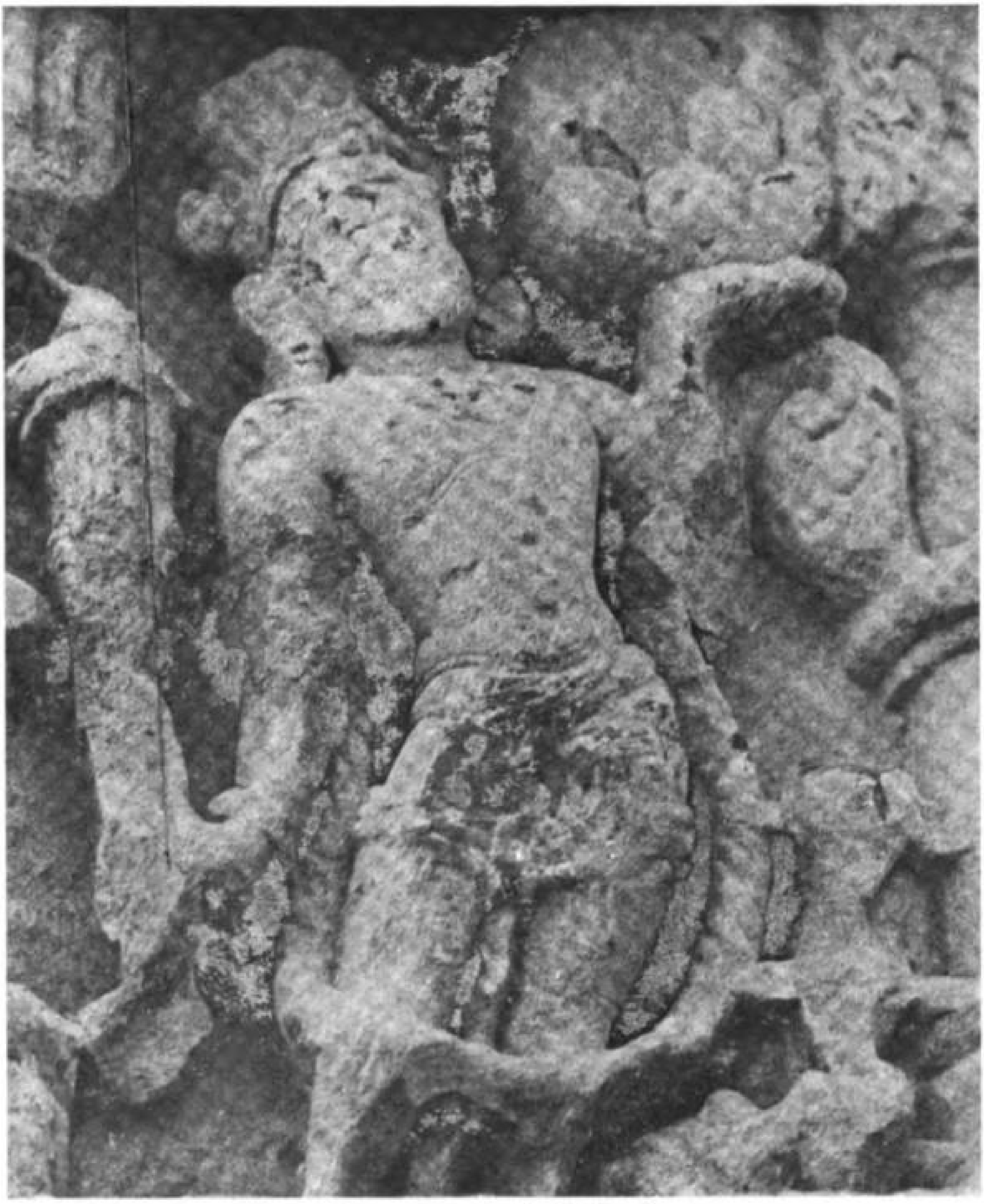

Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 1

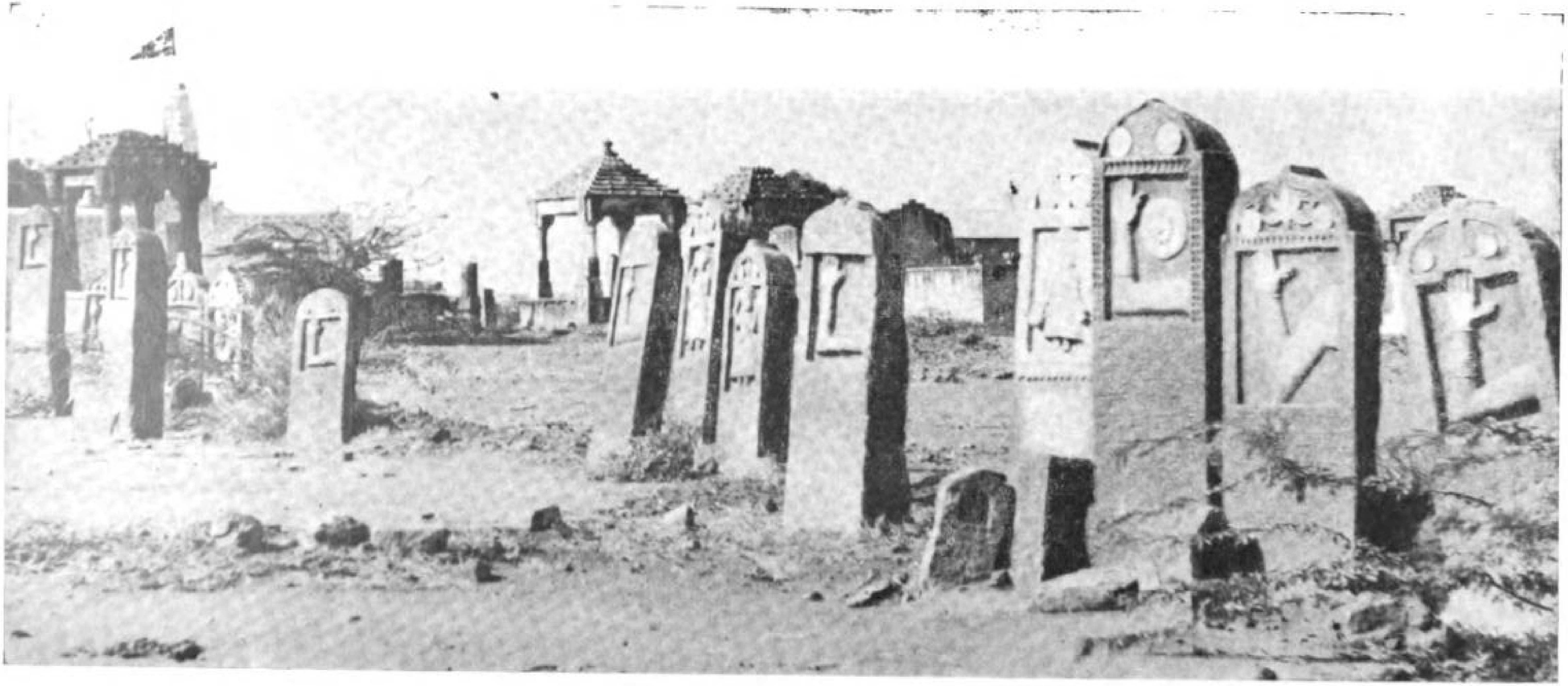

Fig. 1. A cluster of *pāliyas*

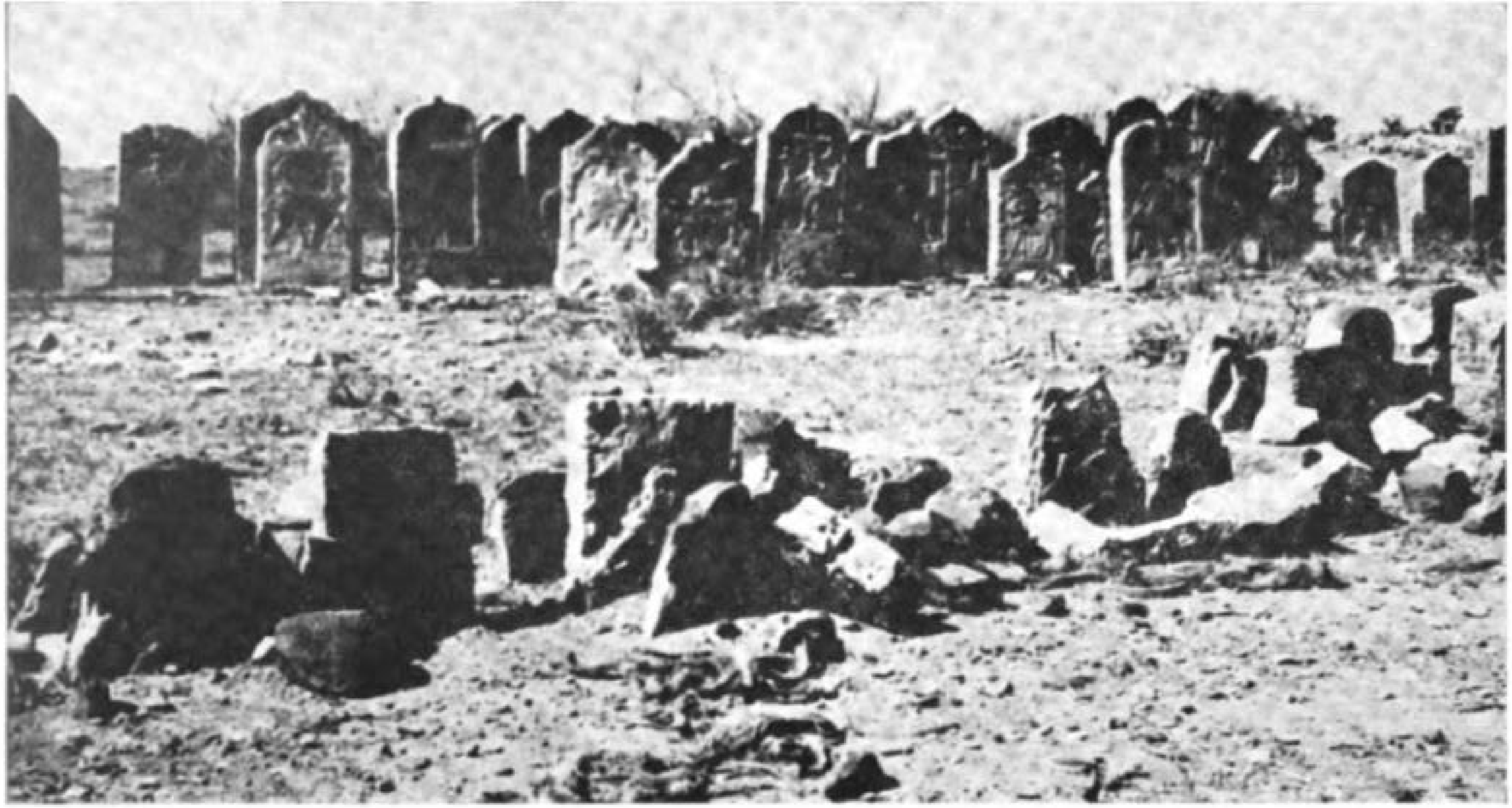

Fig. 2. *Theśa* stones

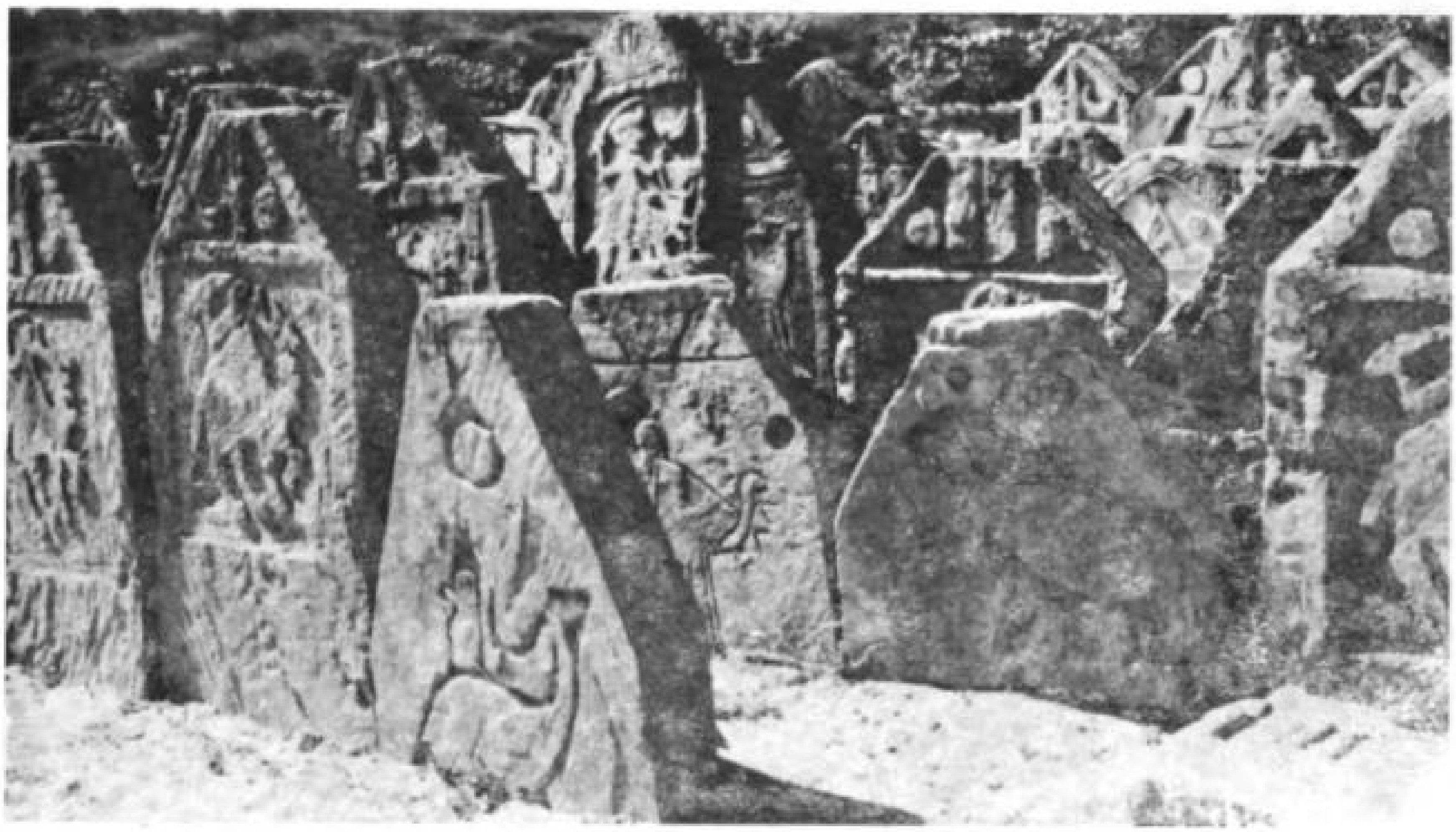

Fig. 3. One of the *pāliyas* depicting a hero facing southward

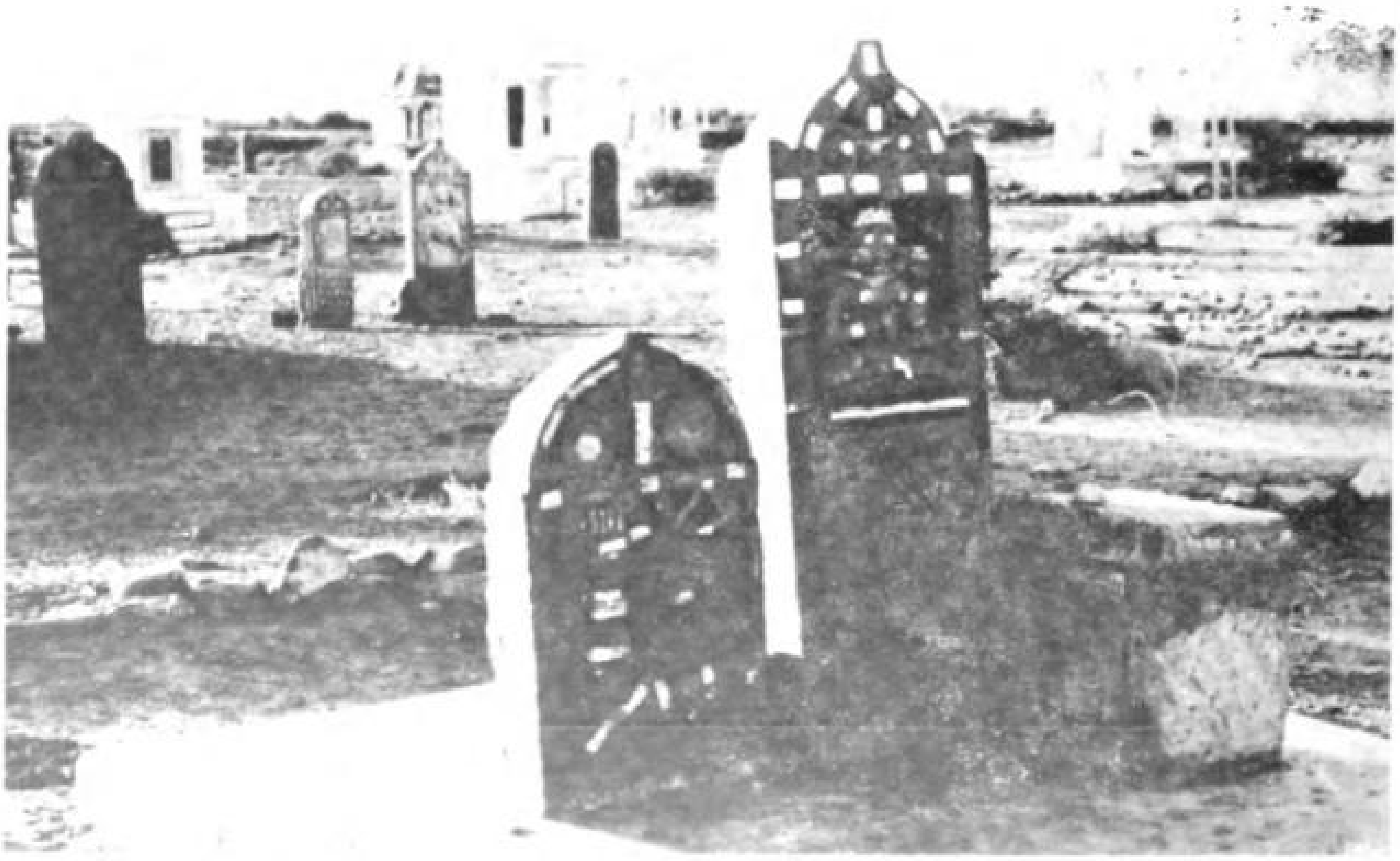

Fig. 4. *Pāliyas* of heroes who died of *traga* and *Satī*, Halavāḍ

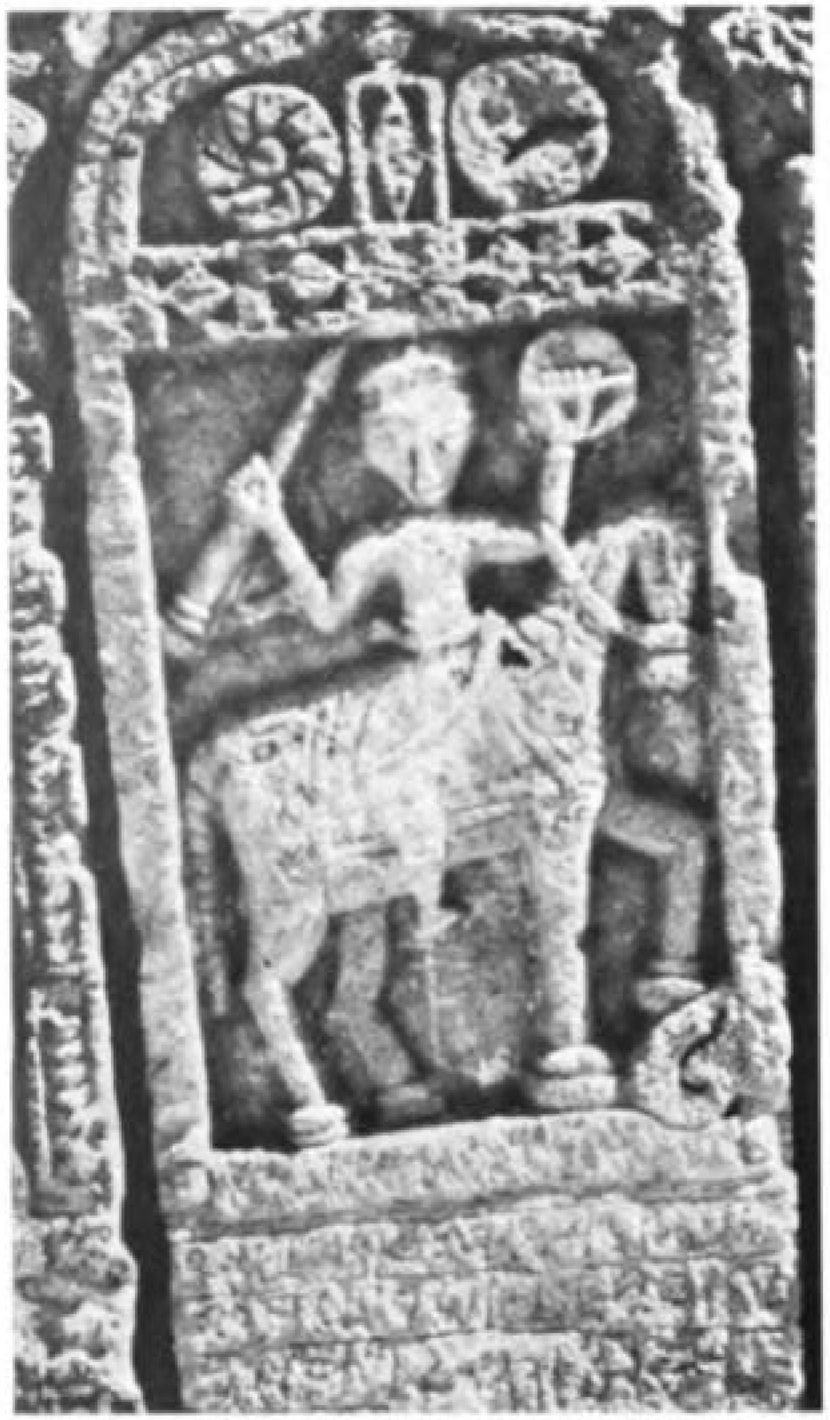

Fig. 5. Hero riding a horse

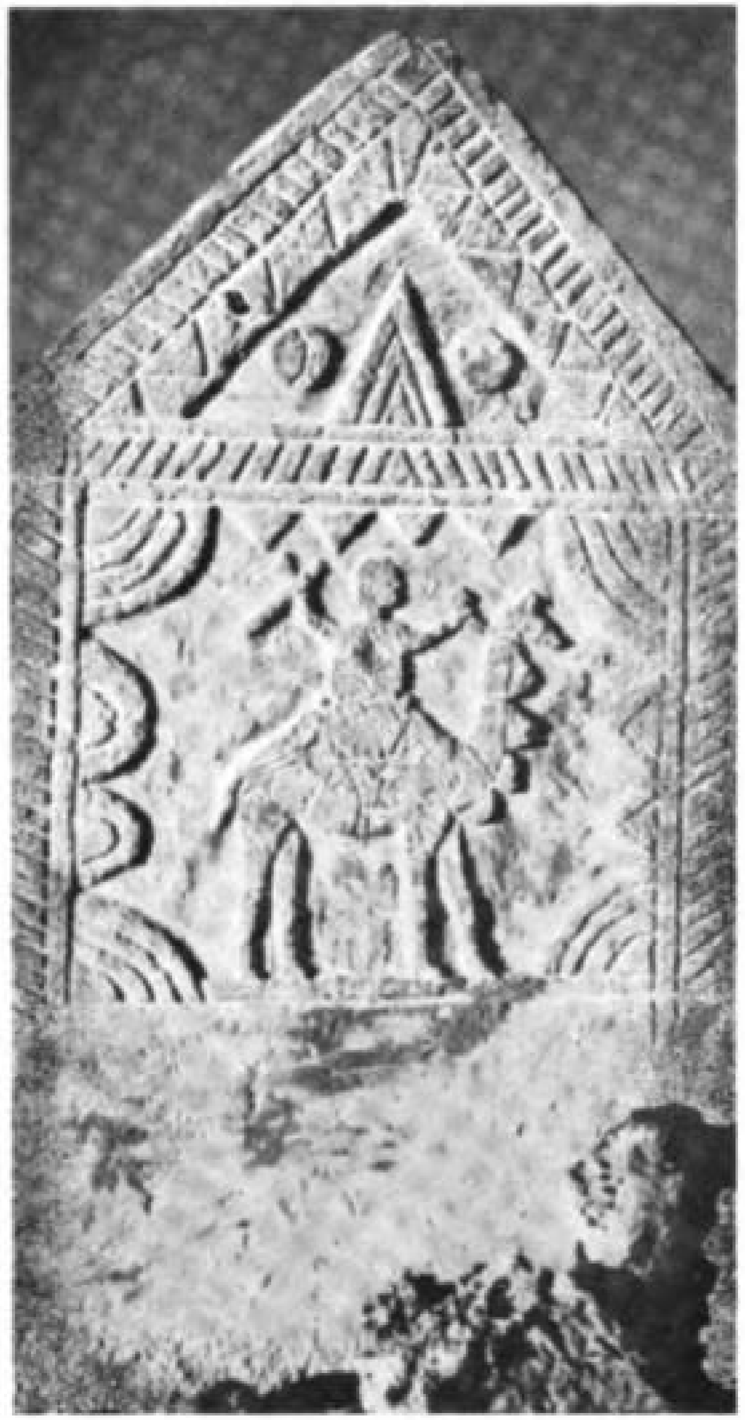

Fig. 6. Hero riding a camel

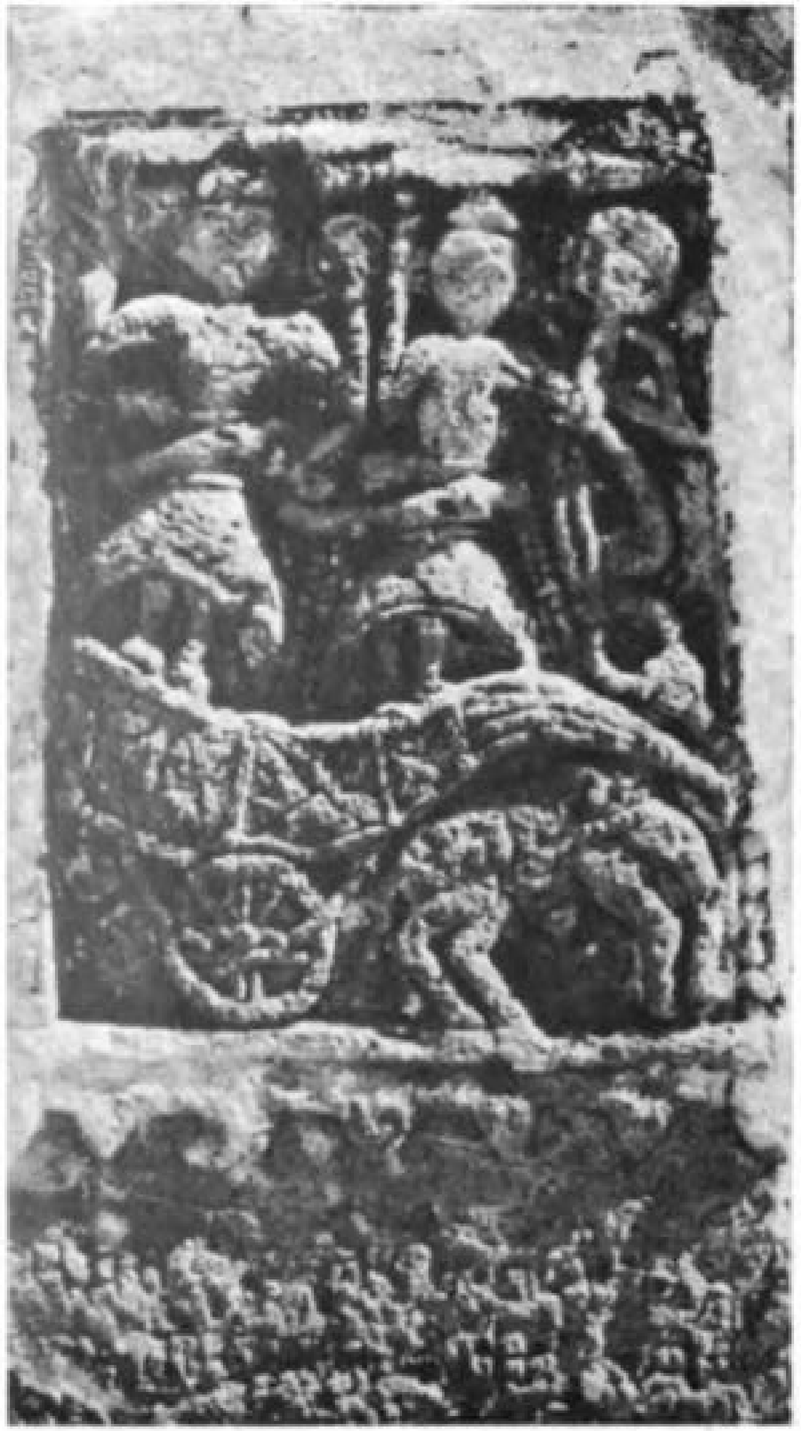

Fig. 7. Hero driving a chariot

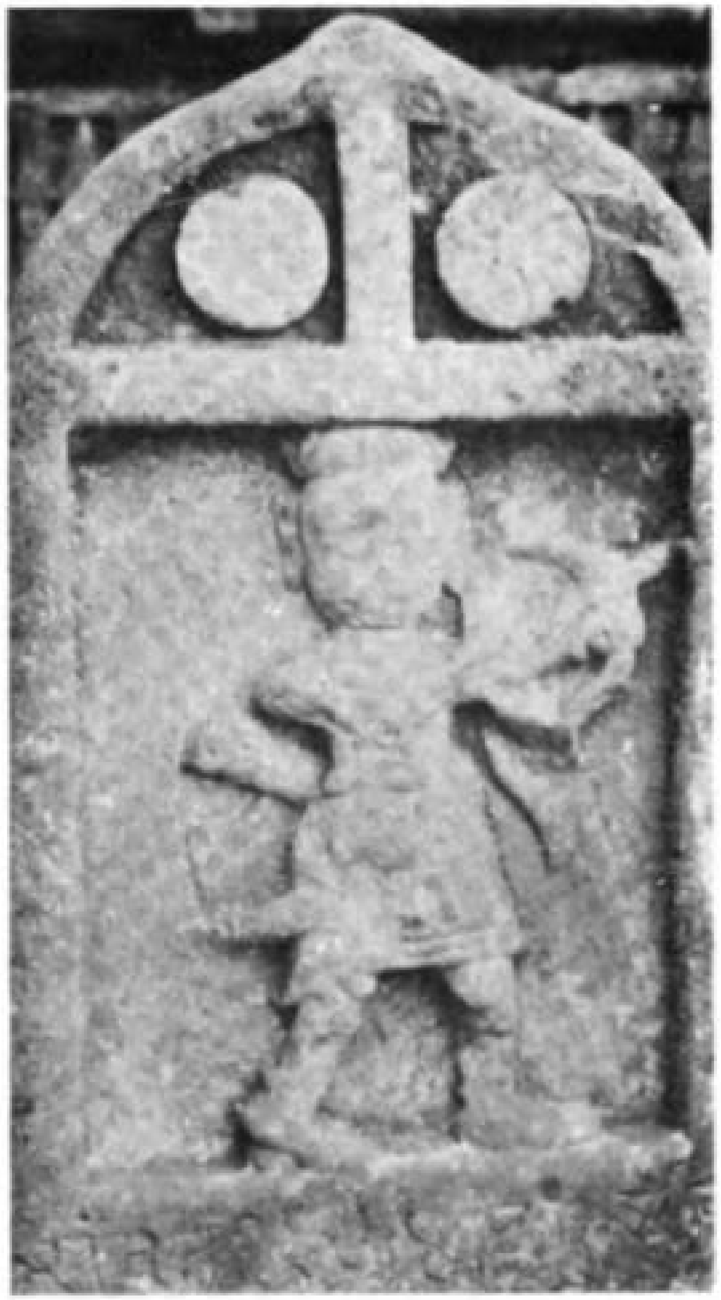

Fig. 8. Hero walking

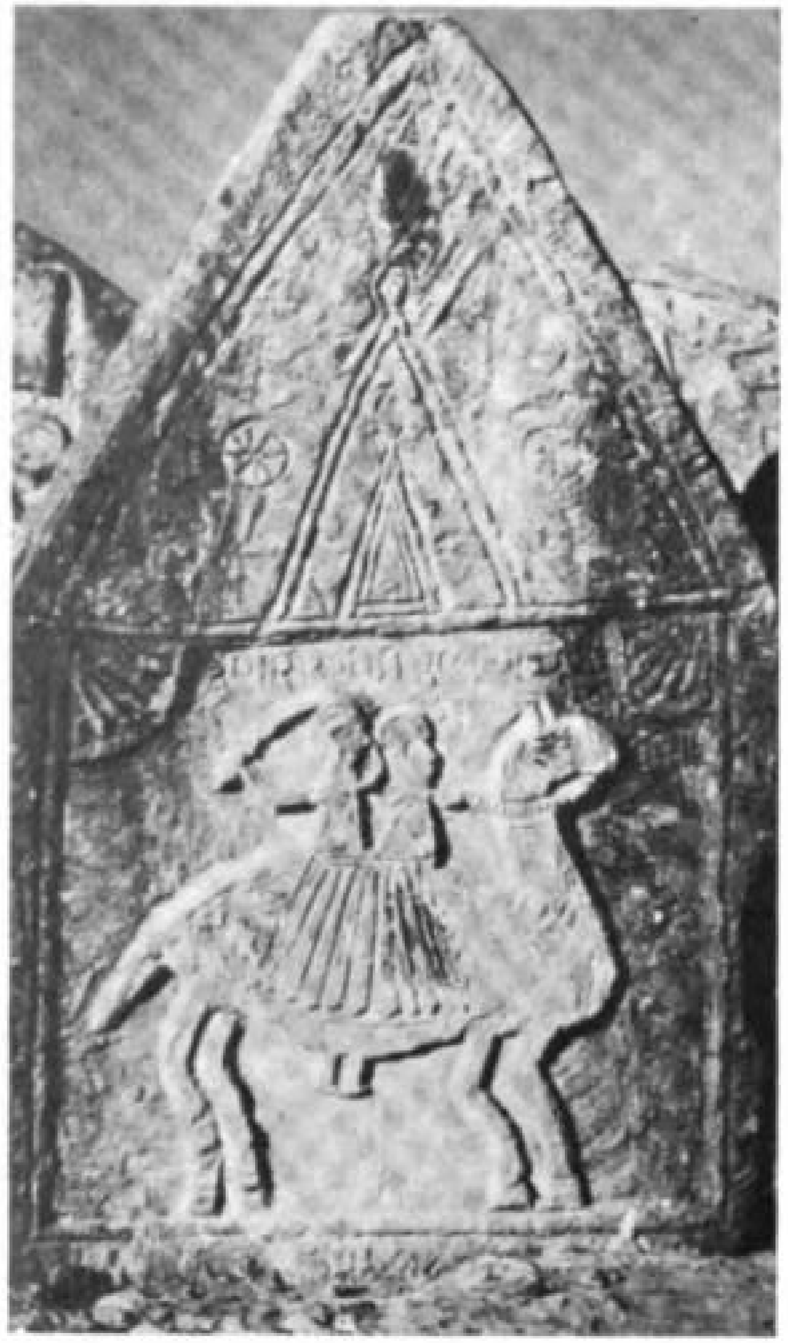

Fig. 9. Two heroes on a camel

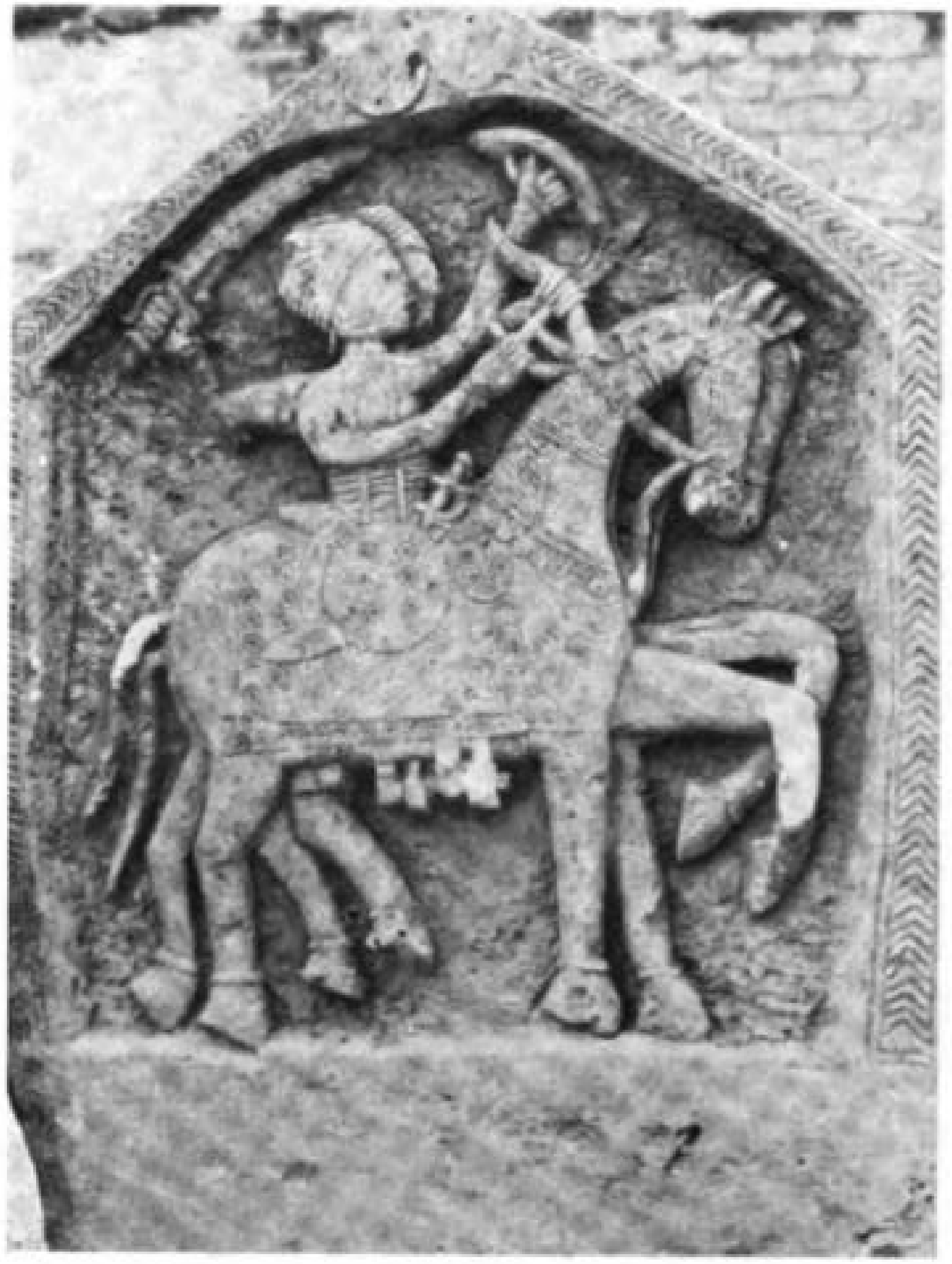

Fig. 10. Heroes riding separate horses

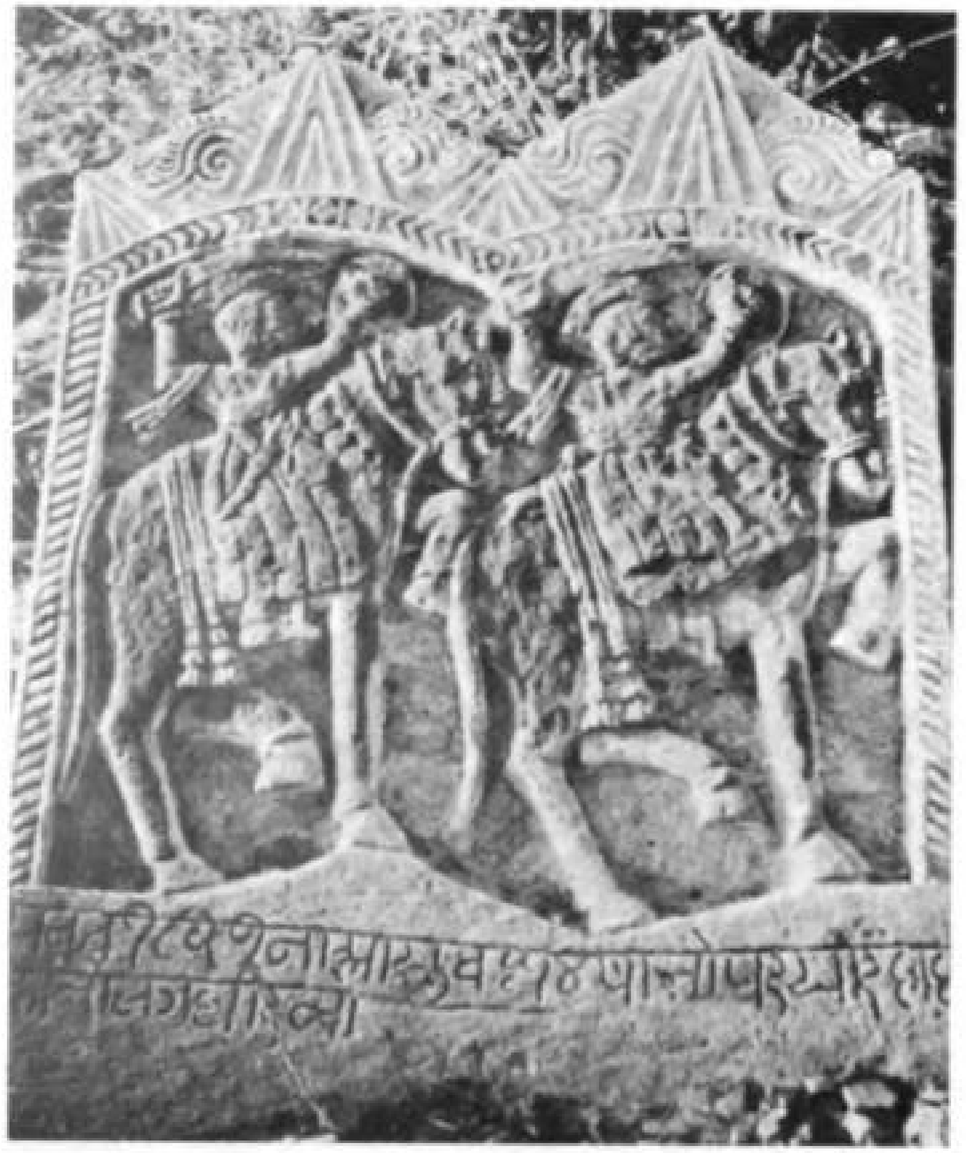

Fig. 11. Warriors one behind the other

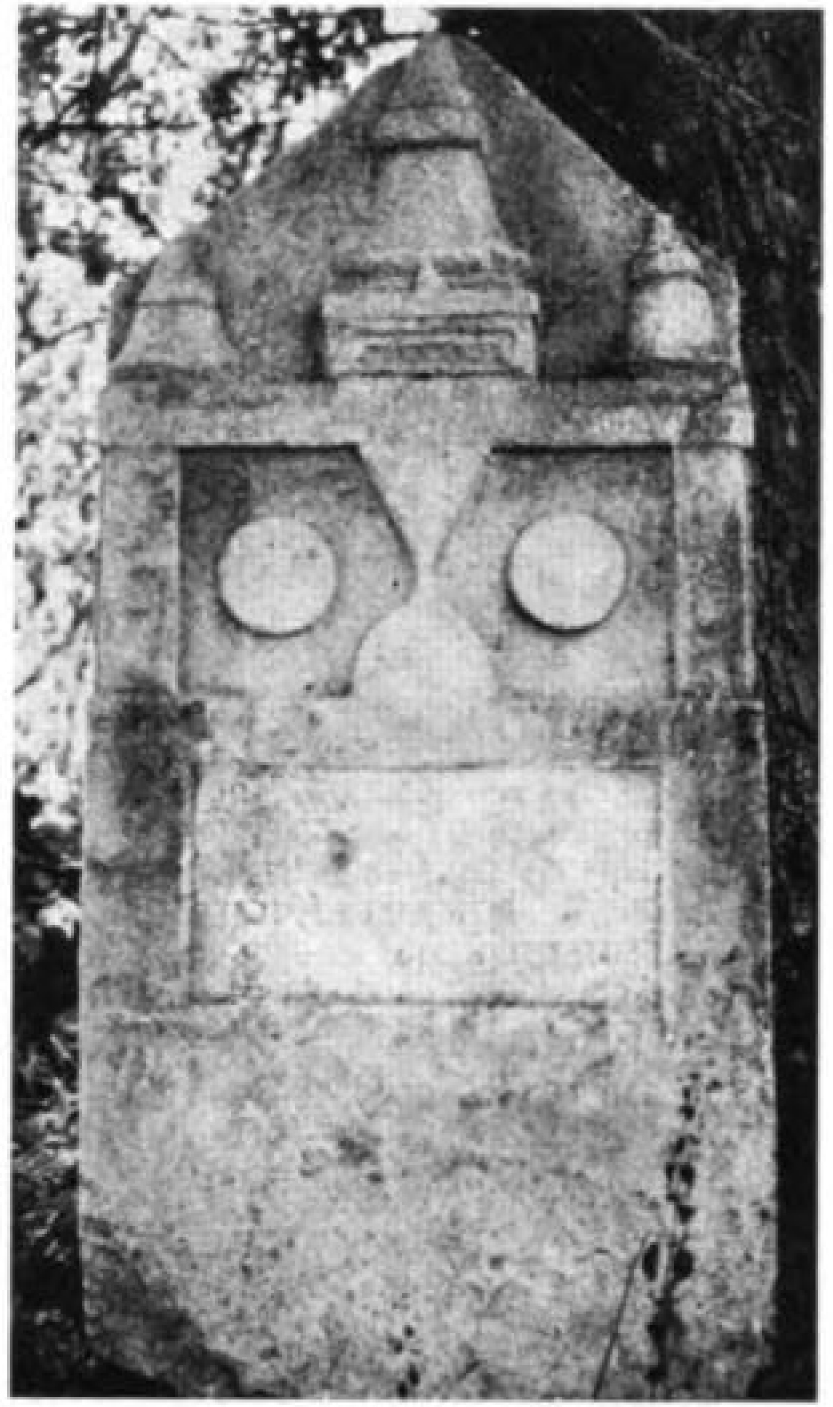

Fig. 12. An abstract rendering of human figure in the form of an hour glass

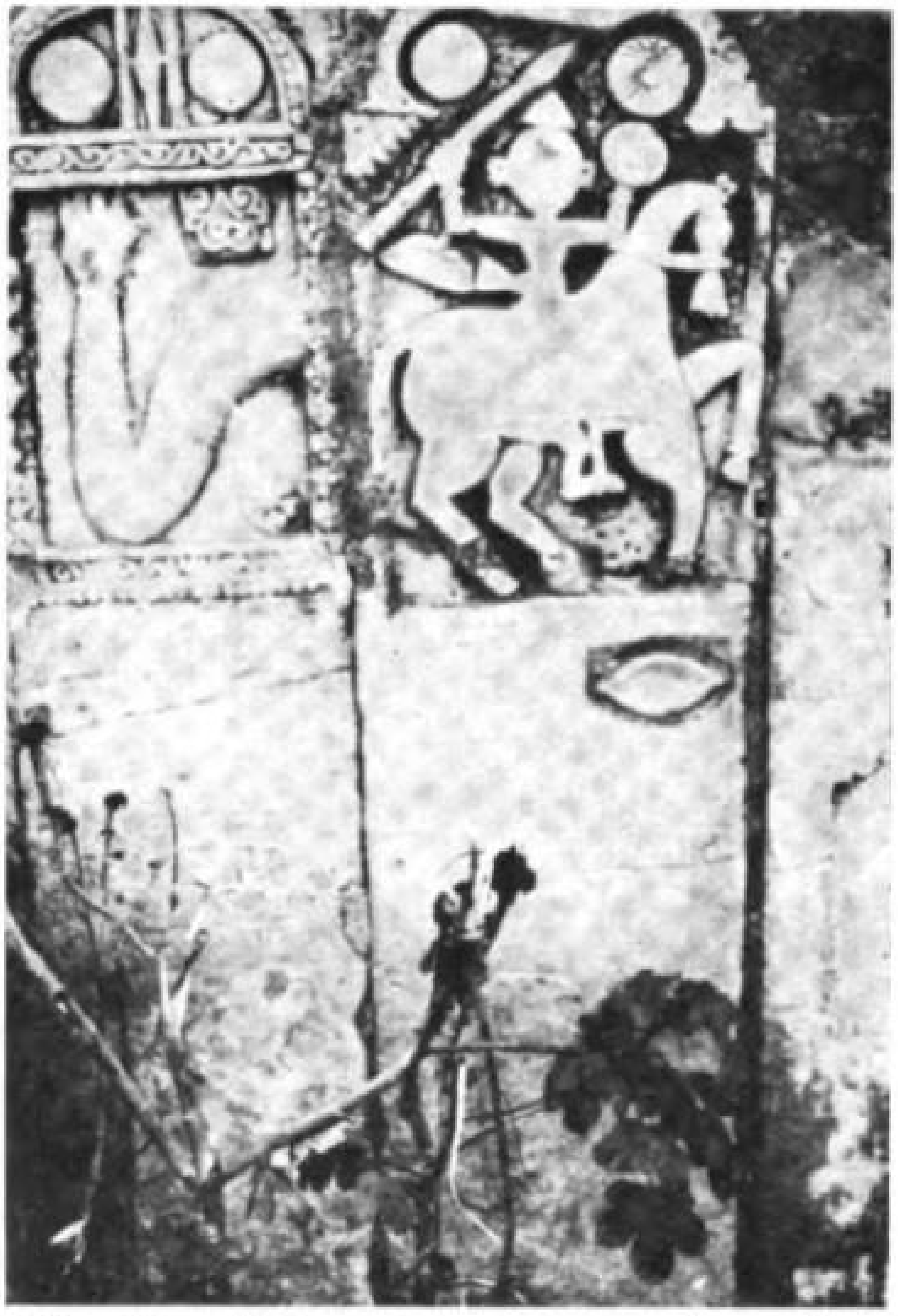

Fig. 13. *Satī*-stone as a companion to her husband's memorial stone

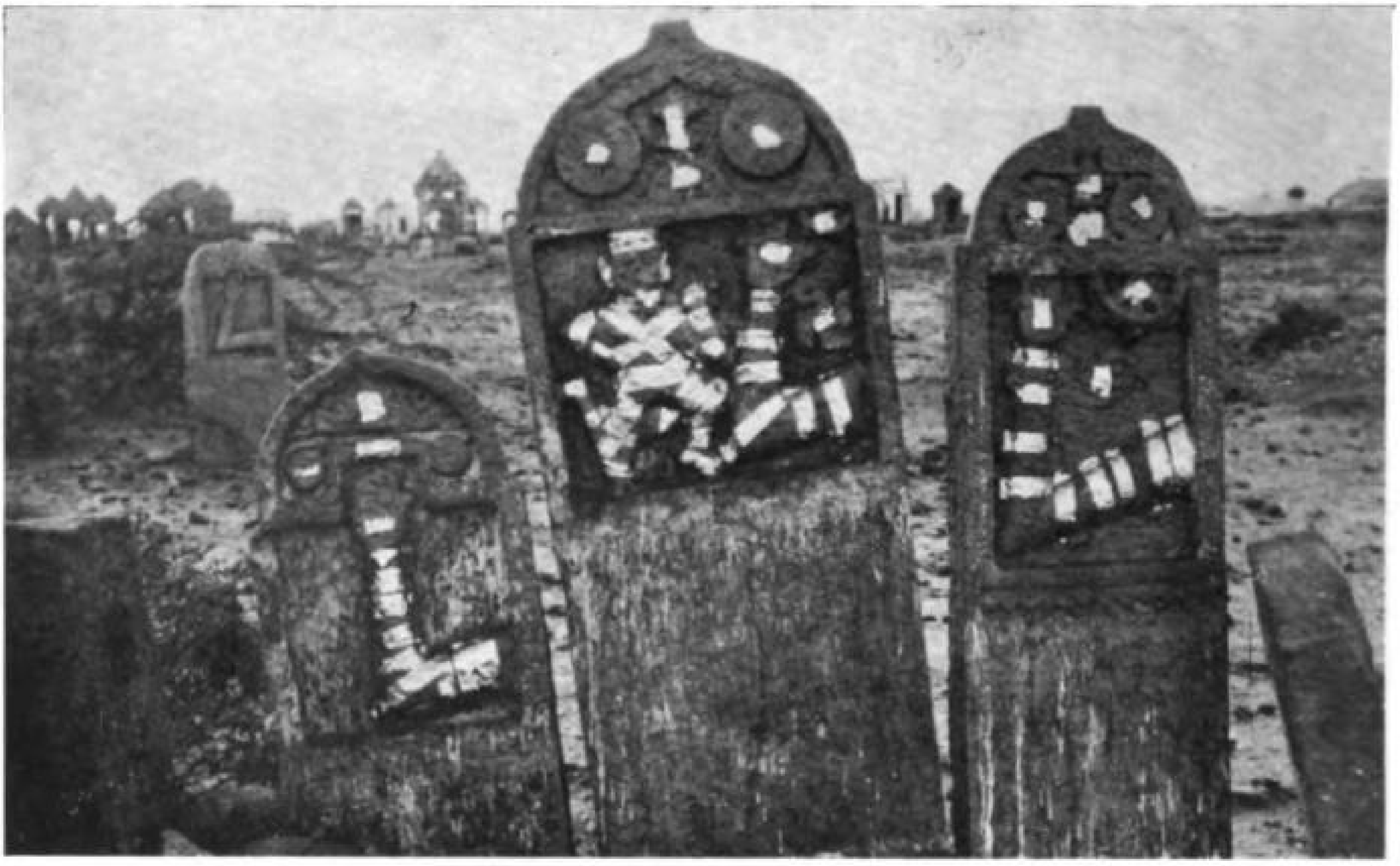

Fig. 14. *Satī* and the hero on the same stone (centre), Halvāḍ

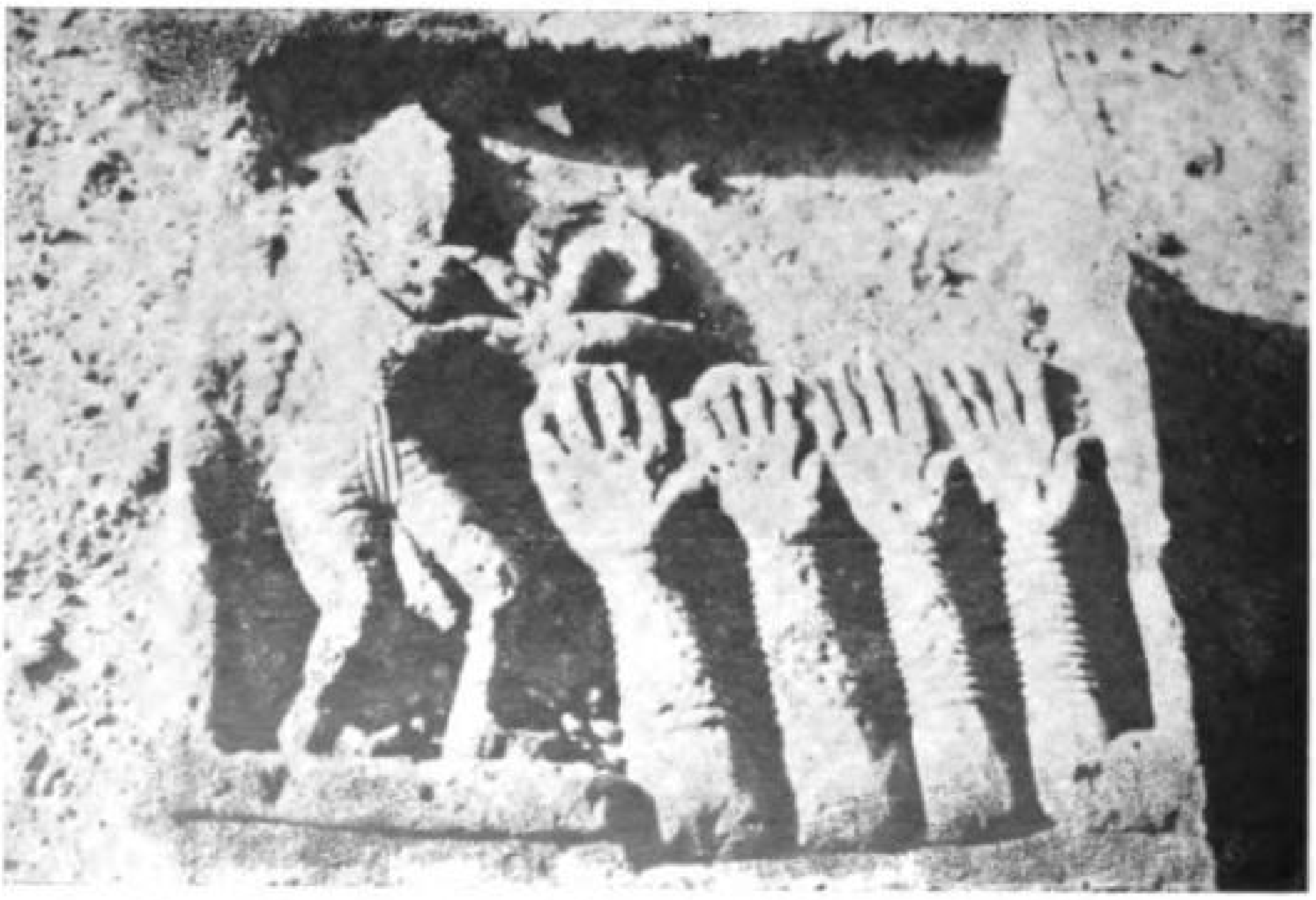

Fig. 15. Hero and his wives who committed ***satī***

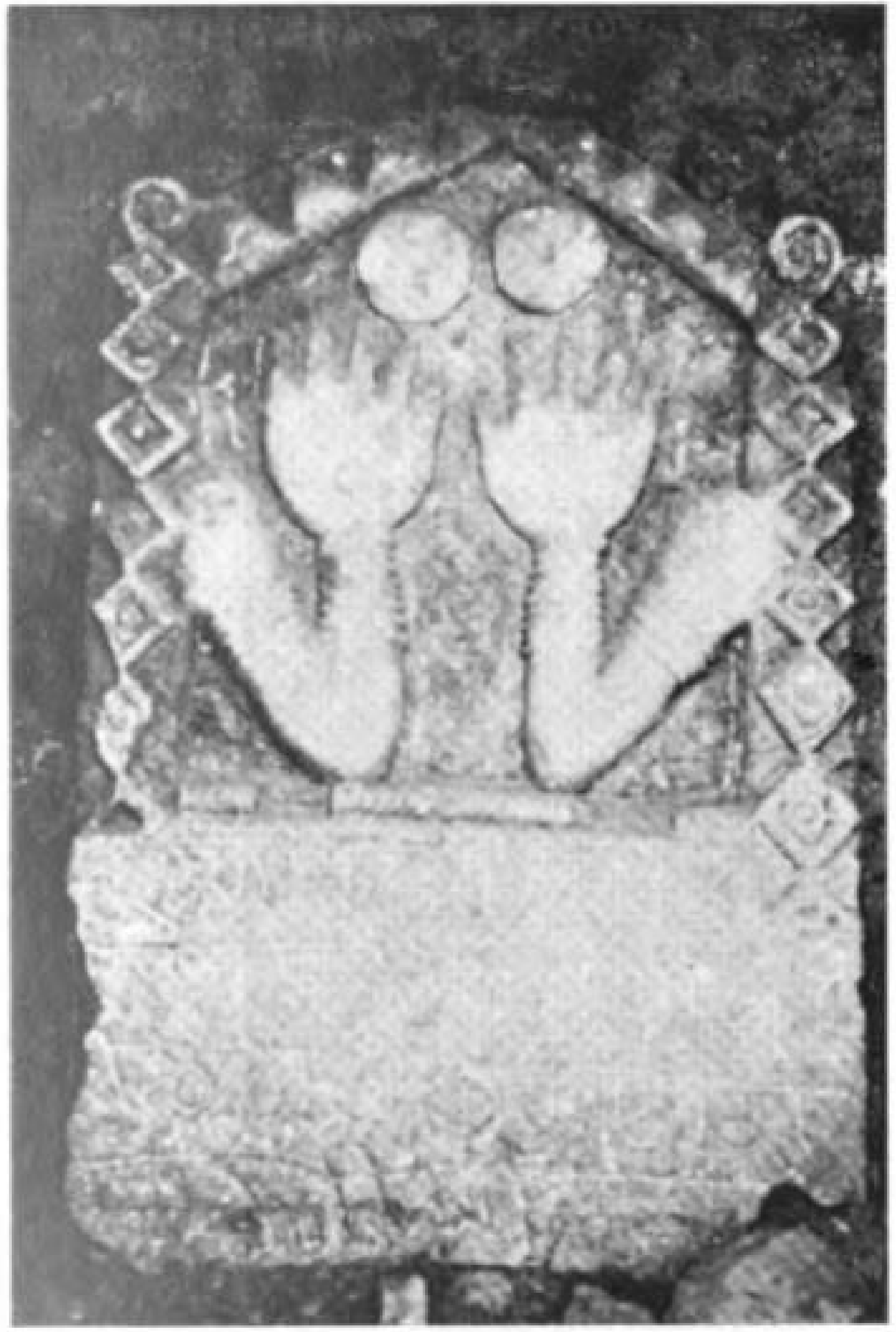

Fig. 16. *Satī* memorial, Porbundar

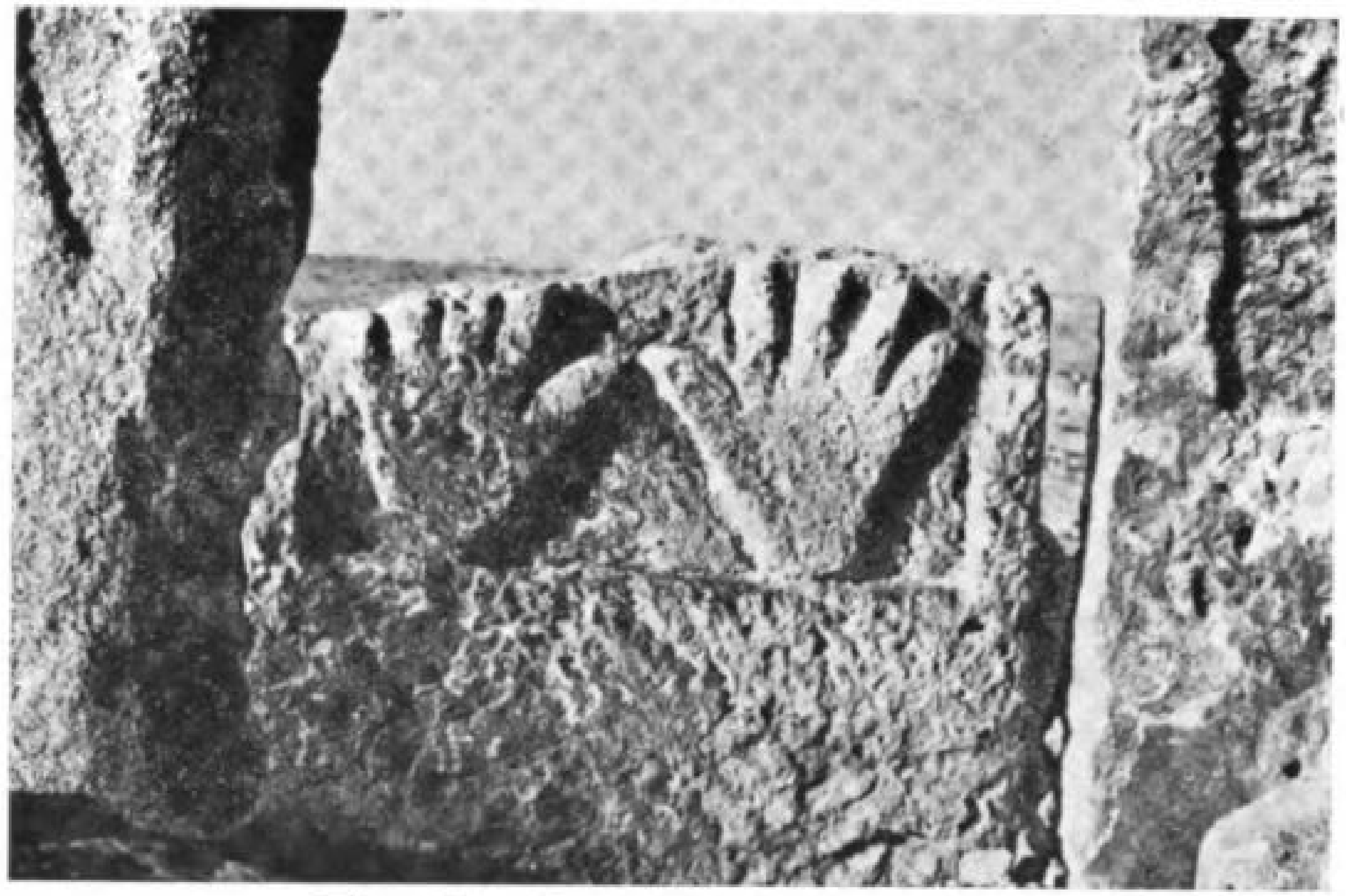

Fig. 17. *Satī* symbolised by palms

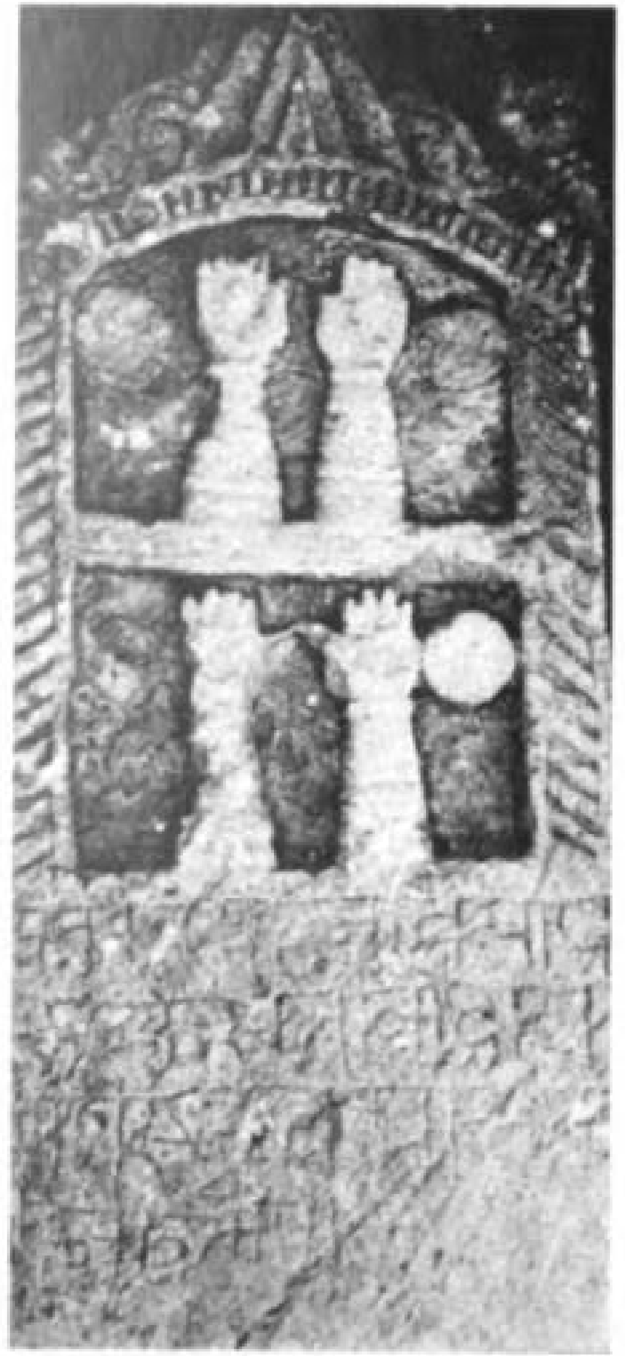

Fig. 18. A single stone commemorating two *satīs*

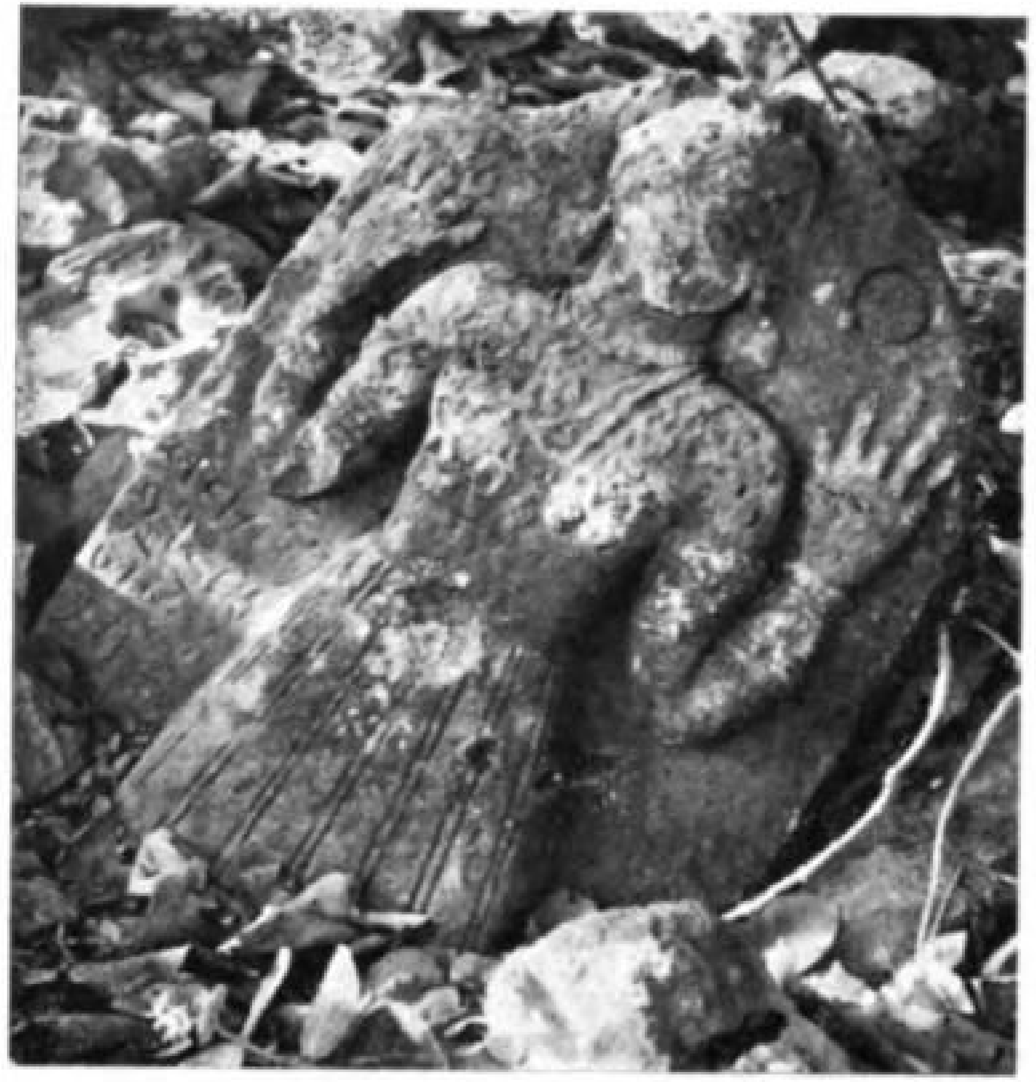

Fig. 19. *Satī* on a stone near Porbandar

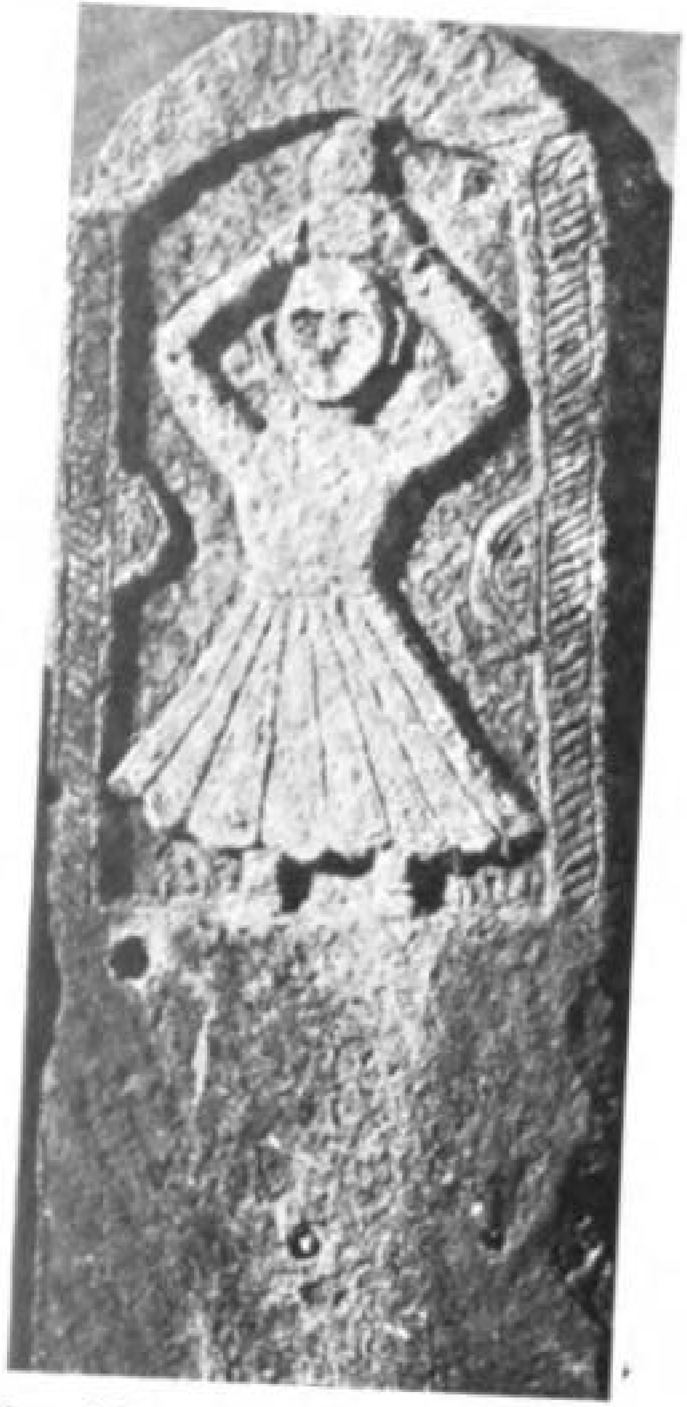

Fig. 20. *Satī* on a stone near Porbandar

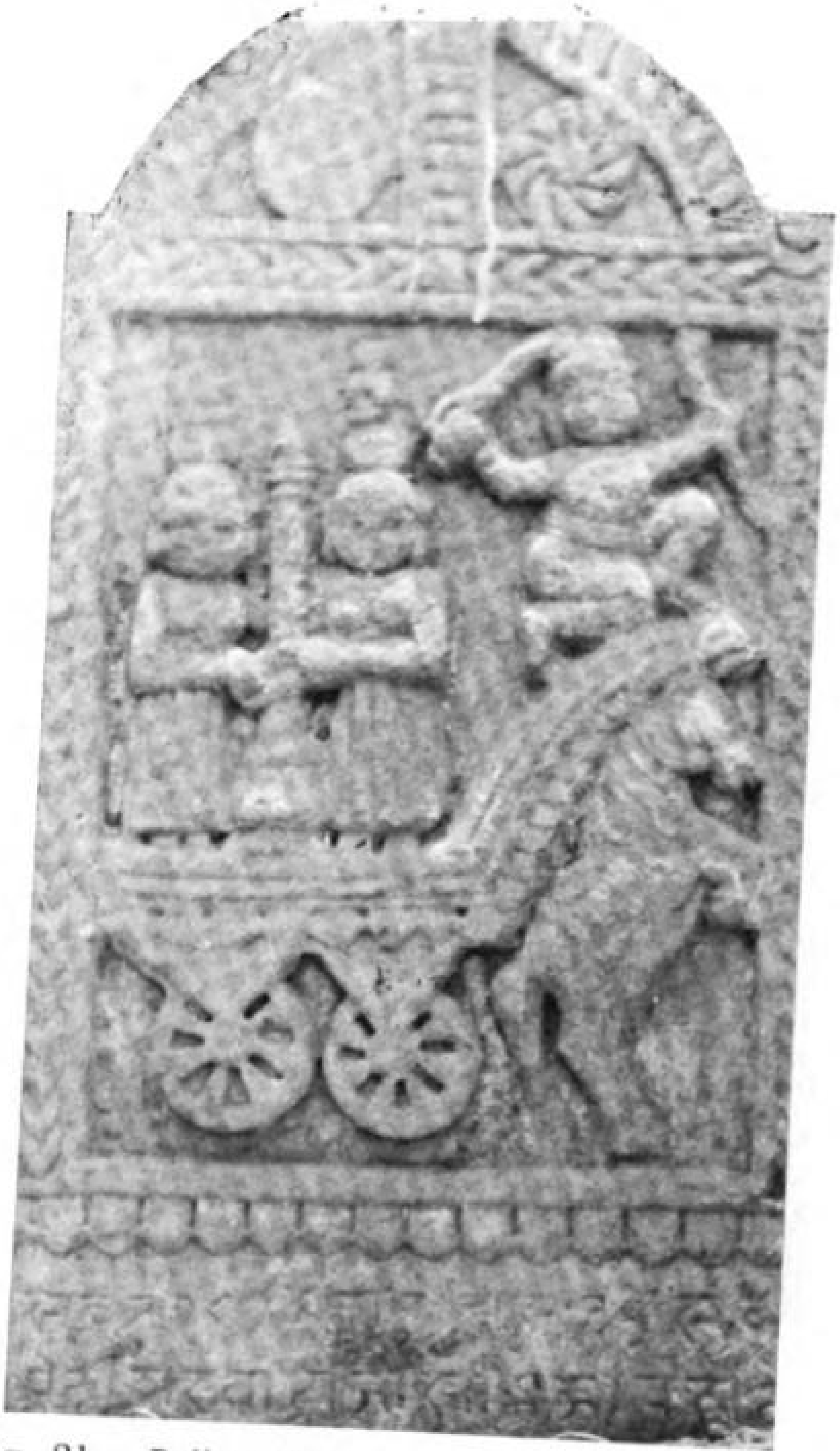

Fig. 21. ***Pāliya*** of two women from the Vanjāra community

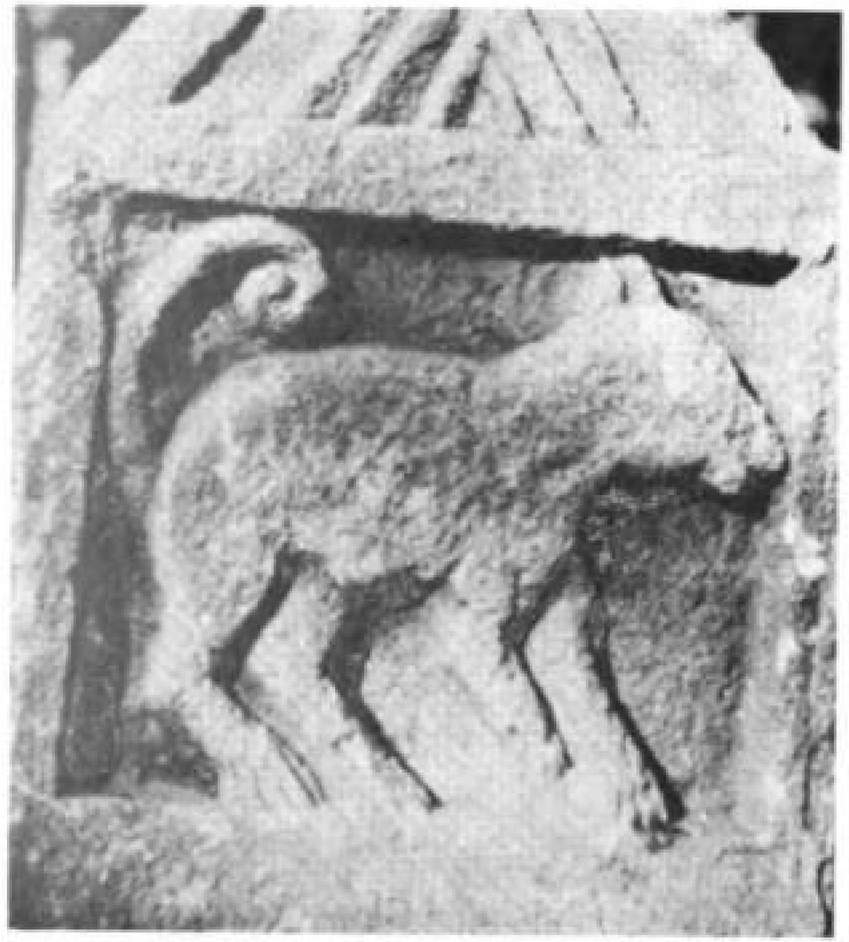

Fig. 22. *pāliya* for an animal

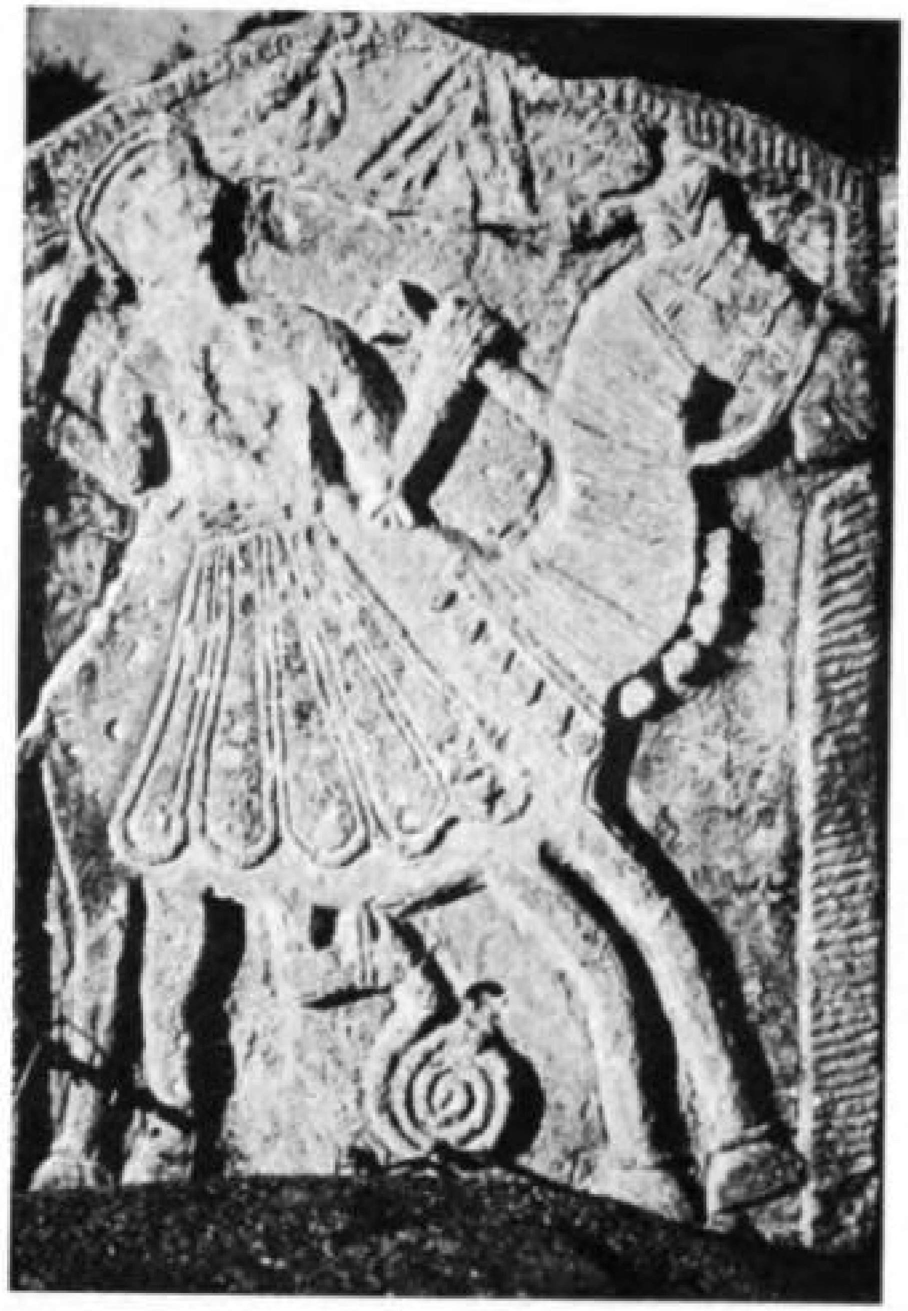

Fig. 23. An *avagatiya*-stone (note the snake bite)

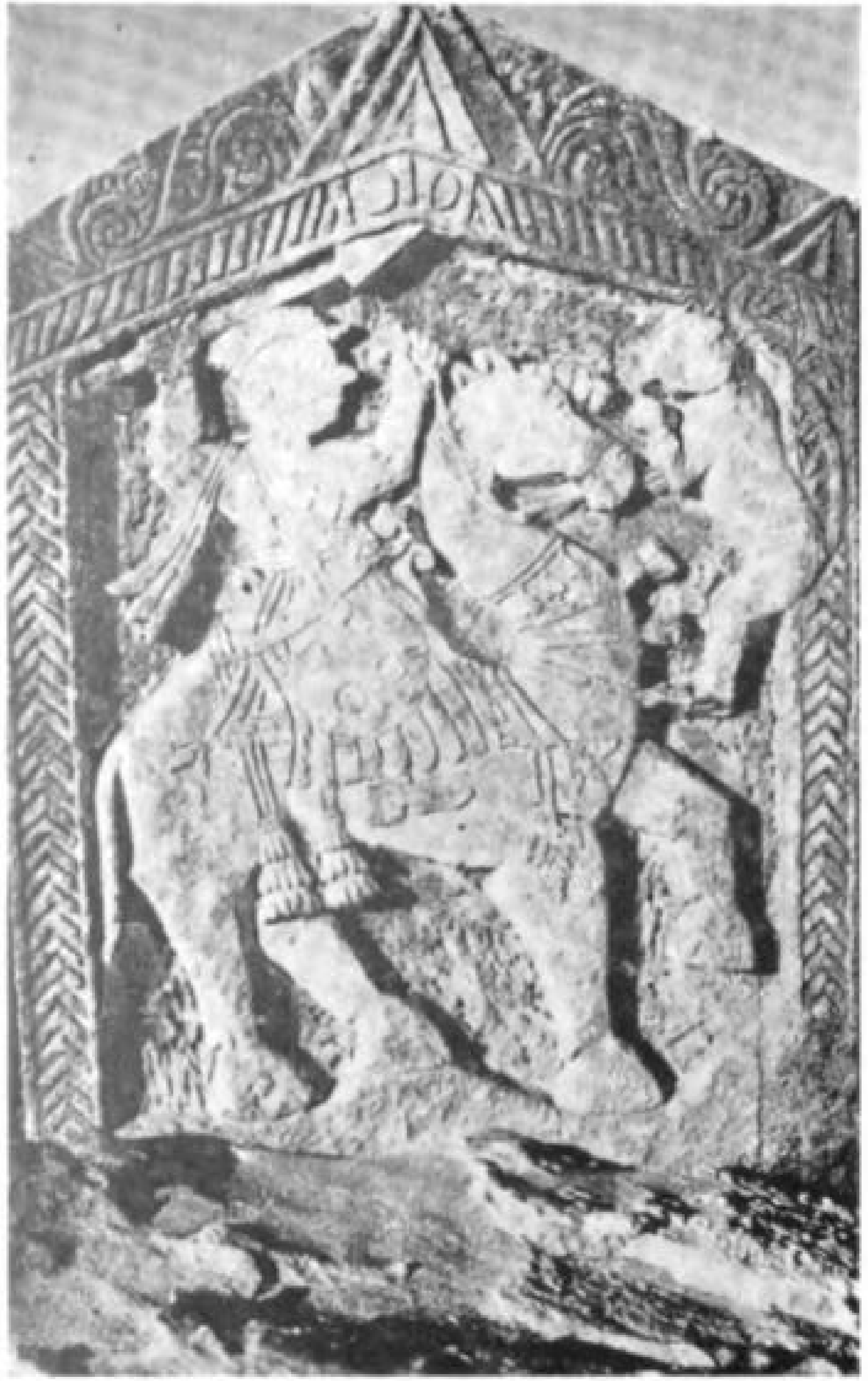

Fig. 24. An *avagatiya*-stone (note the wild animal)

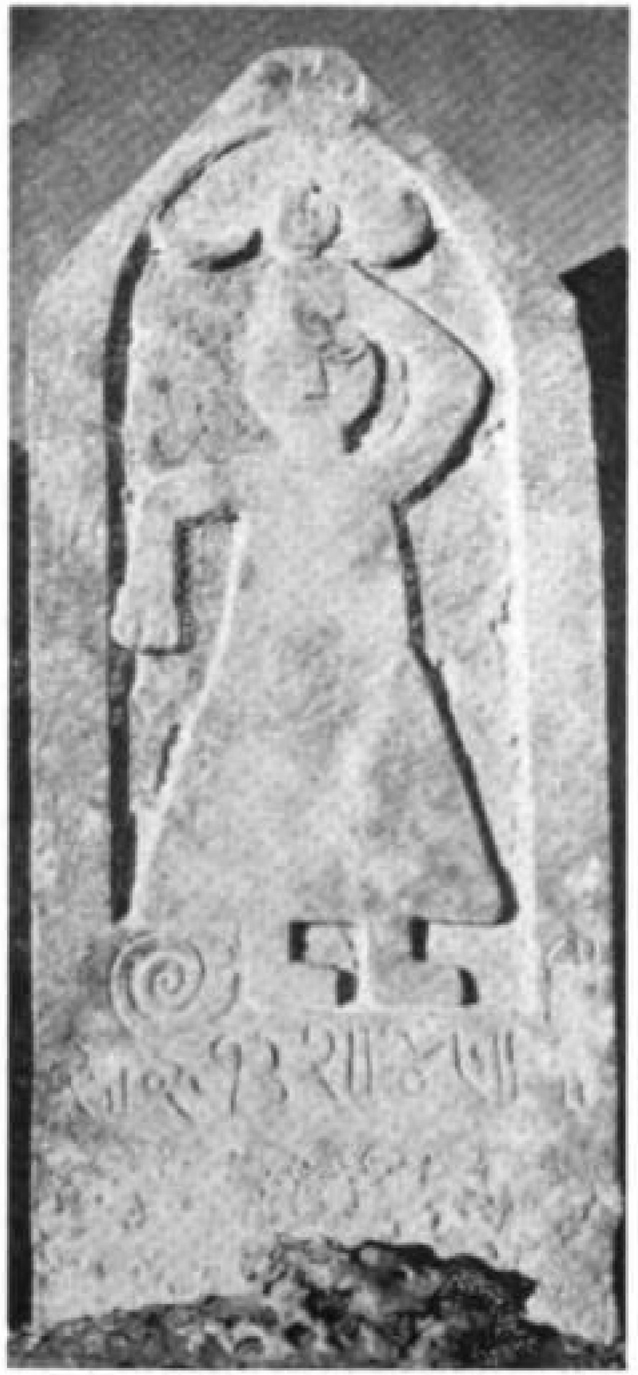

Fig. 25. An *avagatiya* stone

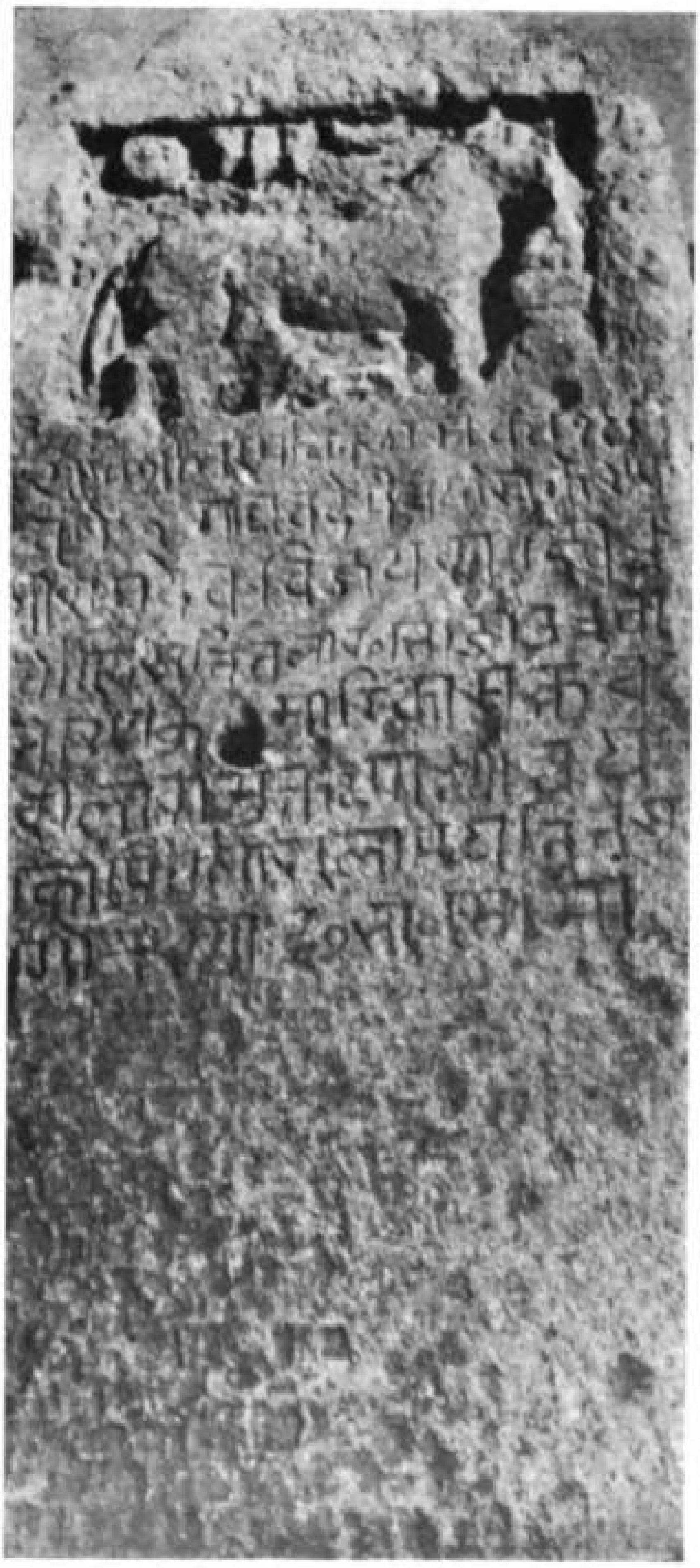

Fig. 26. An ordinance tablet

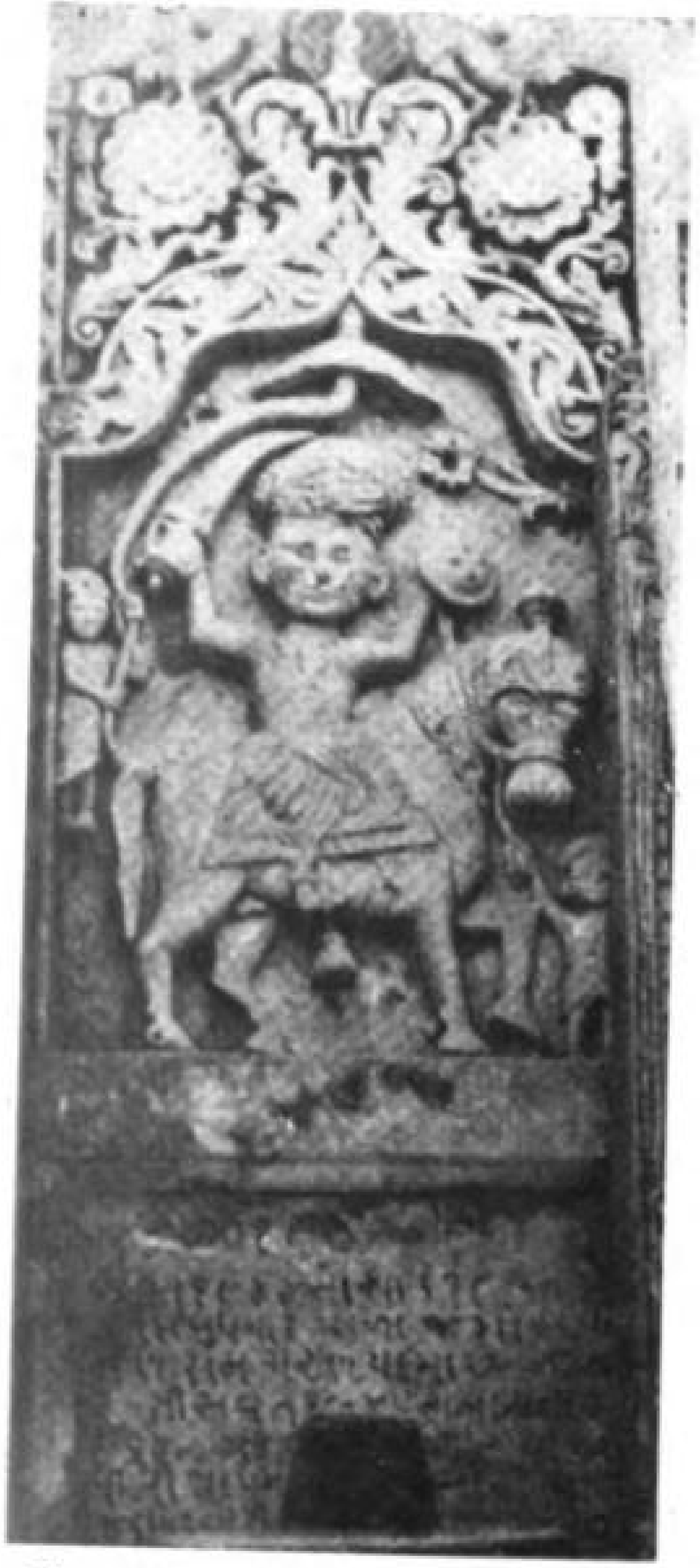

Fig. 27. A Kathi memorial

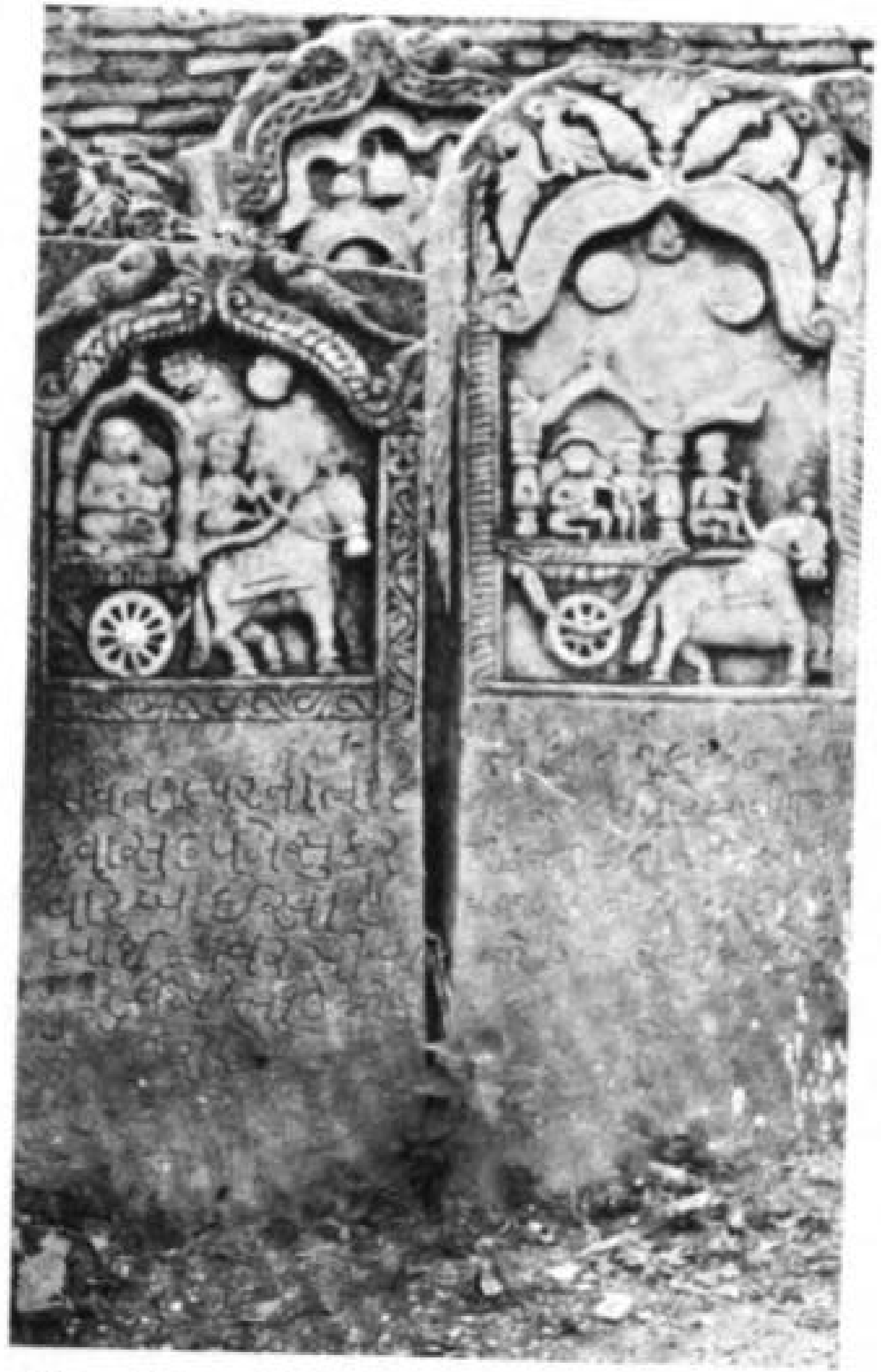

Fig. 28. *Khambhi* memorials for the wives of the ruling chiefs

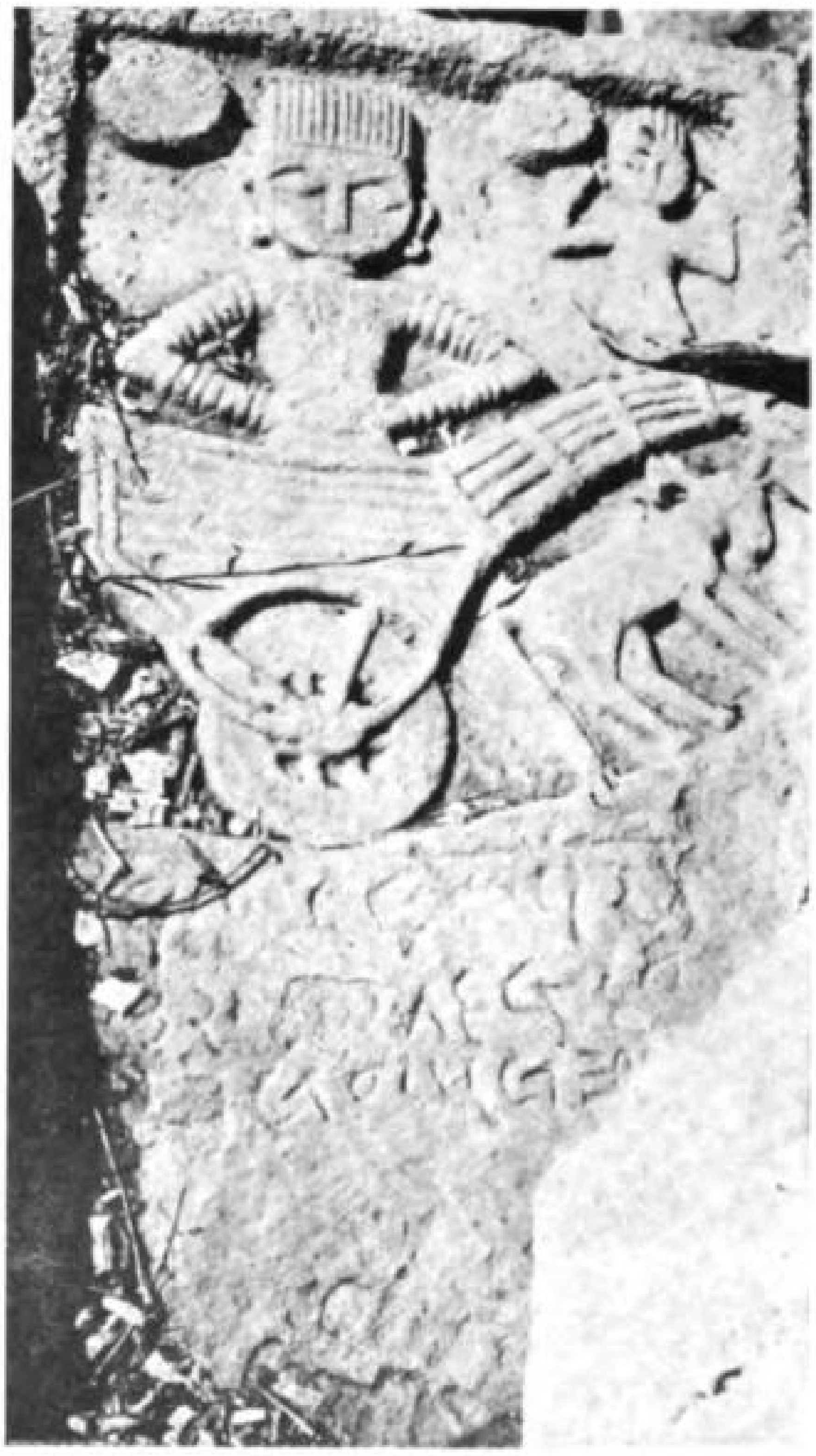

Fig. 29. *Khambhi* memorial for the wife of a minor chief

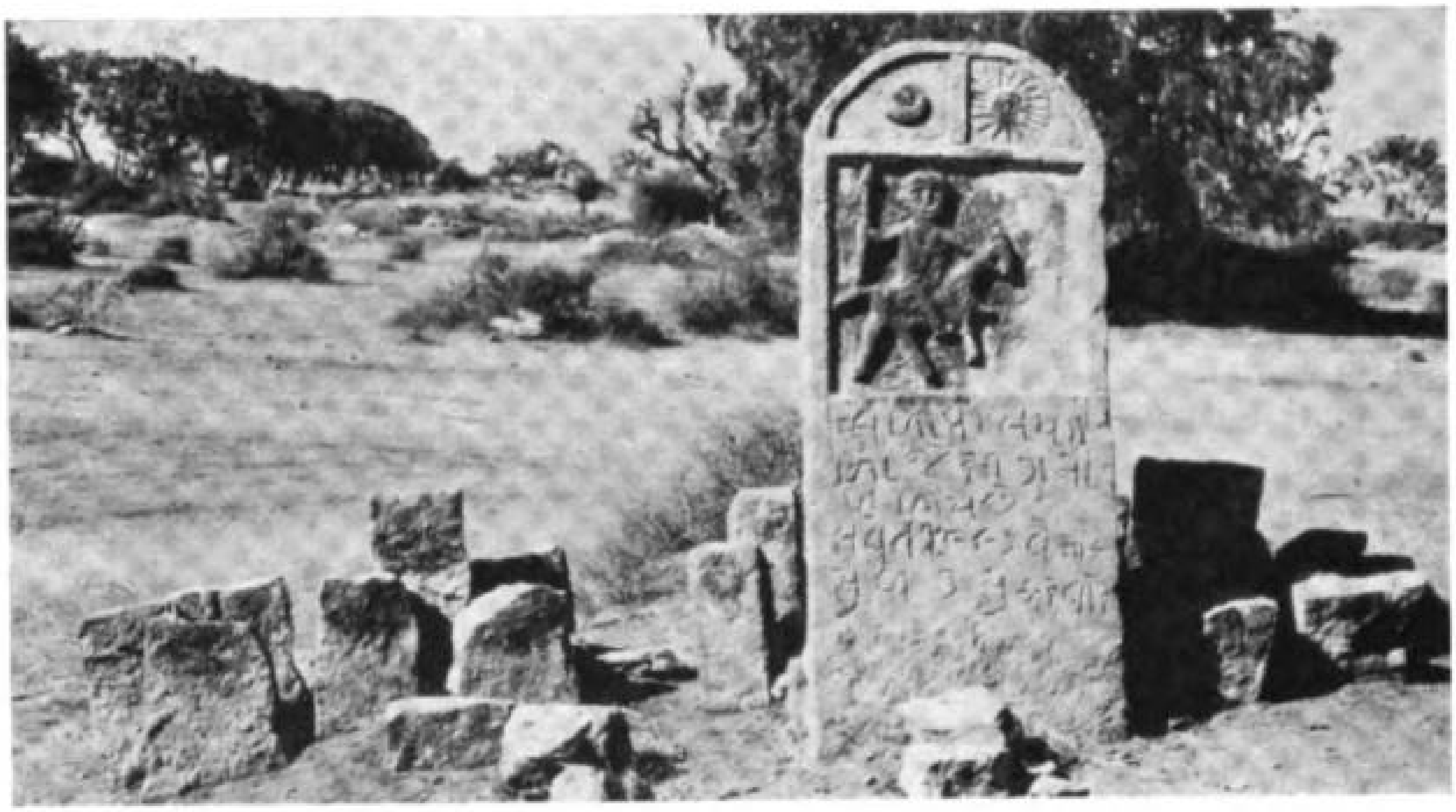

Fig. 30. *Theśa* stones

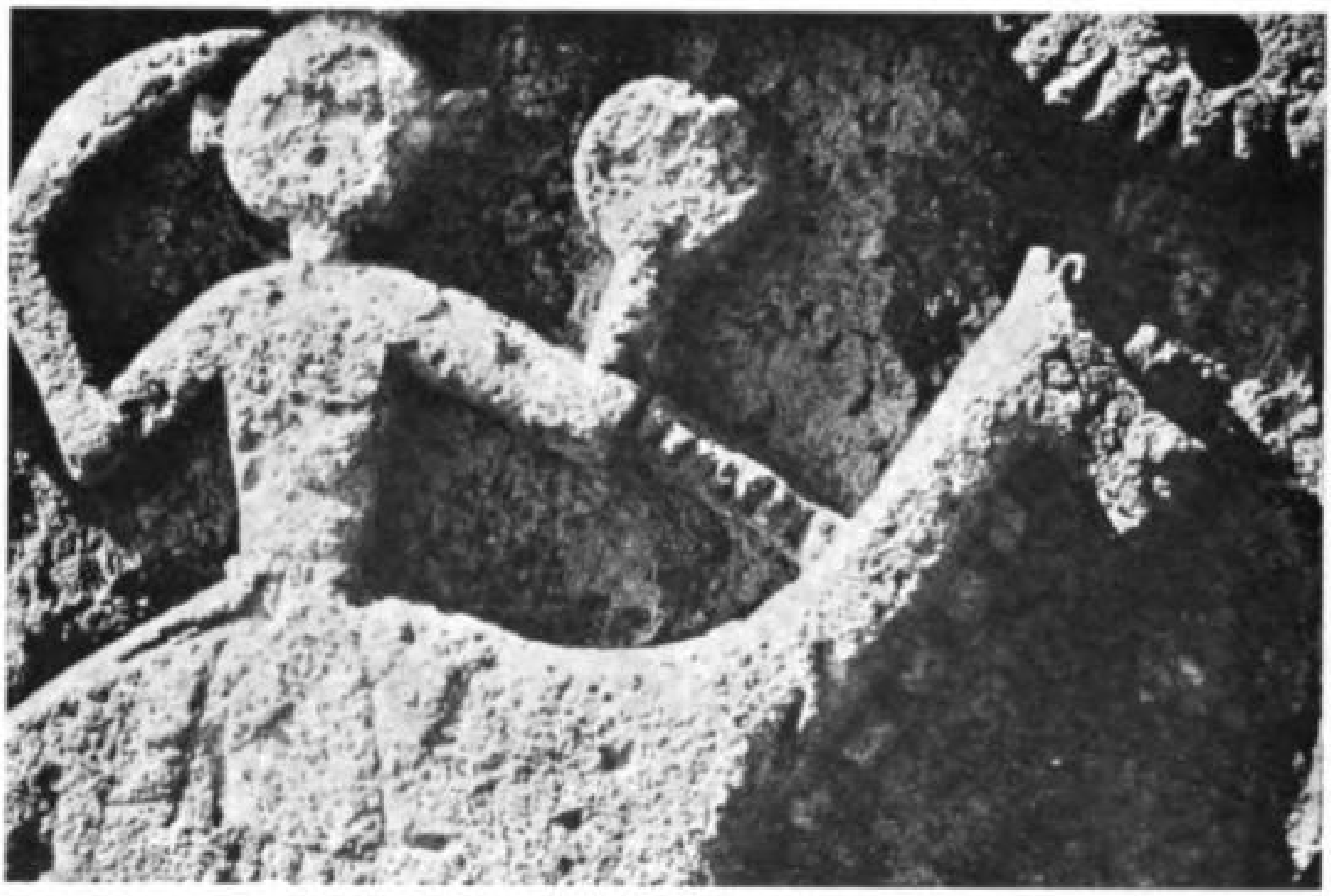

Fig. 31. *Pāliya* made in the folk idiom

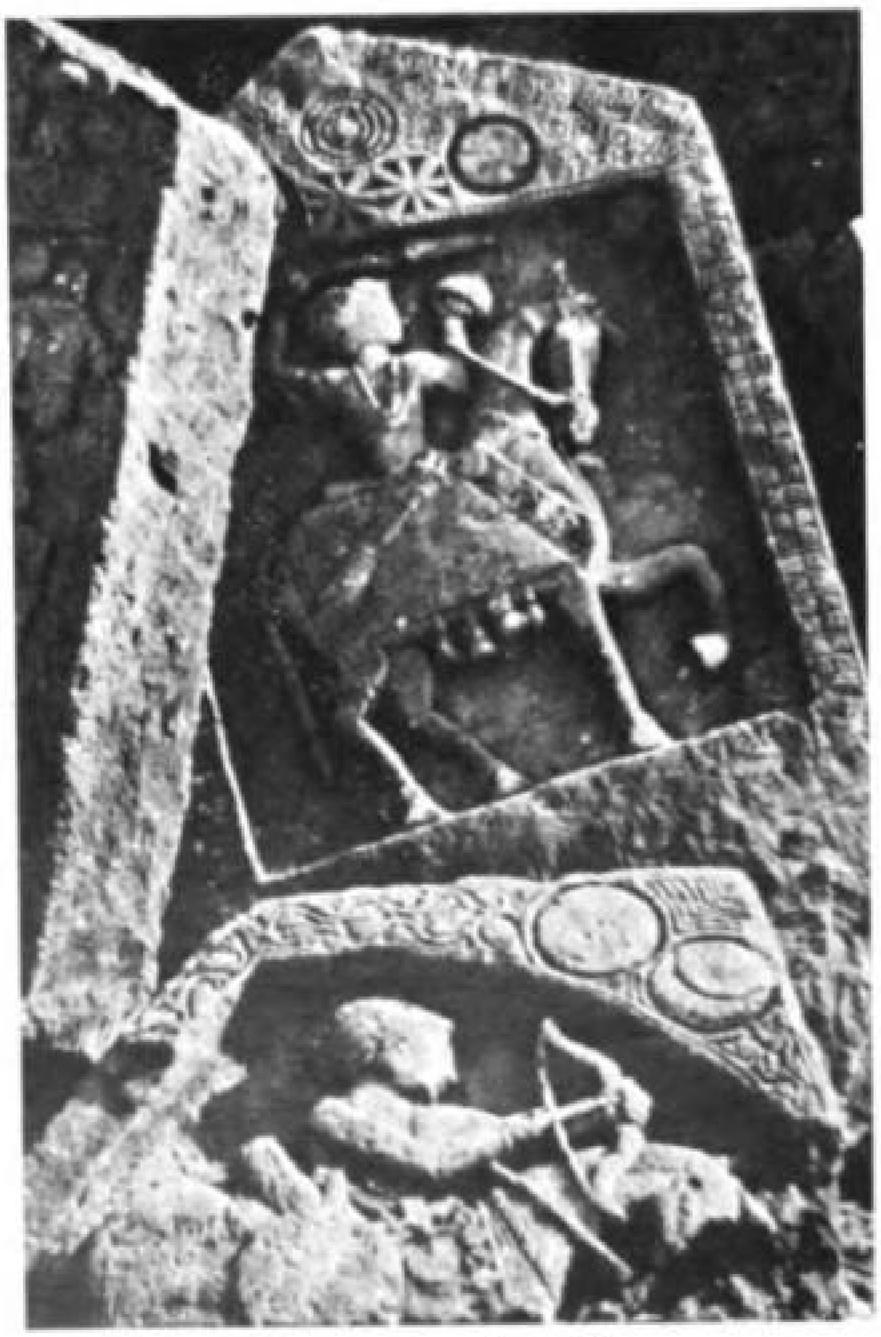

Fig. 32. A *pāliya*

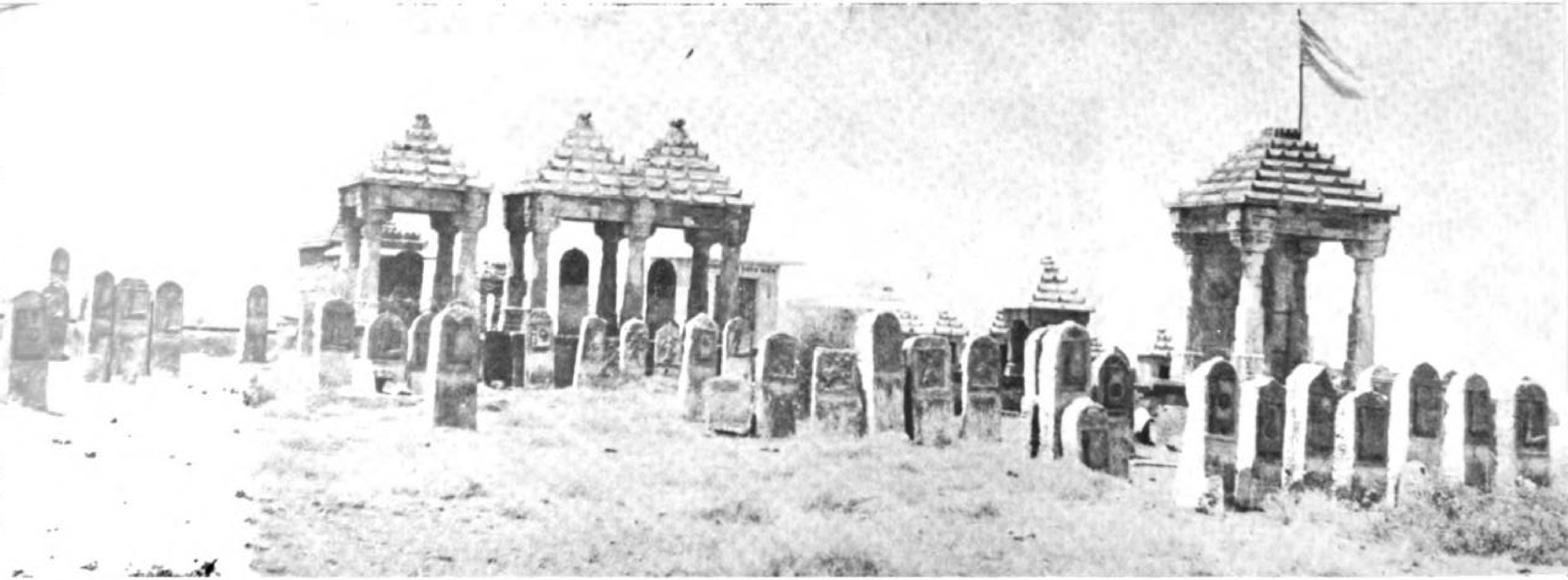

Fig. 33. *Pāliyas* enshrined in *chatris*

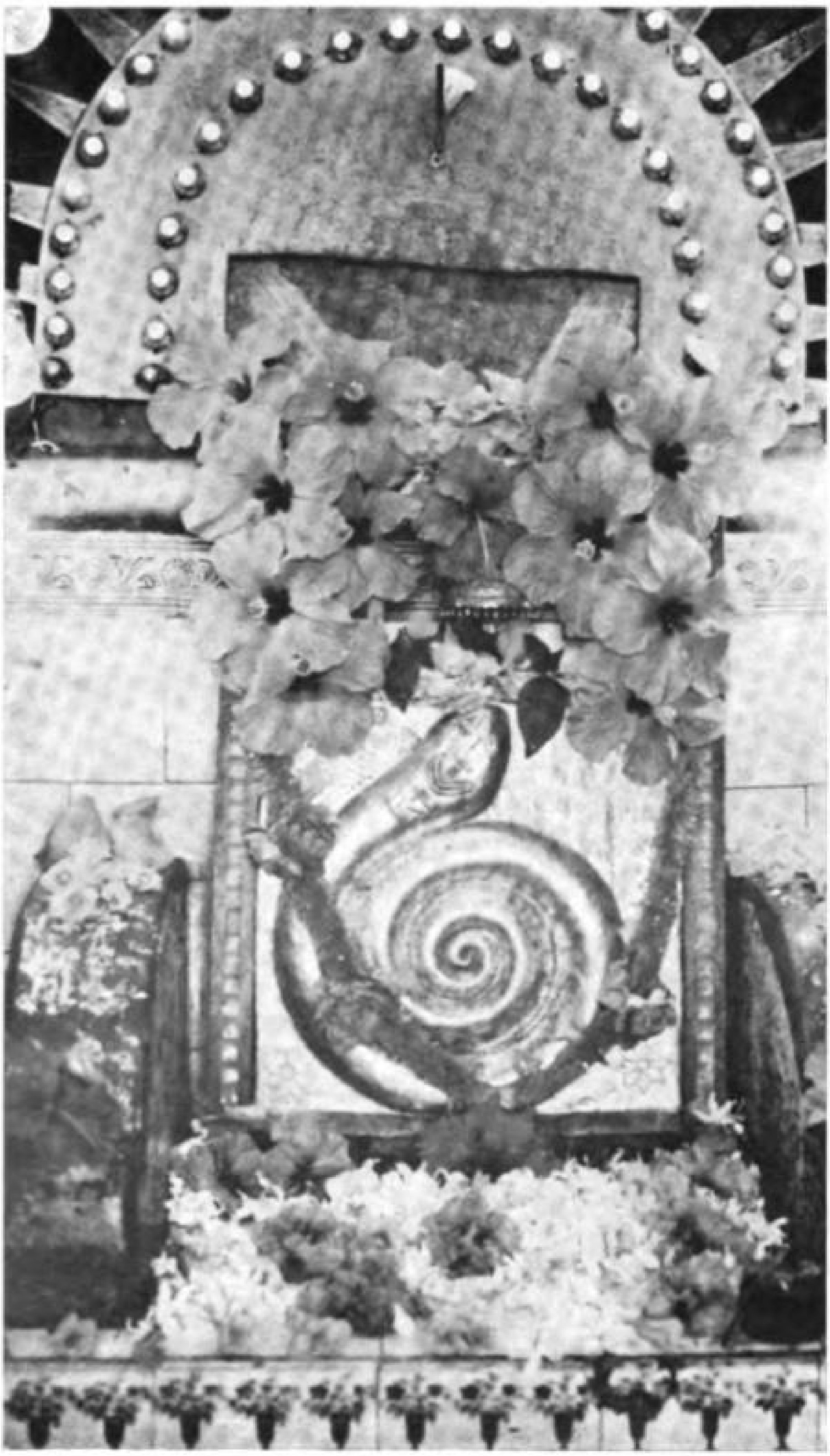

Fig. 34. Māl Bāppā, near Manekvāḍa

PUSHPA BINDRA:

Memorial Stones in Himachal

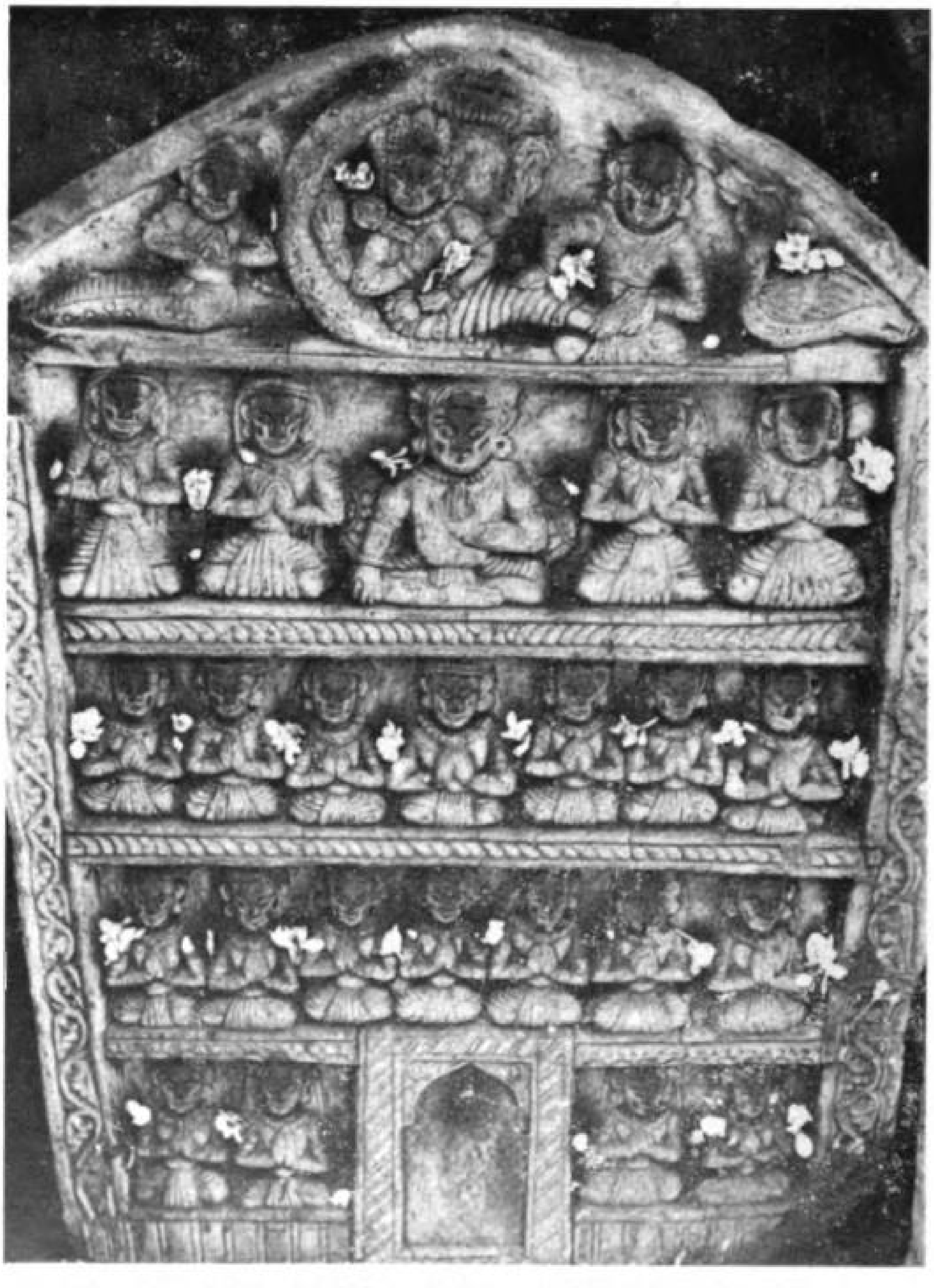

Fig. 1. Memorial from Himachal Pradesh (wooden)

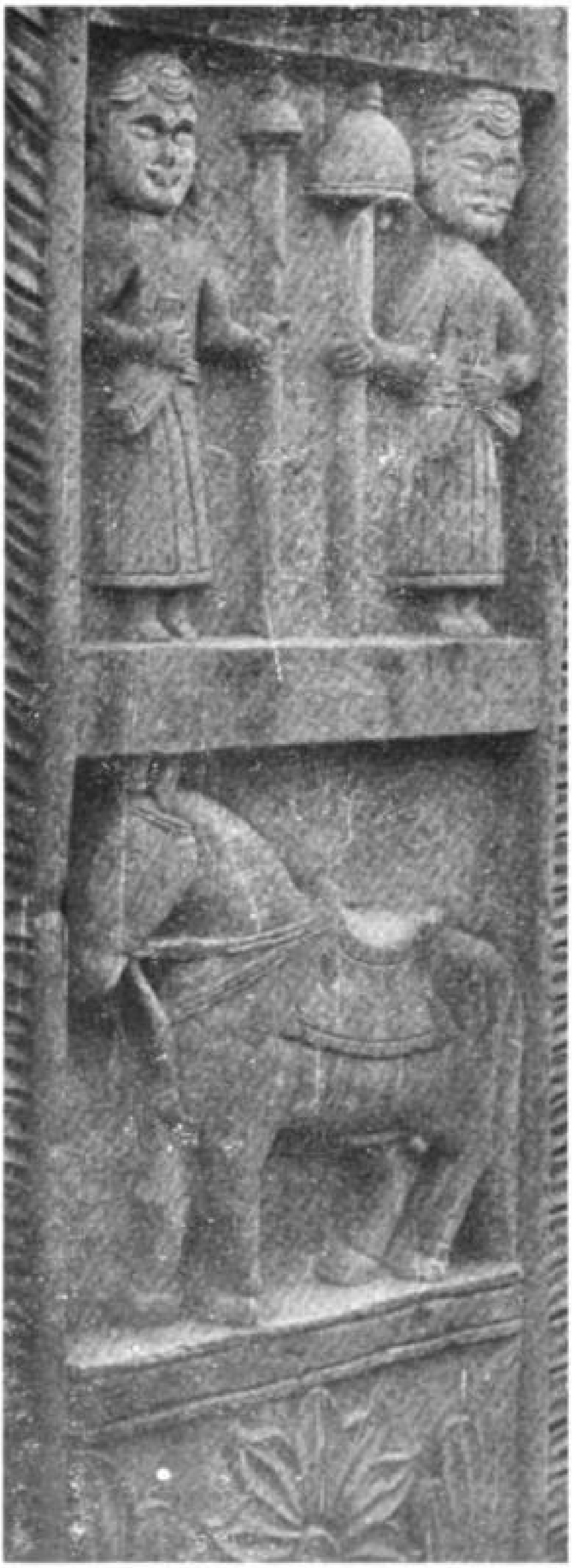

Fig. 2. Memorial from Himachal Pradesh (wooden)

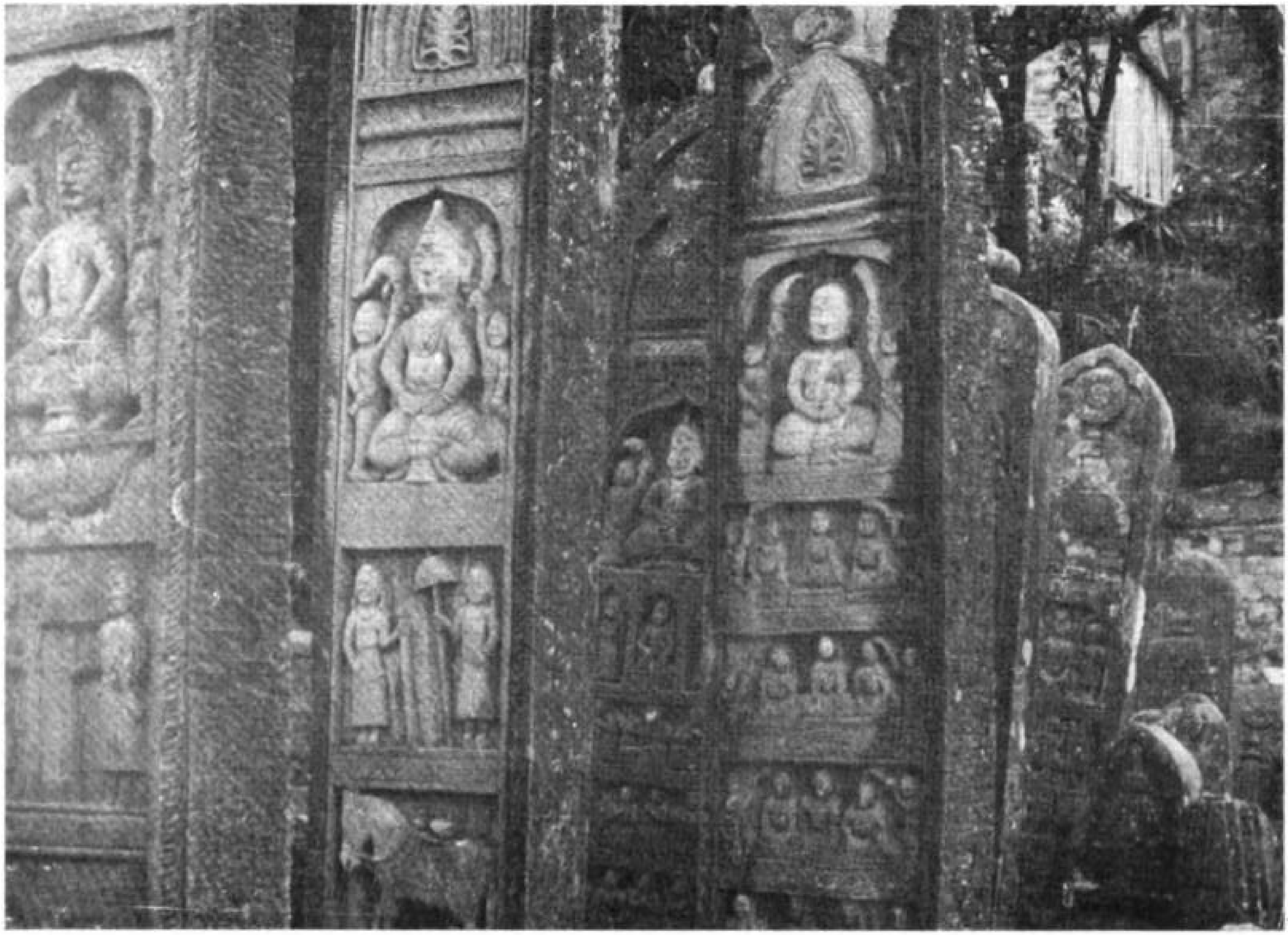

Fig. 3. Memorials from Himachal Pradesh (stone)

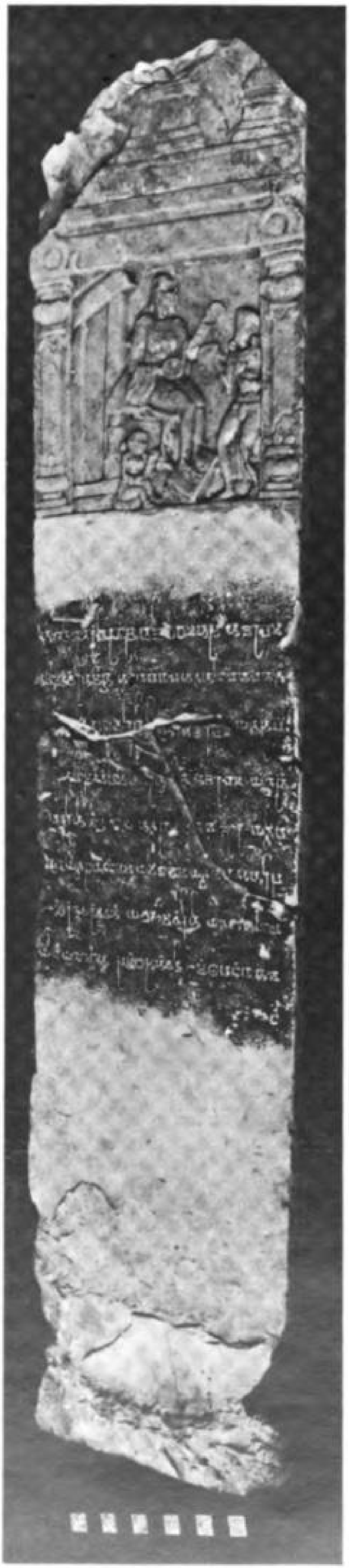

Fig. 1. *Cāyā-stambha* raised in honour of Vammabhaṭā, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

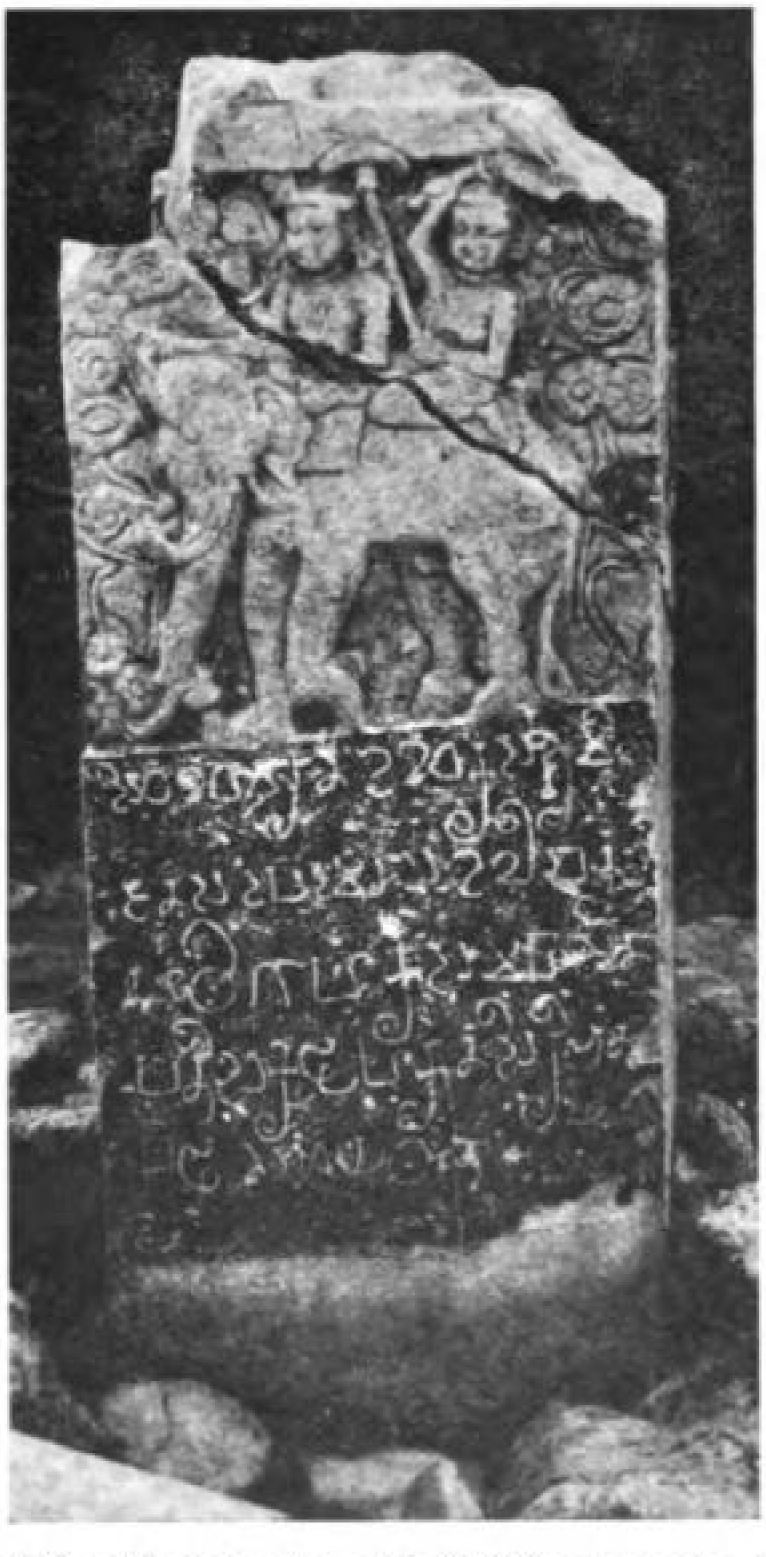

Fig. 2. Memorial for Kuḷahaka chief, Cāmtapuḷa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

M. L. K. MURTHY:

Memorial Stones in Andhra Pradesh

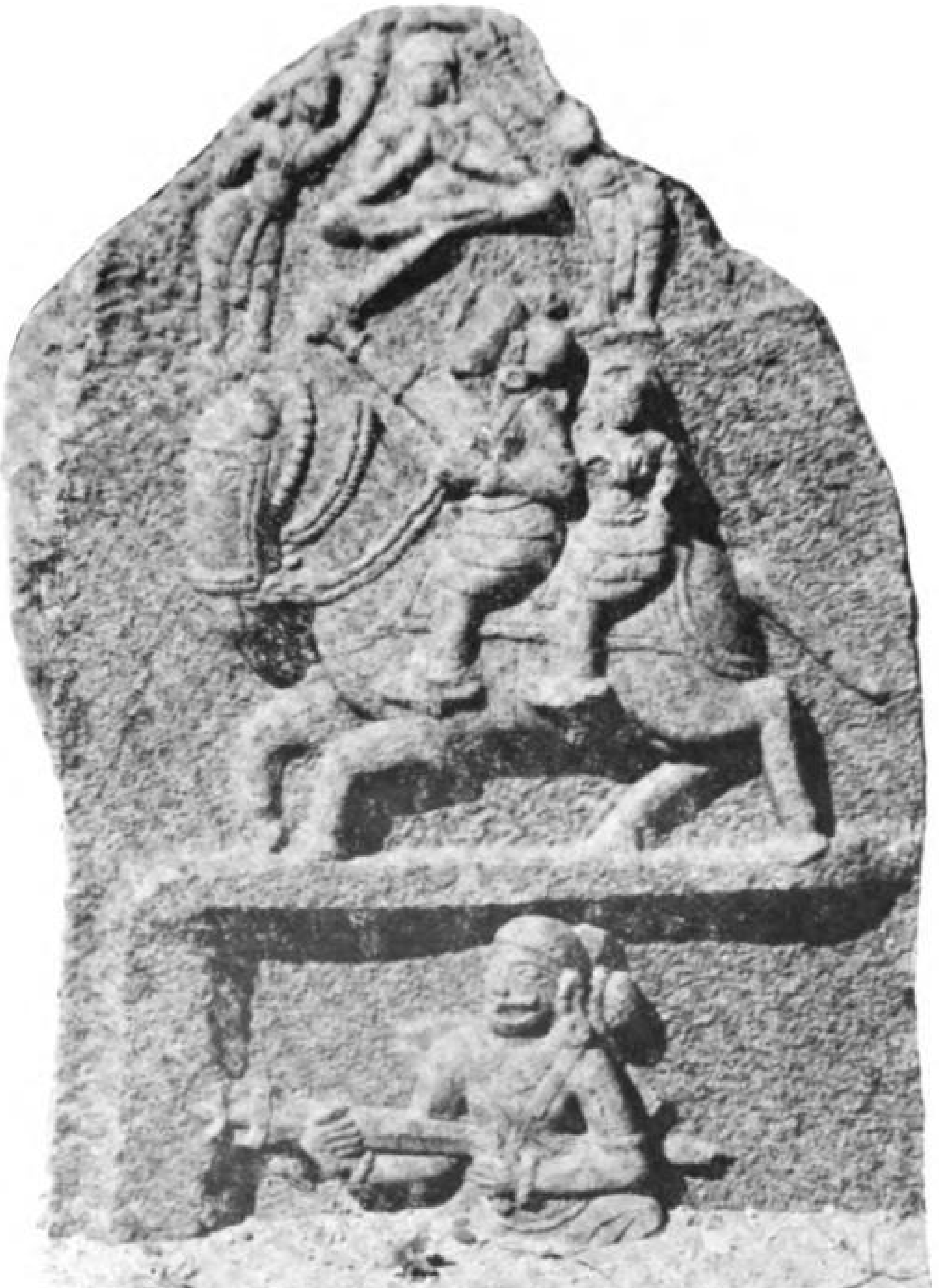

Fig. 1. Memorial stone in the Museum at Nelamarri, Mahboobnagar Dt., (AP)

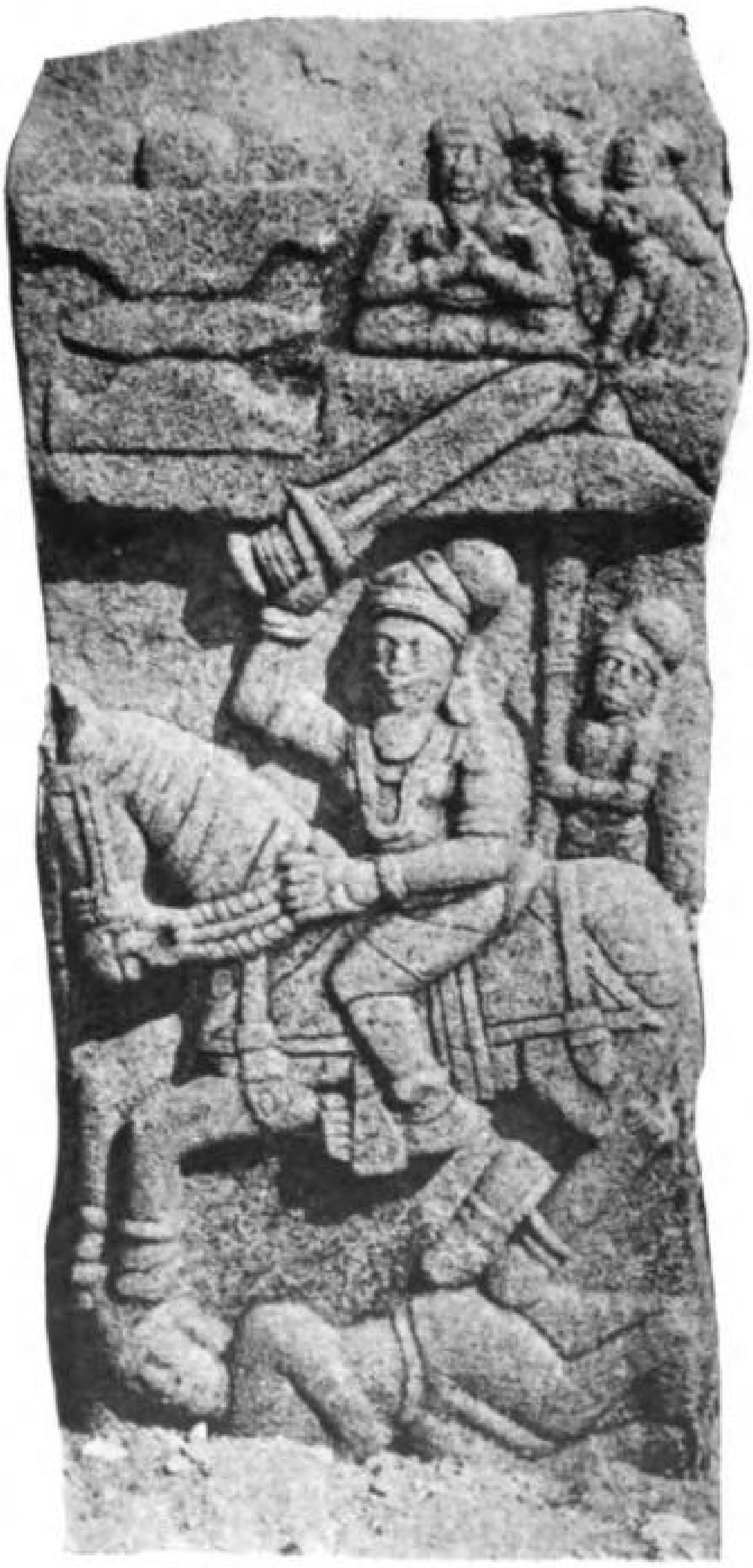

Fig. 2. Memorial stone in the Museum at Nelamarri

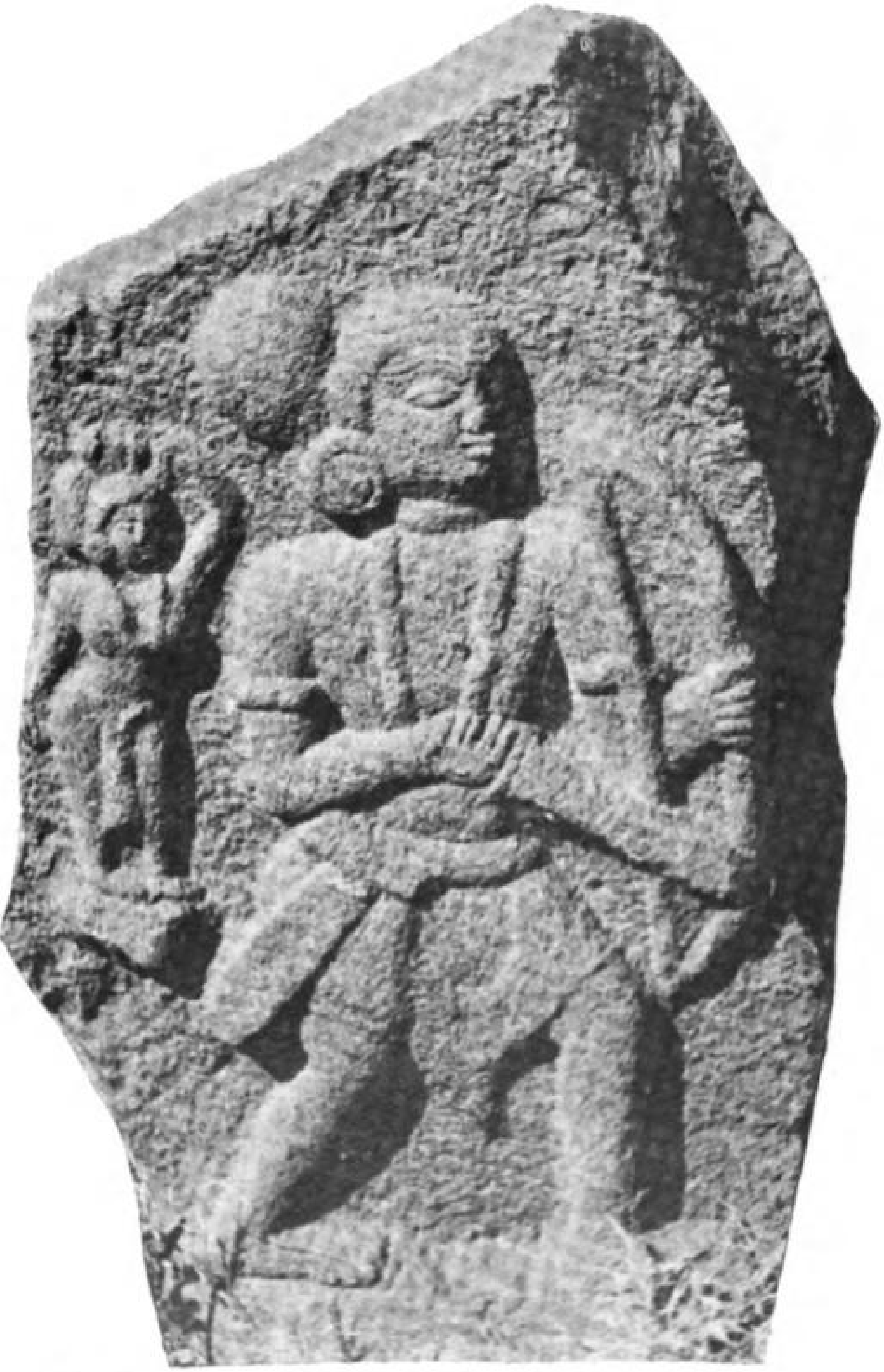

Fig. 3. Memorial stone in the Museum at Nelamarri

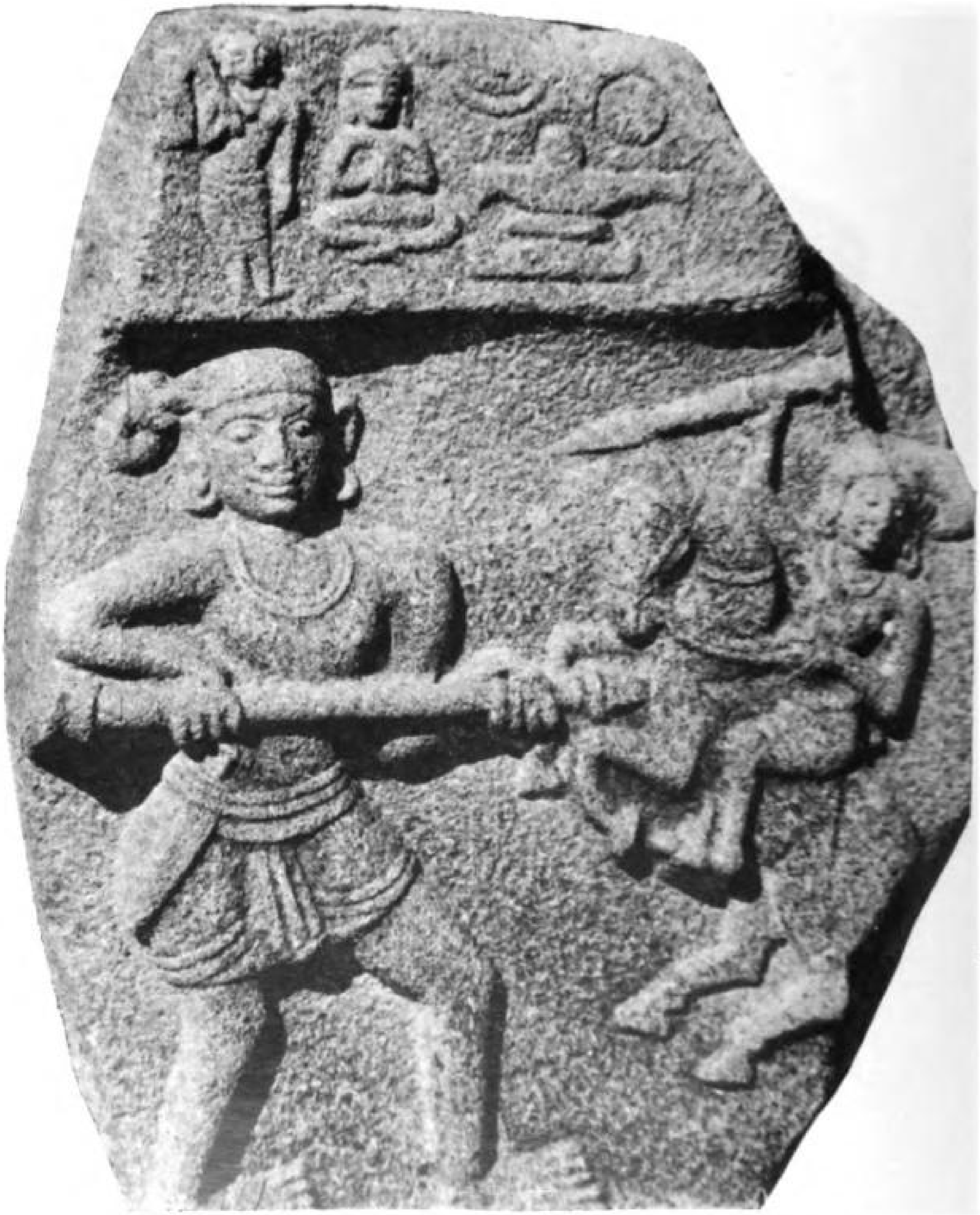

Fig. 4. Memorial stone in the Museum at Nelamarri

S. RAJASEKHARA:

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Hero-Stones: A Study

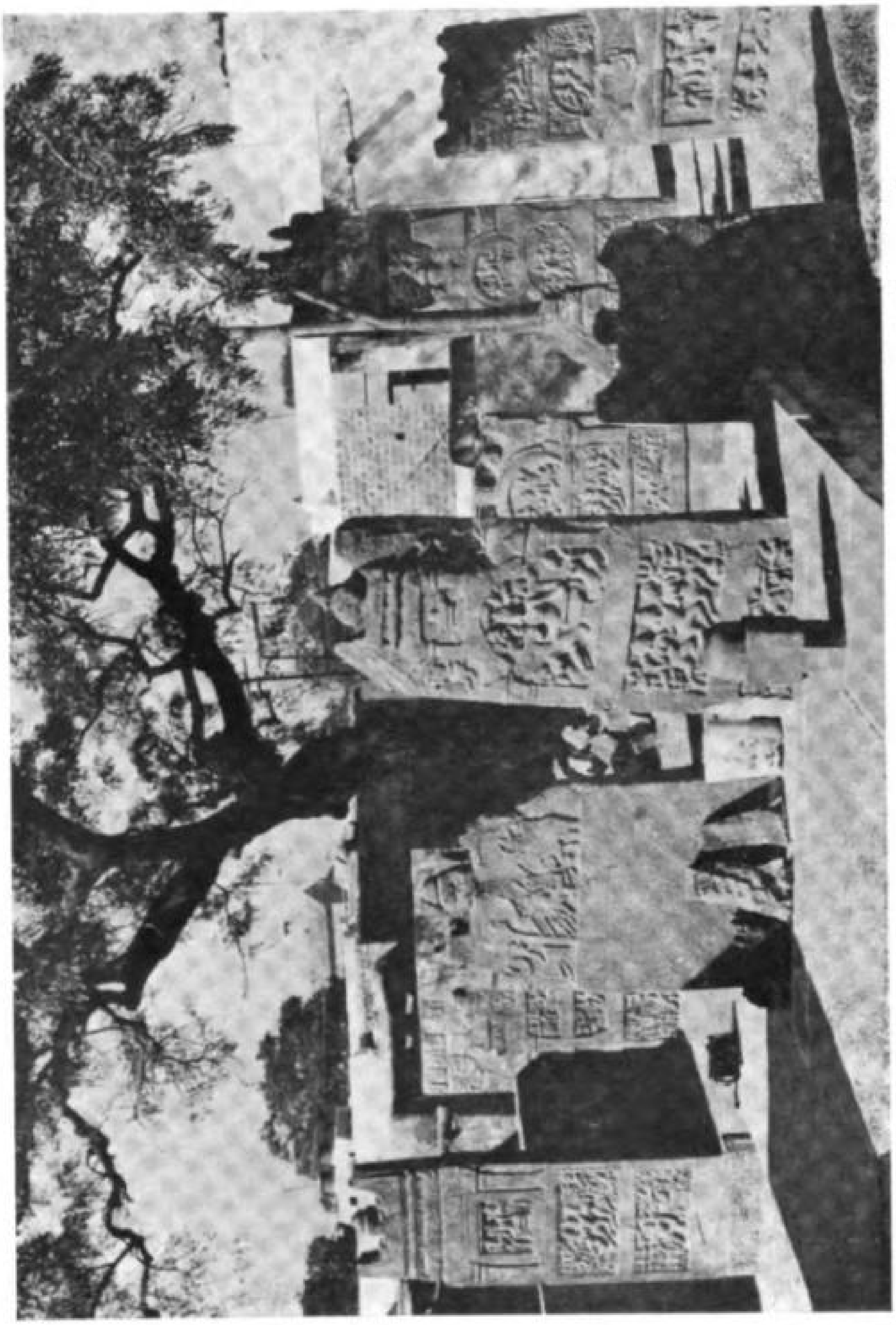

Fig. 1. A group of hero-stones, Gadag-Beṭgeri (9th-10th cent.)

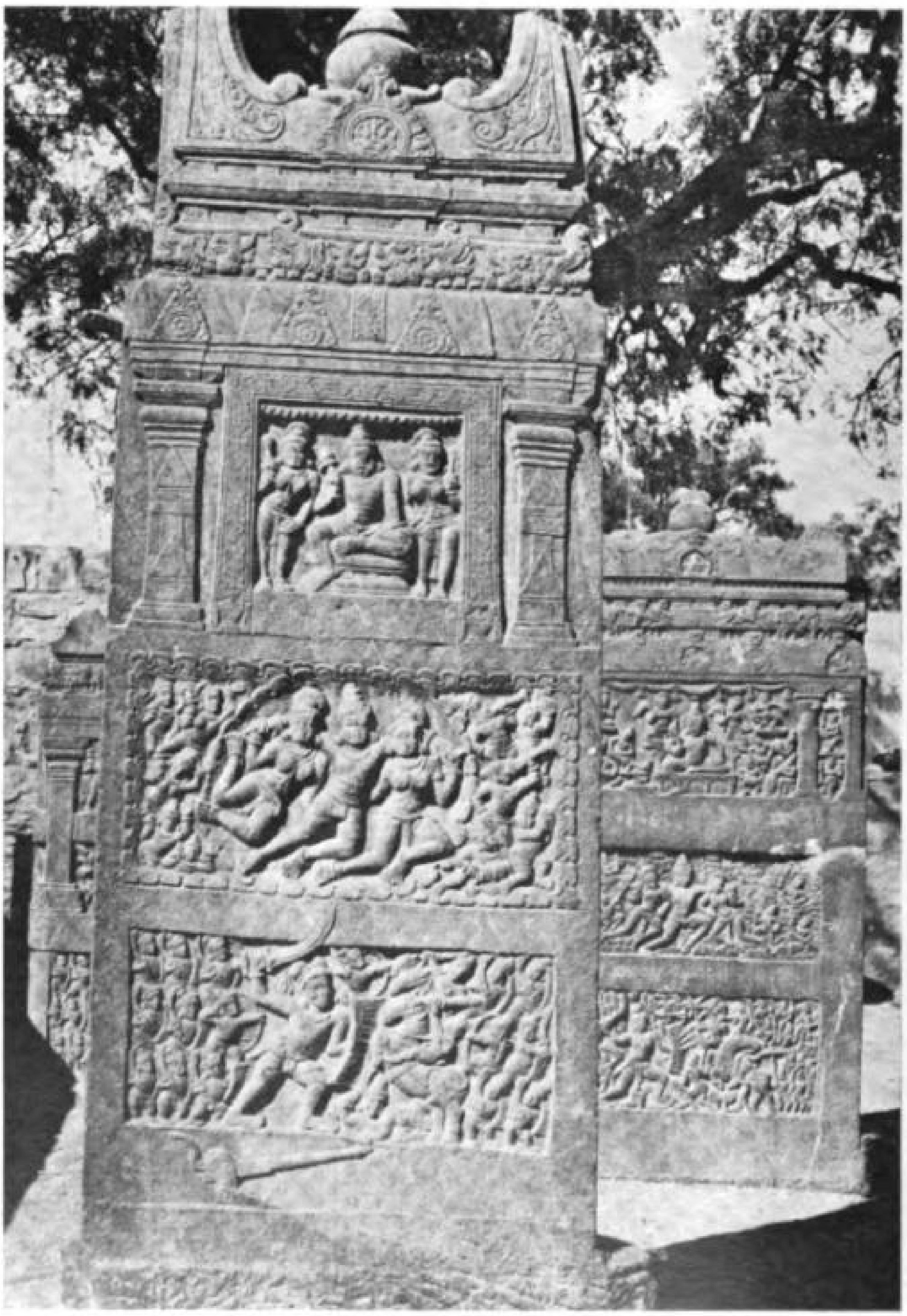

Fig. 2. A three-panelled hero-stone, Gadag-Beṭgeri

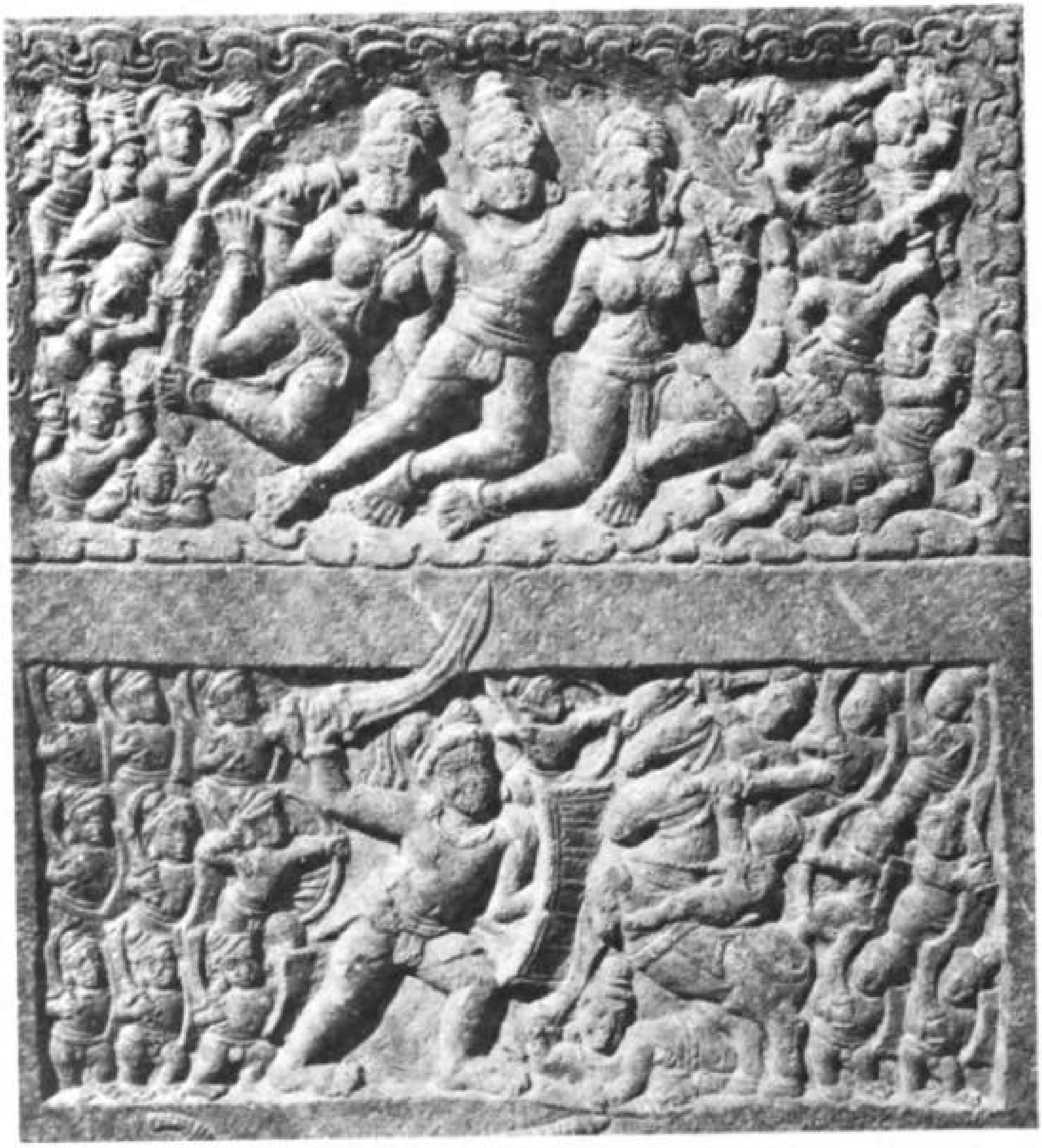

Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 2

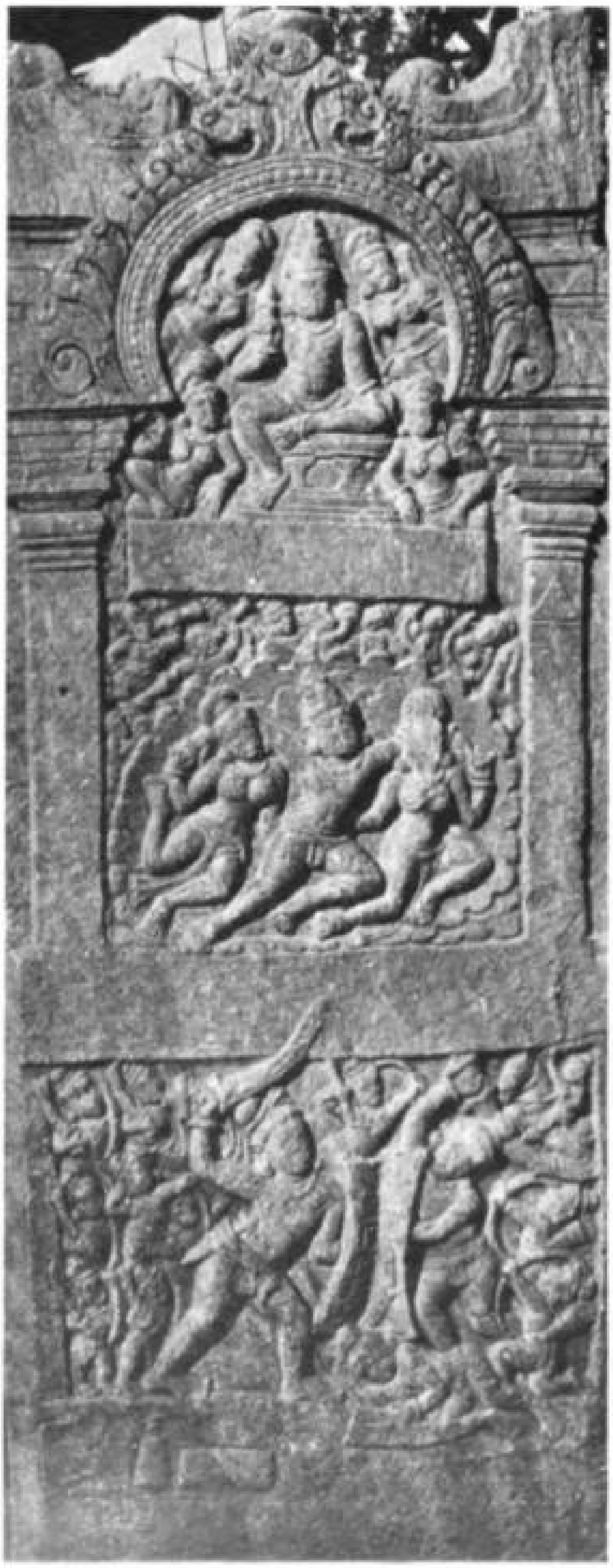

Fig. 4. A hero-stone, Gadag-Beṭgeri

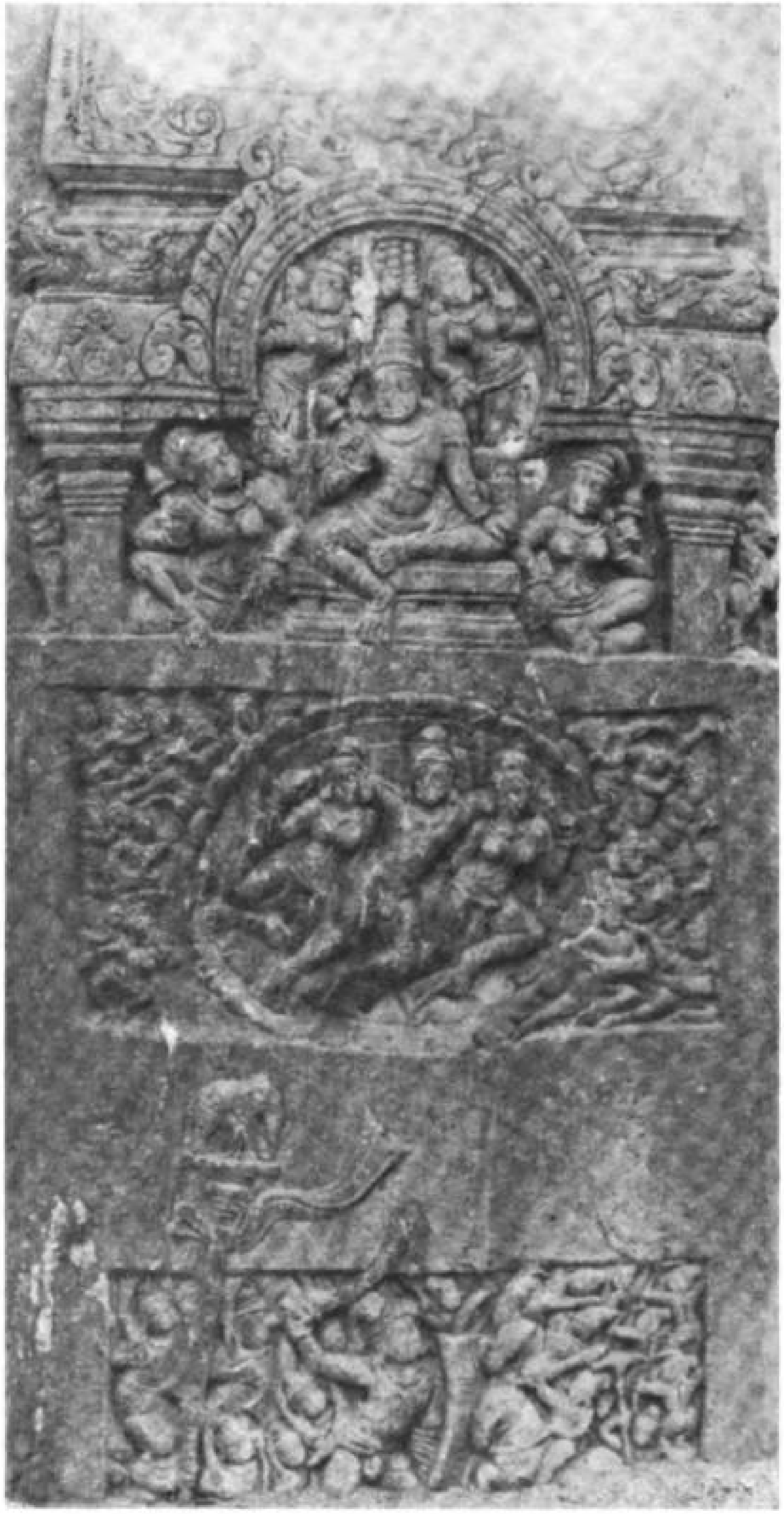

Fig. 5. A hero-stone at Gadag-Beṭgeri showing the Elephant Banner

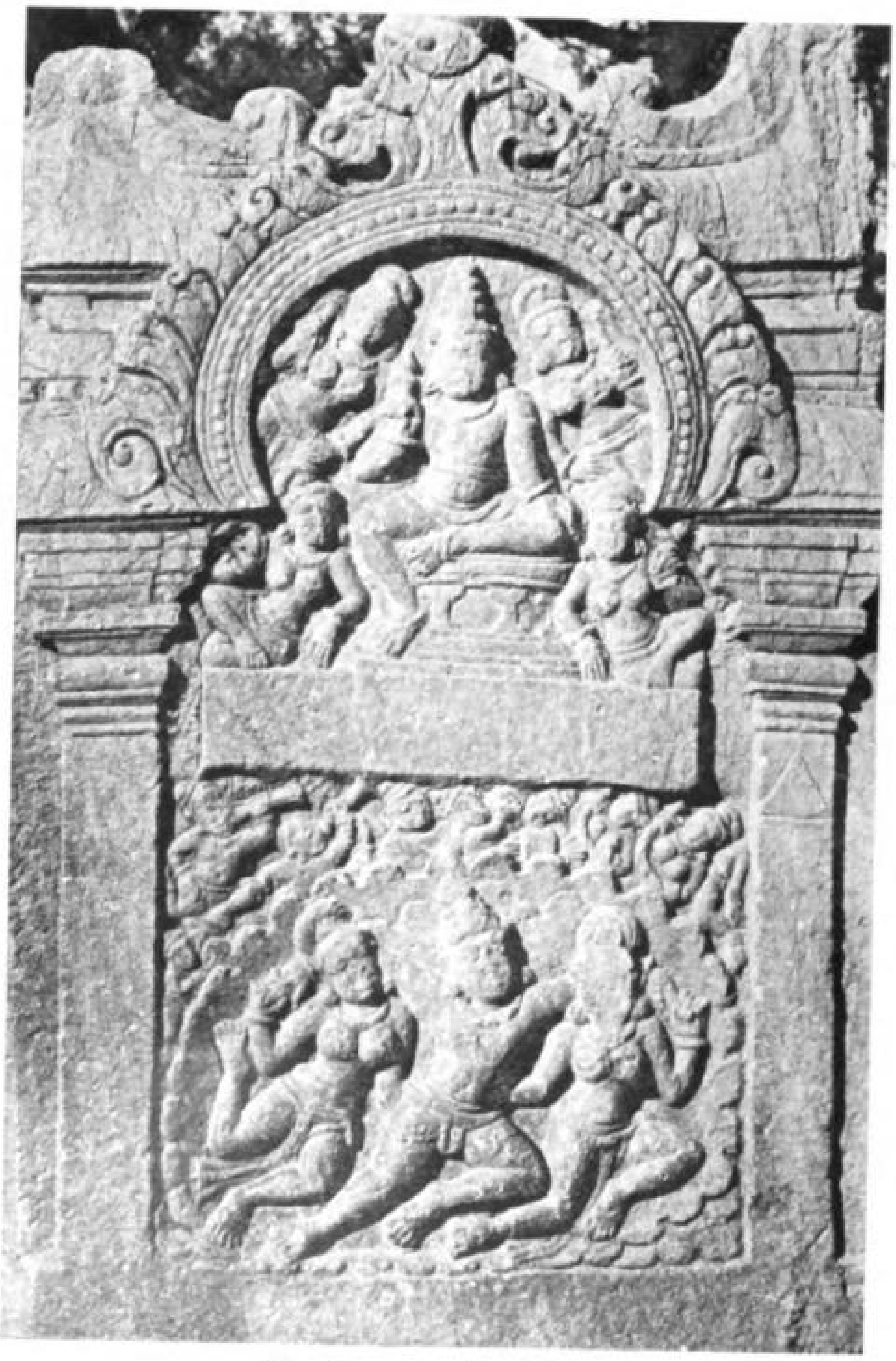

Fig. 6. Detail of Fig. 4

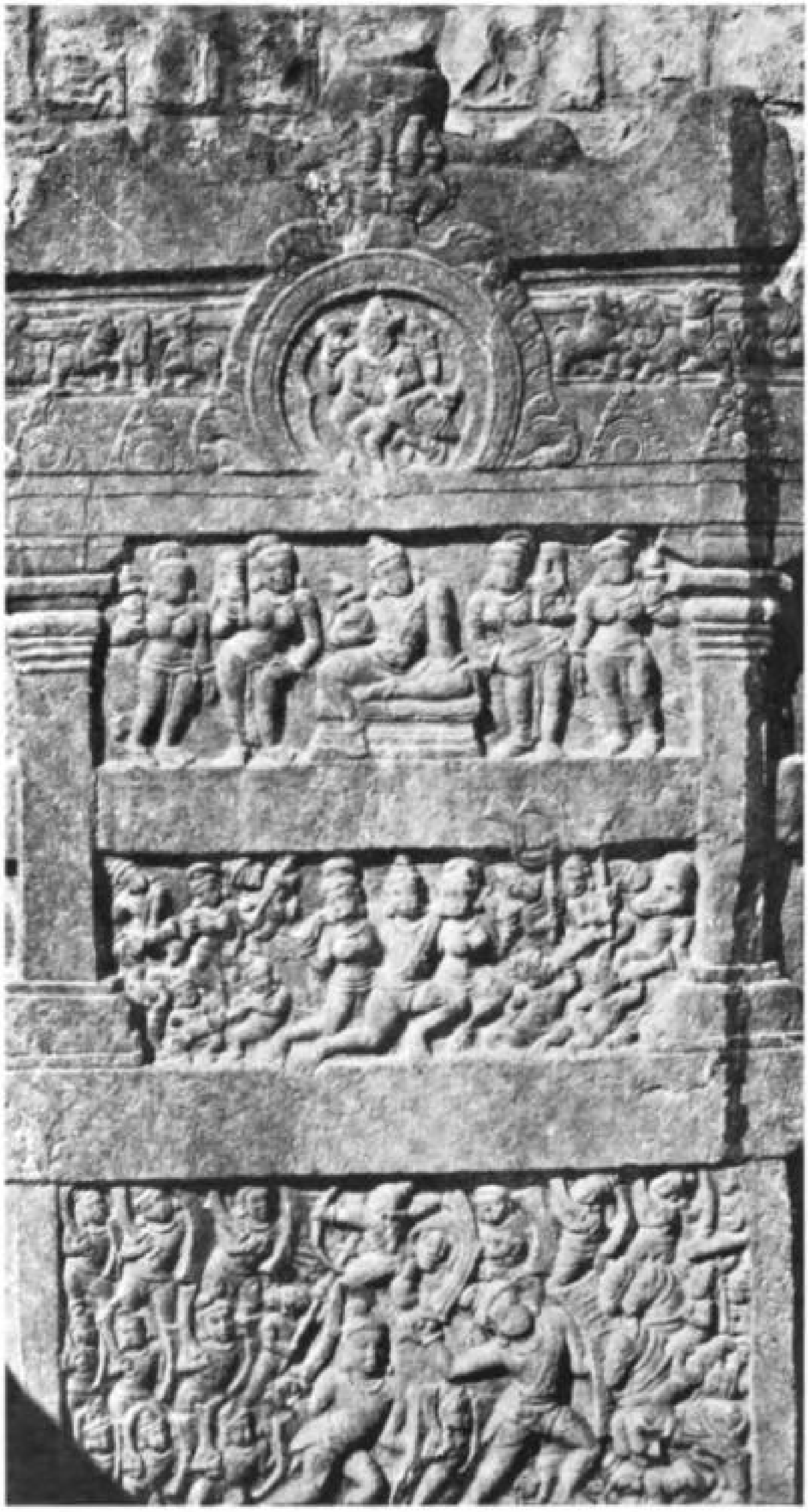

Fig. 7. A hero-stone at Gadag-Beṭgeri with the relief of Narasimha slaying Hiraṇyakaśipu in the *Kīrtimukha*

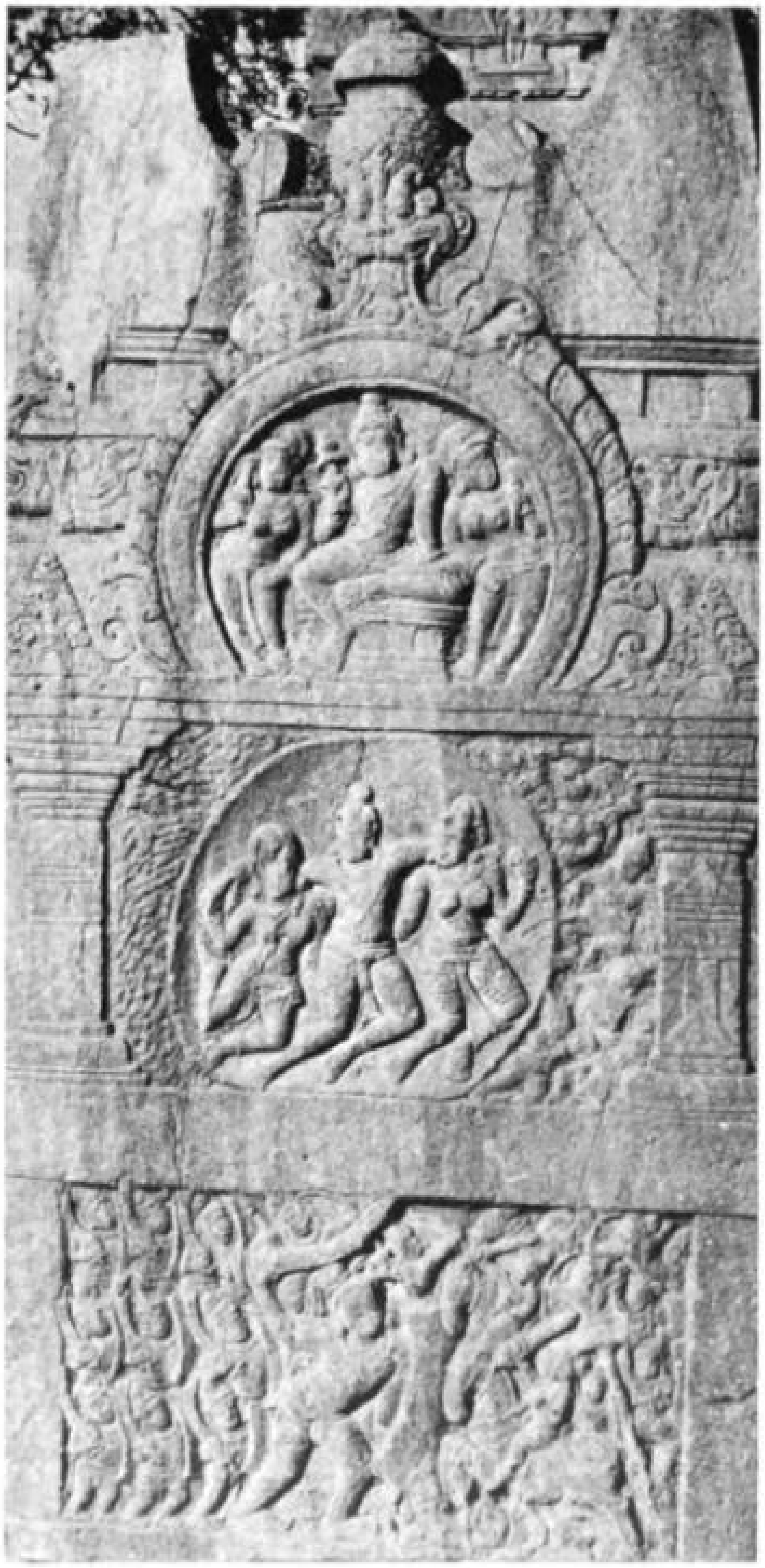

Fig. 8. Another hero-stone at Gadag-Betgeri

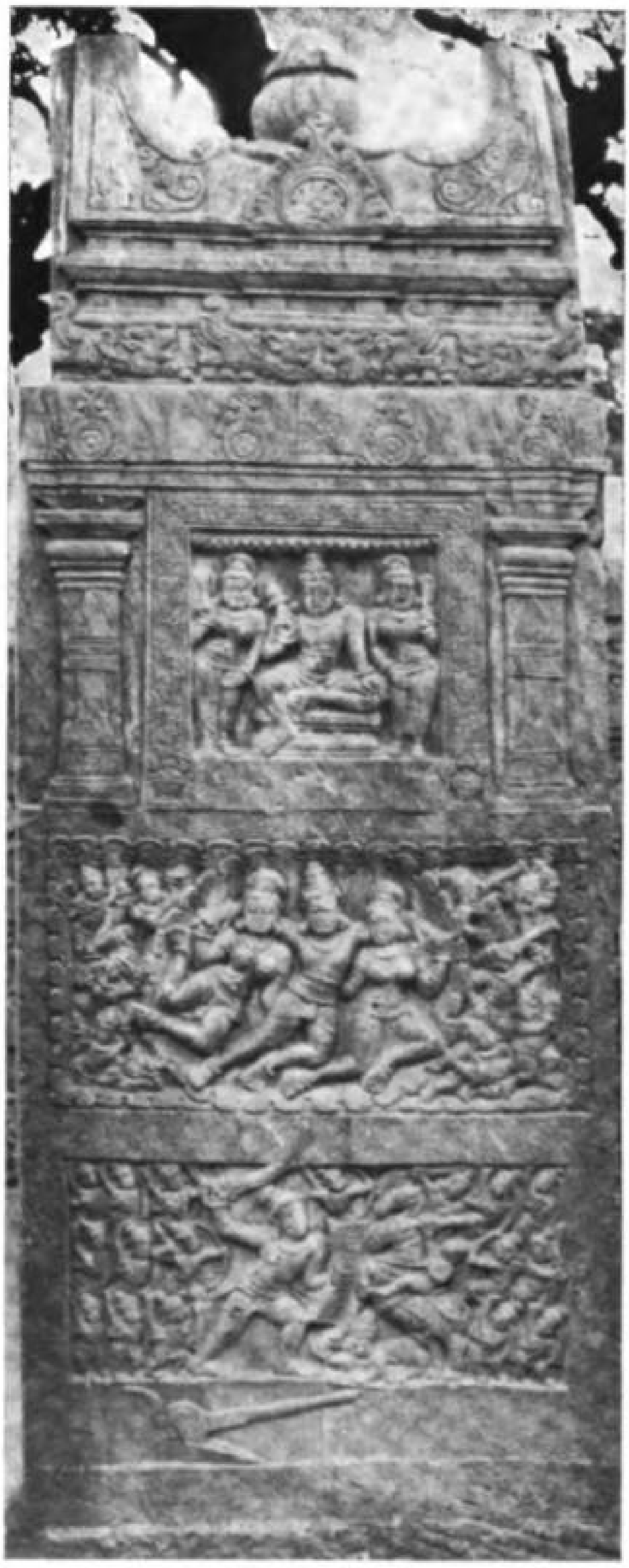

Fig. 9. A hero-stone at Gadag-Beṭgeri, showing the plough at the base

VASUNDHARA FILLIOZAT:

Aruhanahaḷḷi Memorials

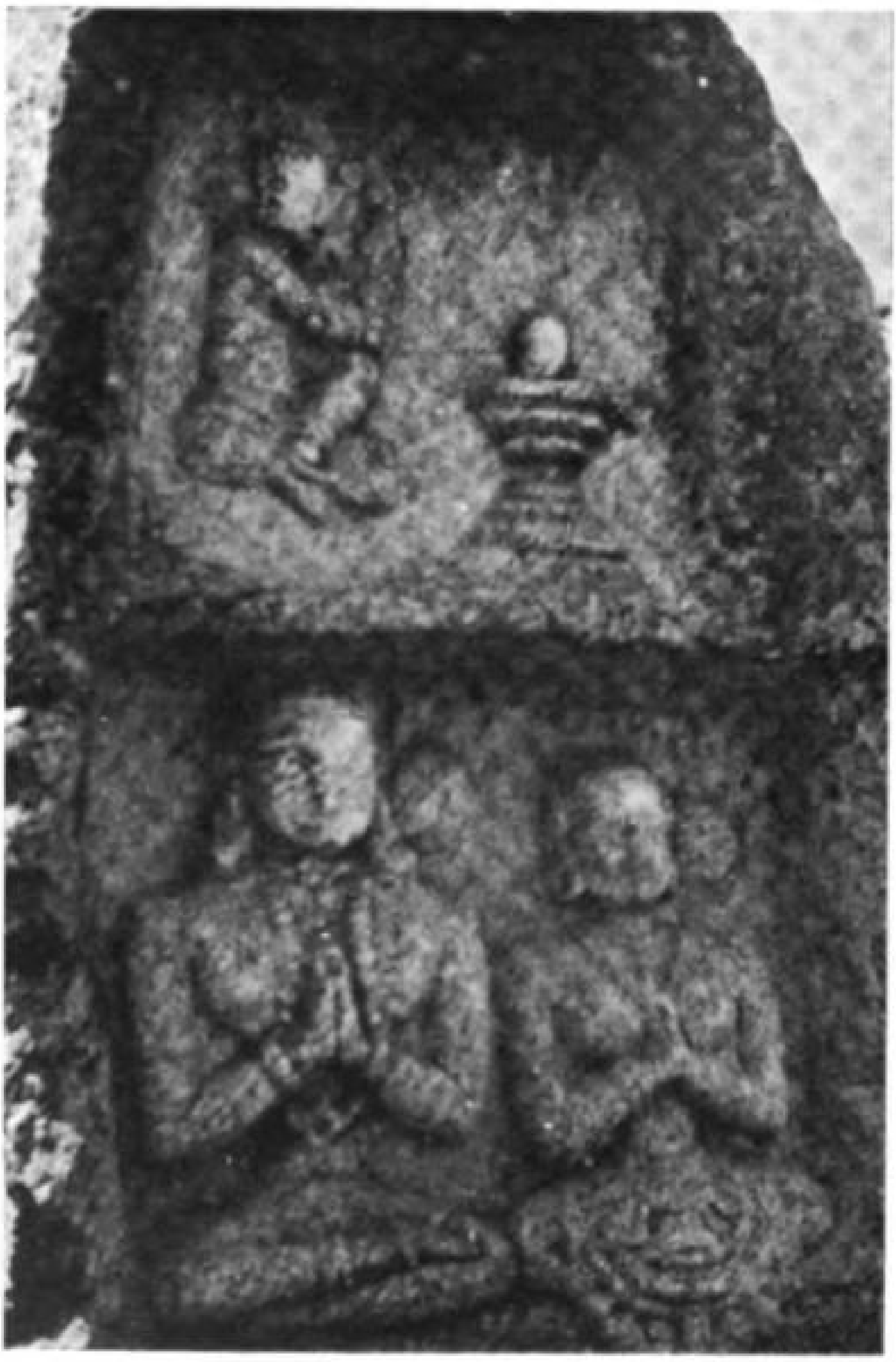

Fig. 1. Devappa and his wife Bayicakka, memorial stone at Aruhanahaḷḷi

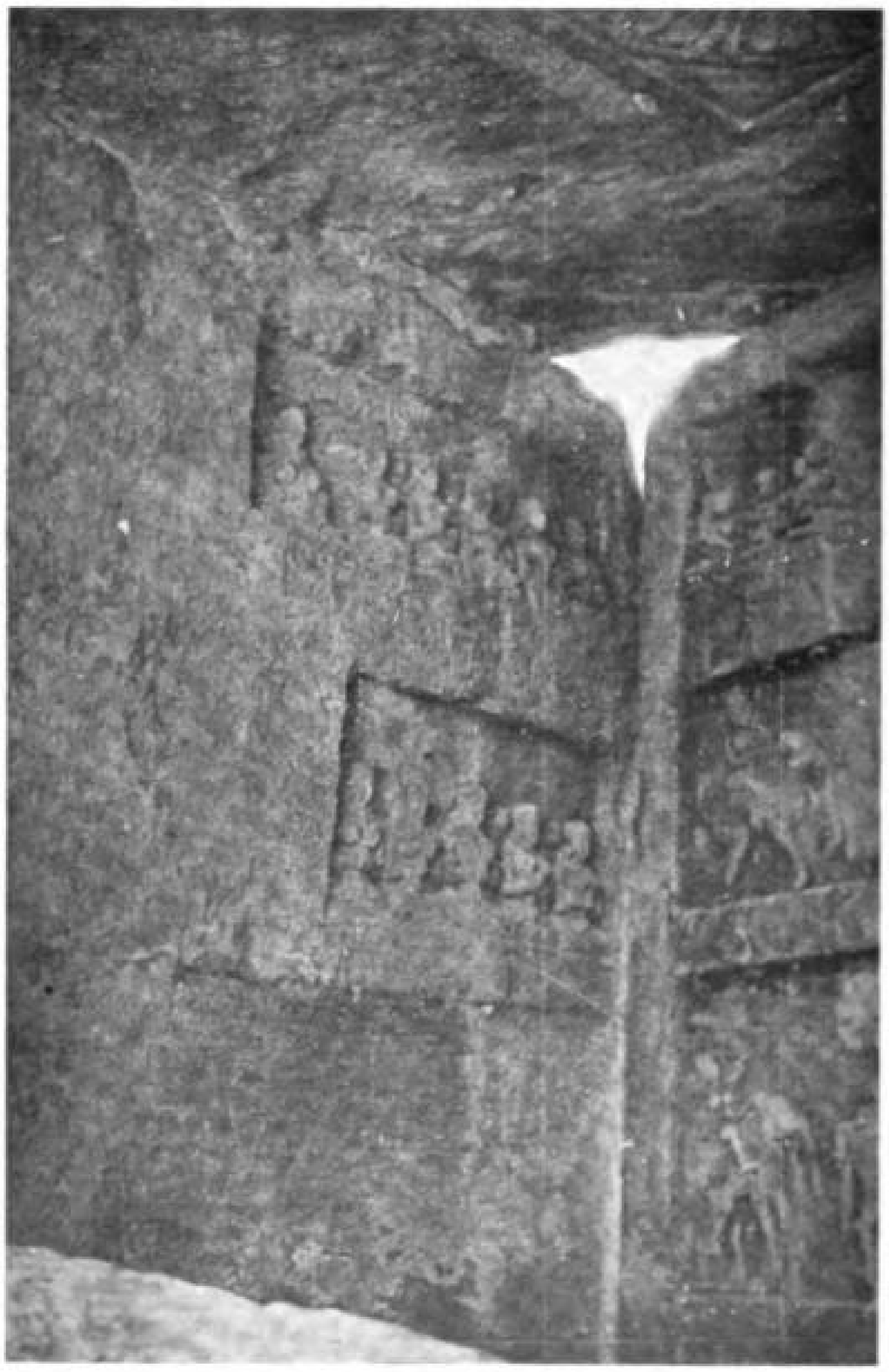

Fig. 2. A memorial stone at Aruhanahaḷḷi

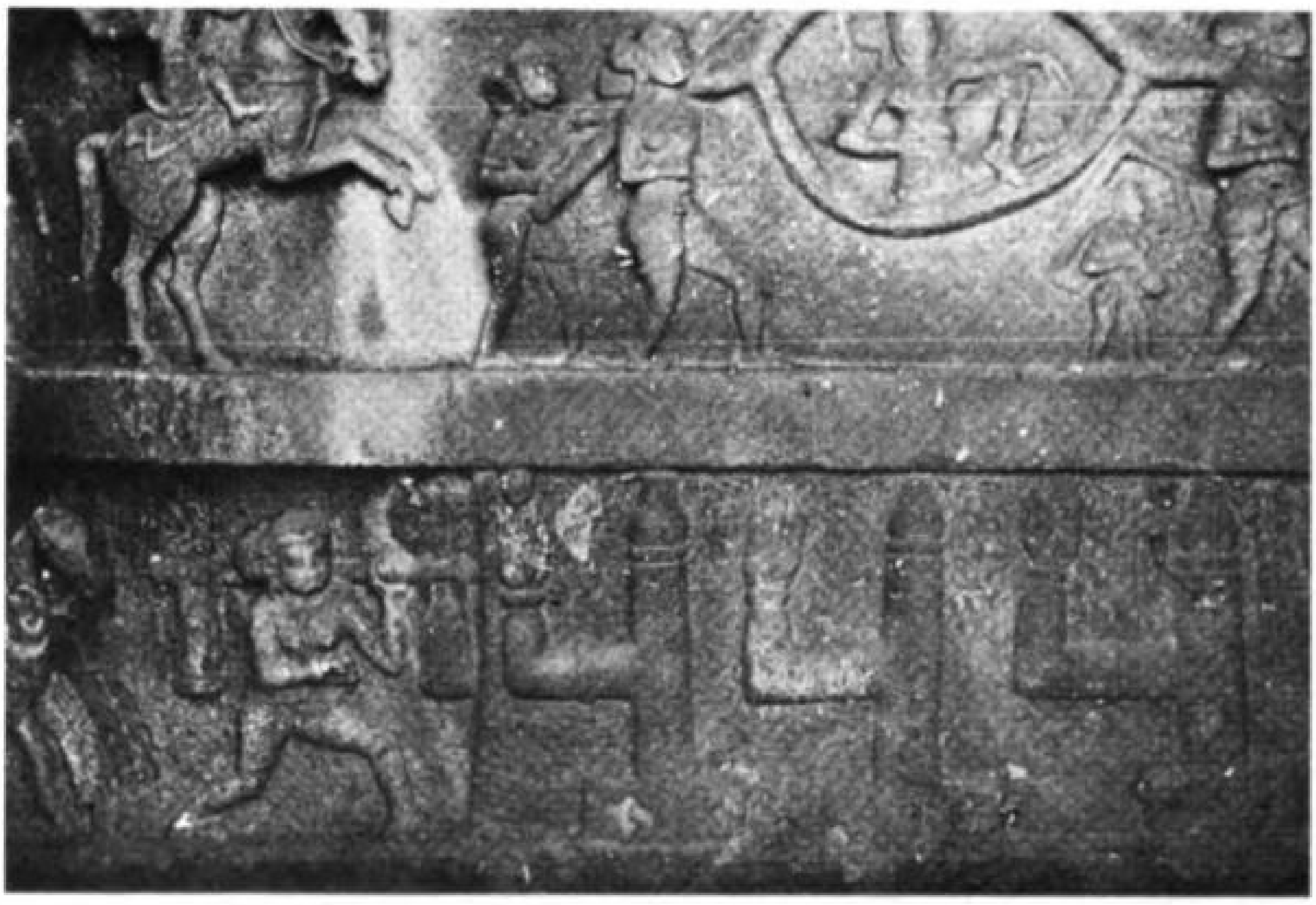

Fig. 3. Detail of a memorial stone at Aruhanahaḷḷi

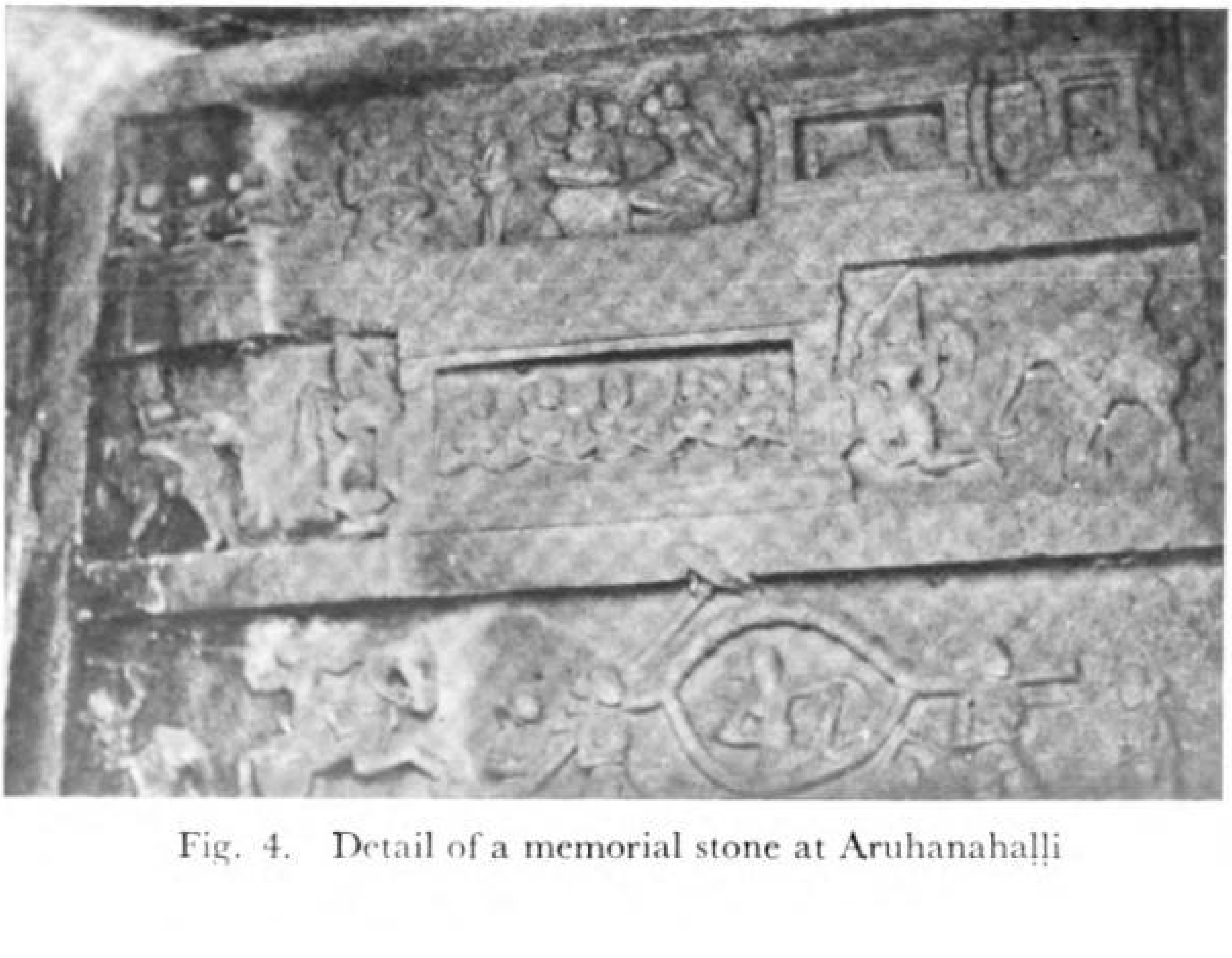

Fig. 4. Detail of a memorial stone at Aruhanahaḷḷi

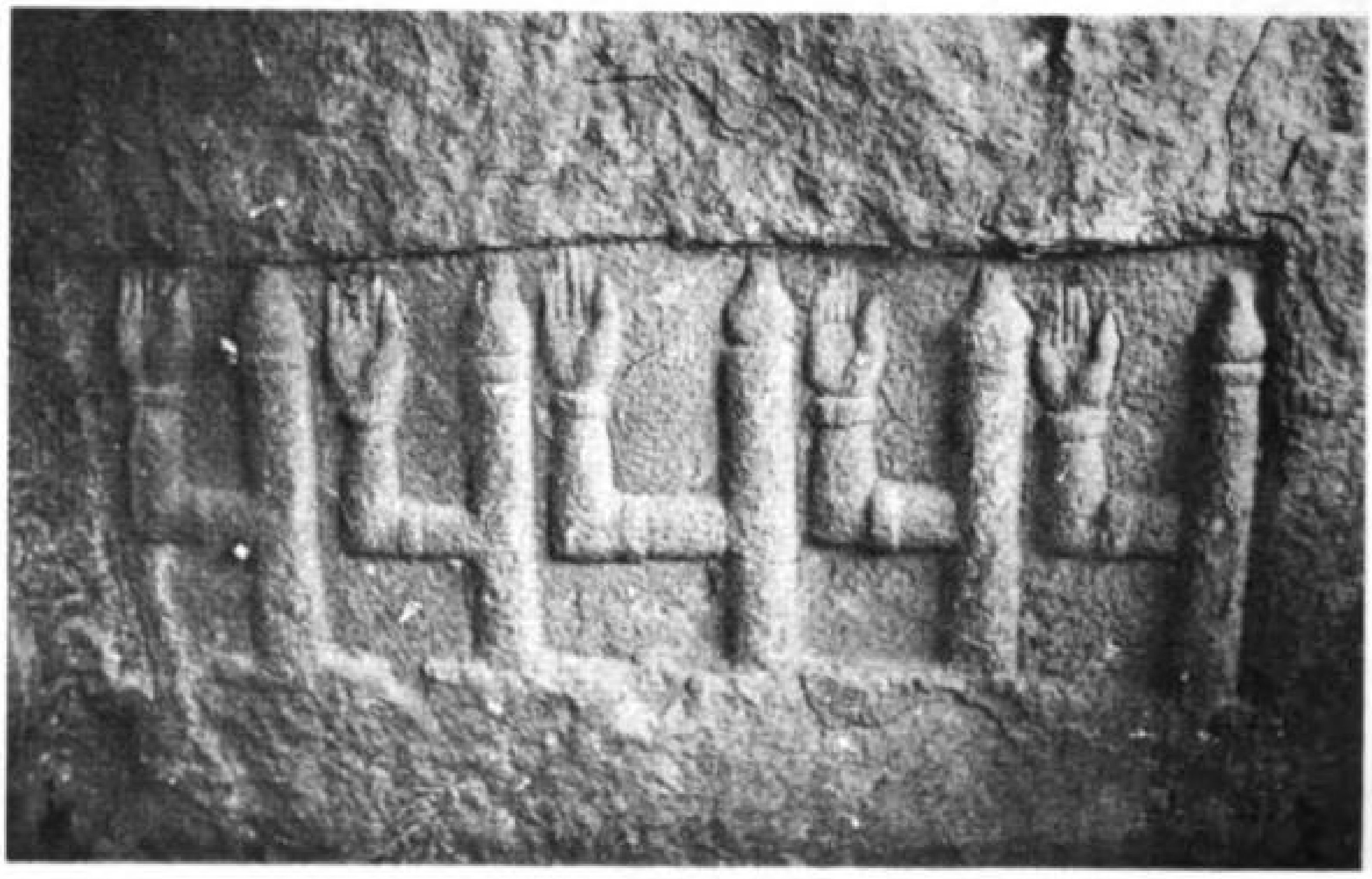

Fig. 5. Detail of a memorial stone at Aruhanahaḷḷi

K. K. N. KURUP:

Memorial Tablets in Kerala

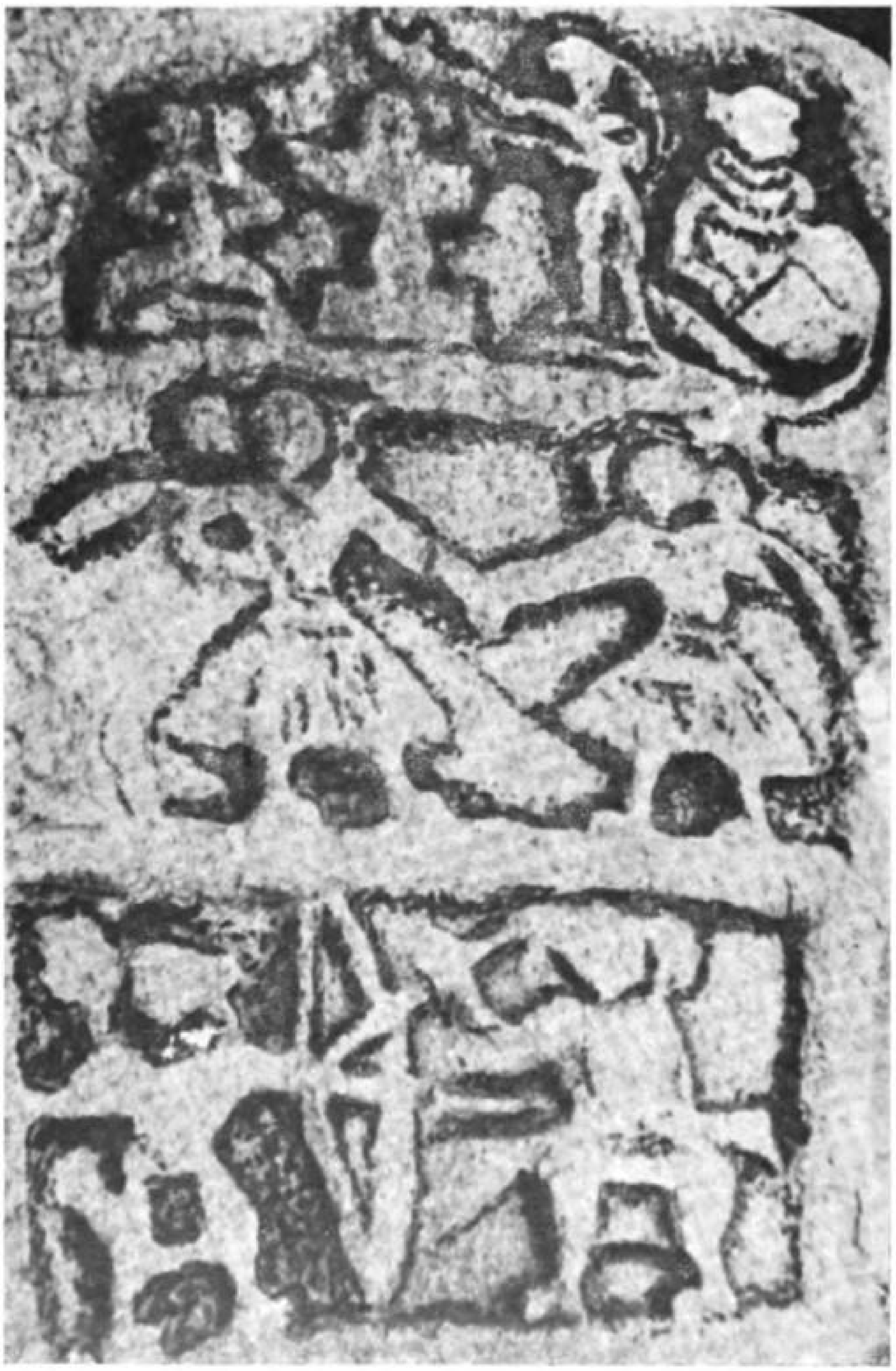

Fig. 1. A hero-stone from Pulppalli

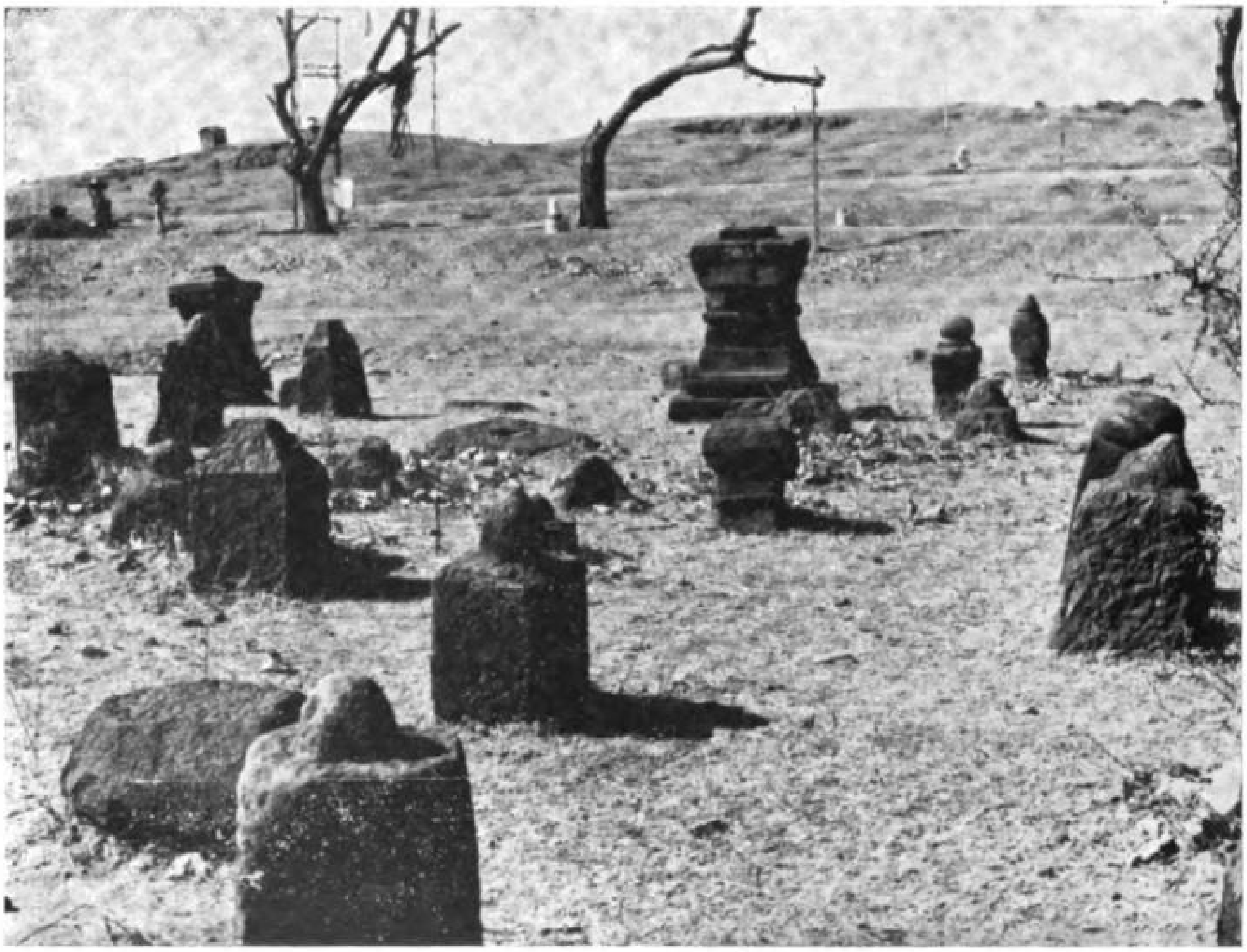

Fig. 1. A group of simple stone memorials, Sāsvāḍ, (Poona Dt.)

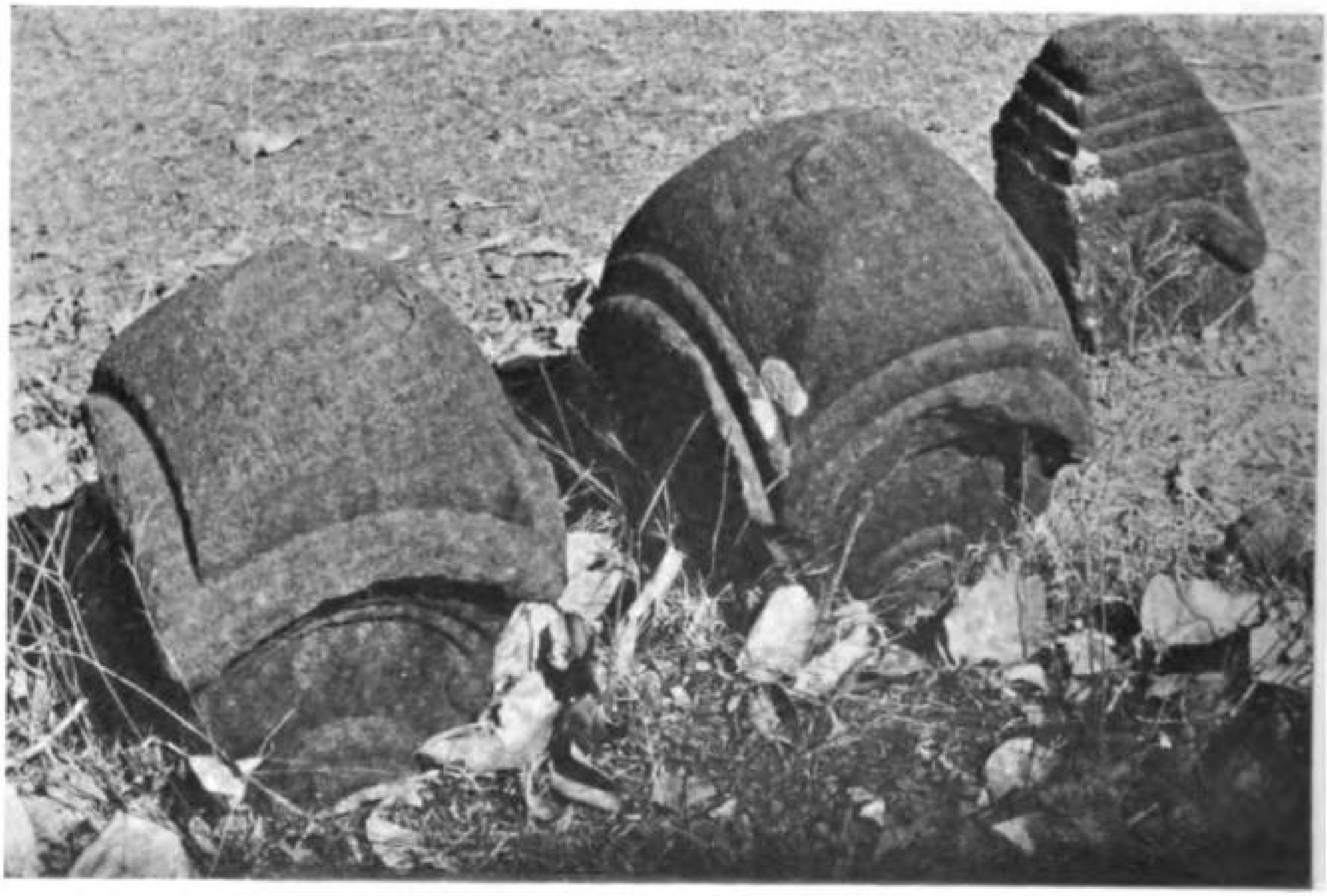

Fig. 2. Another variety of memorials, Sāsvāḍ

S. B. DEO:

A Satī Memorial from Mārkaṇḍī

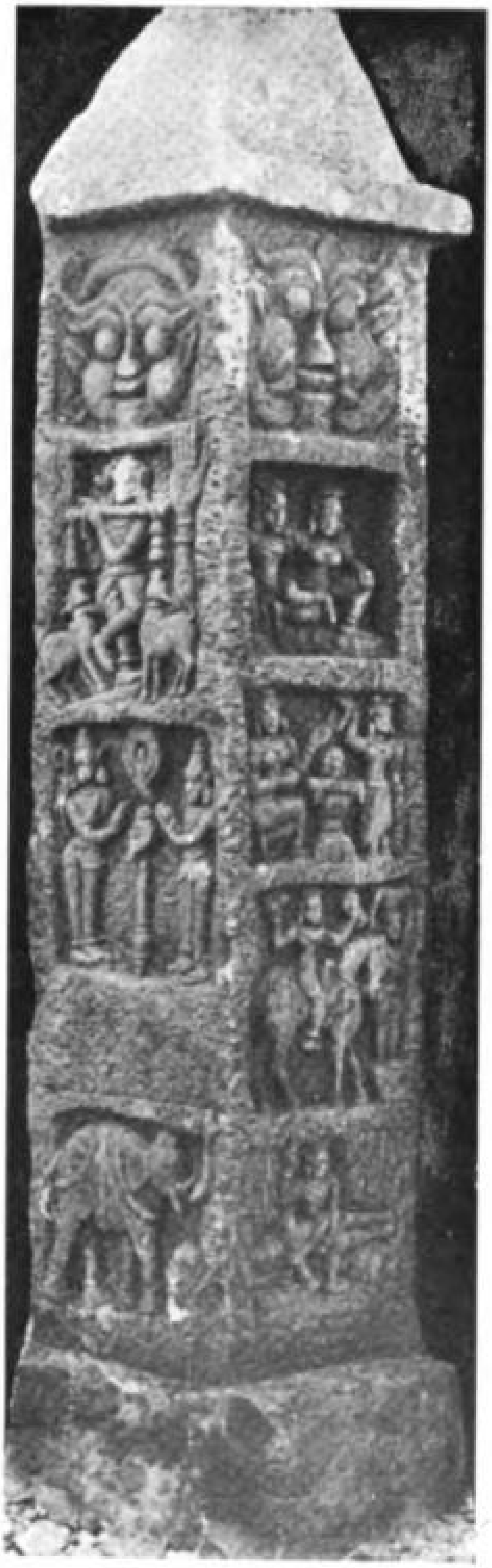

Fig. 1. Memorial stone at Mārkaṇḍī

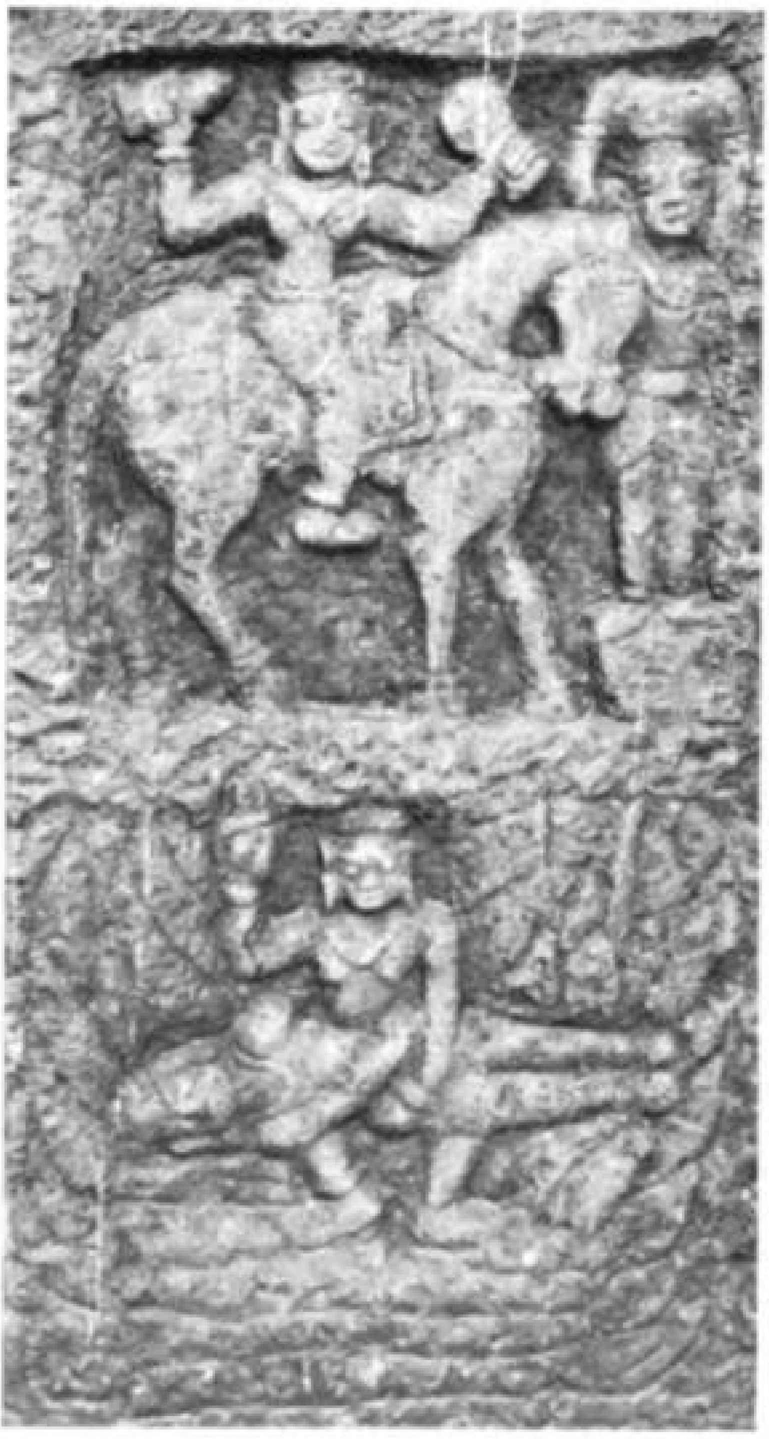

Fig. 2. Detail of Fig. 1

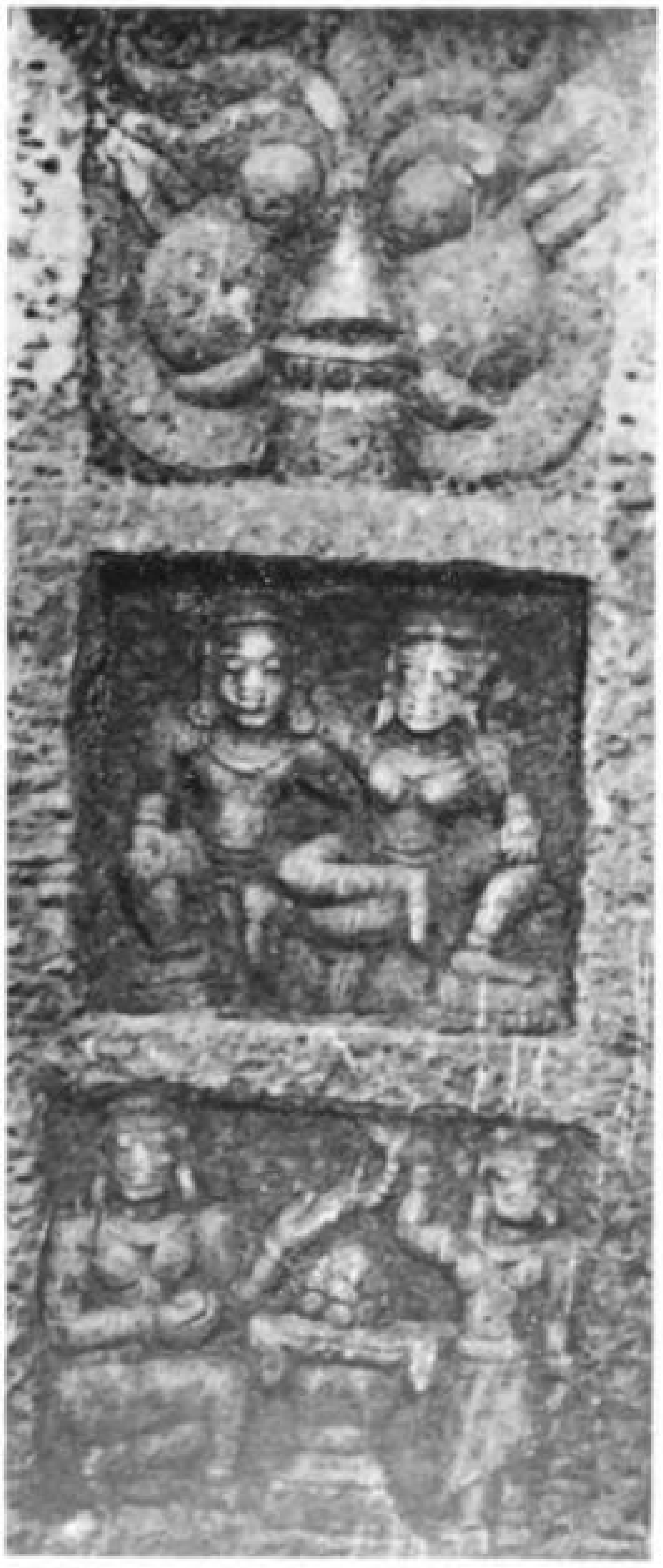

Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 1

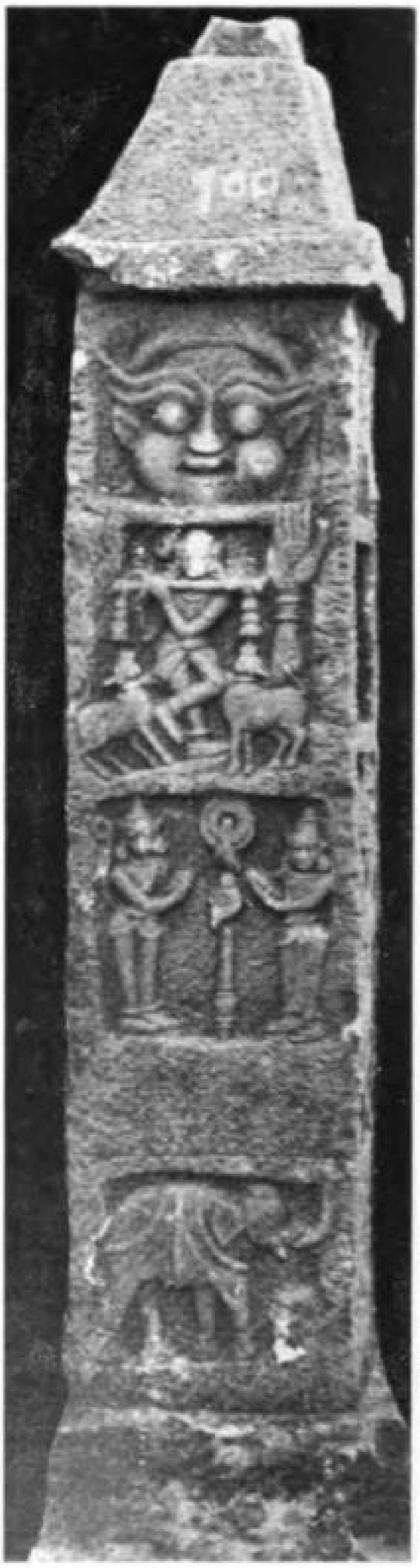

Fig. 4. Memorial stone at Mārkaṇḍī, southern face

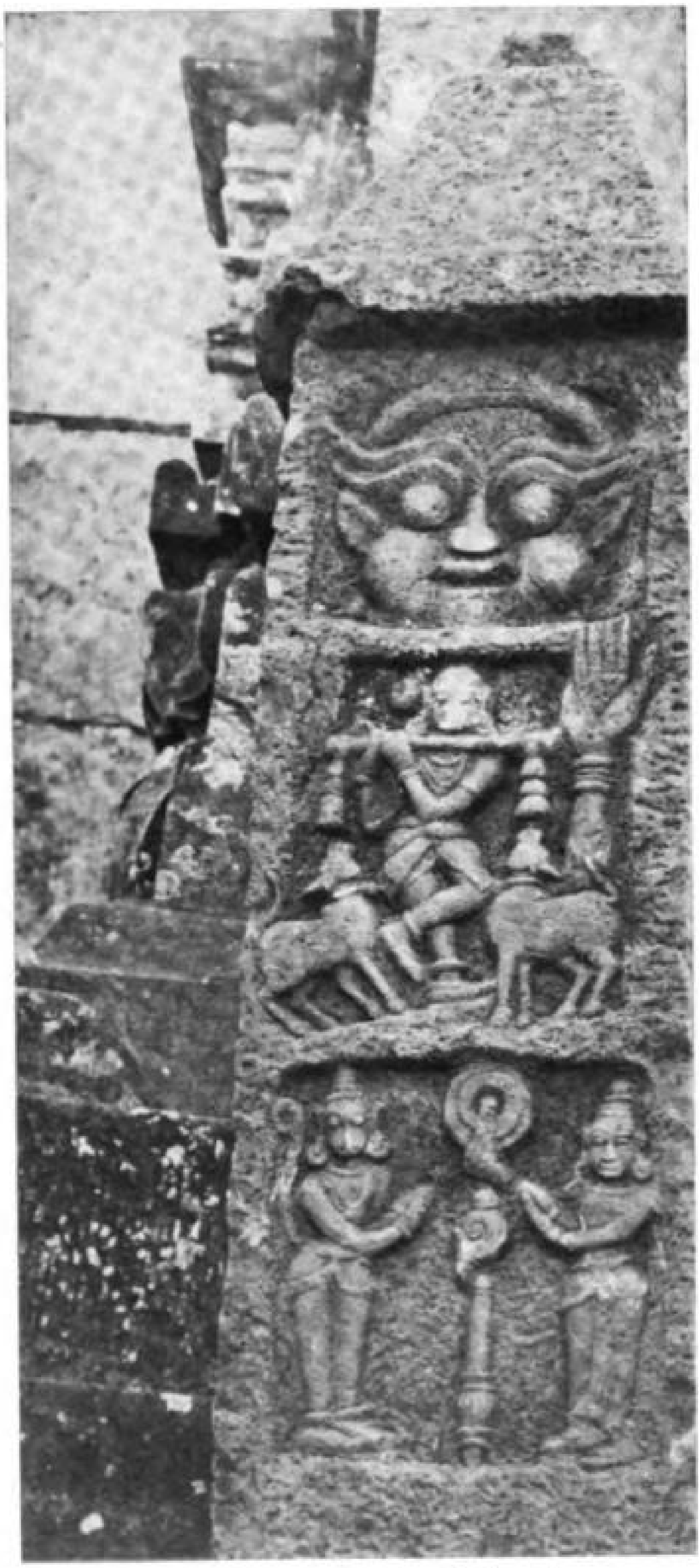

Fig. 5. Detail of Fig. 4

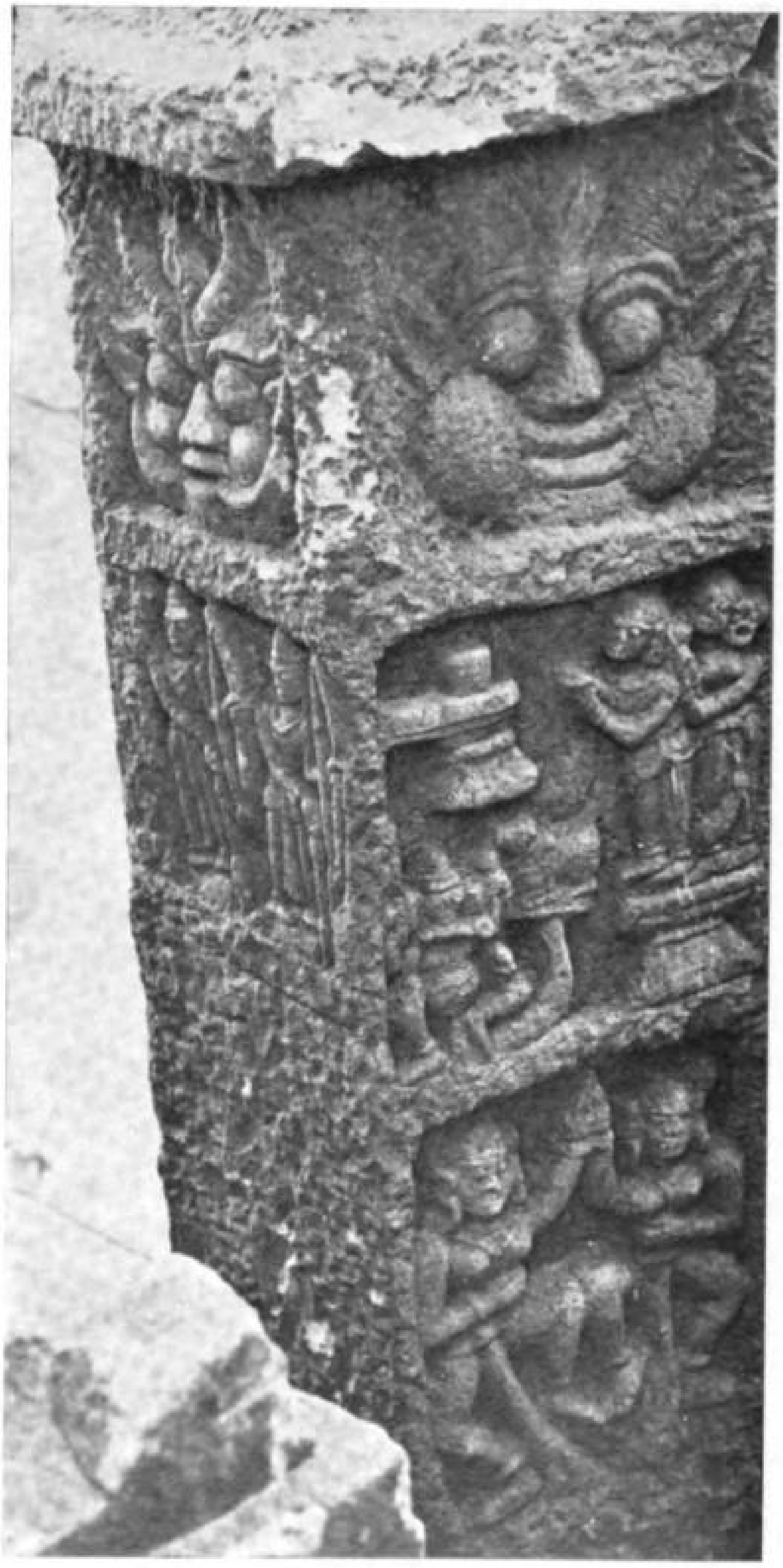

Fig. 6. Memorial stone at Mārkaṇḍī, western face

GUNTHER D. SONTHEIMER:

Hero and Satī-stones of Maharashtra

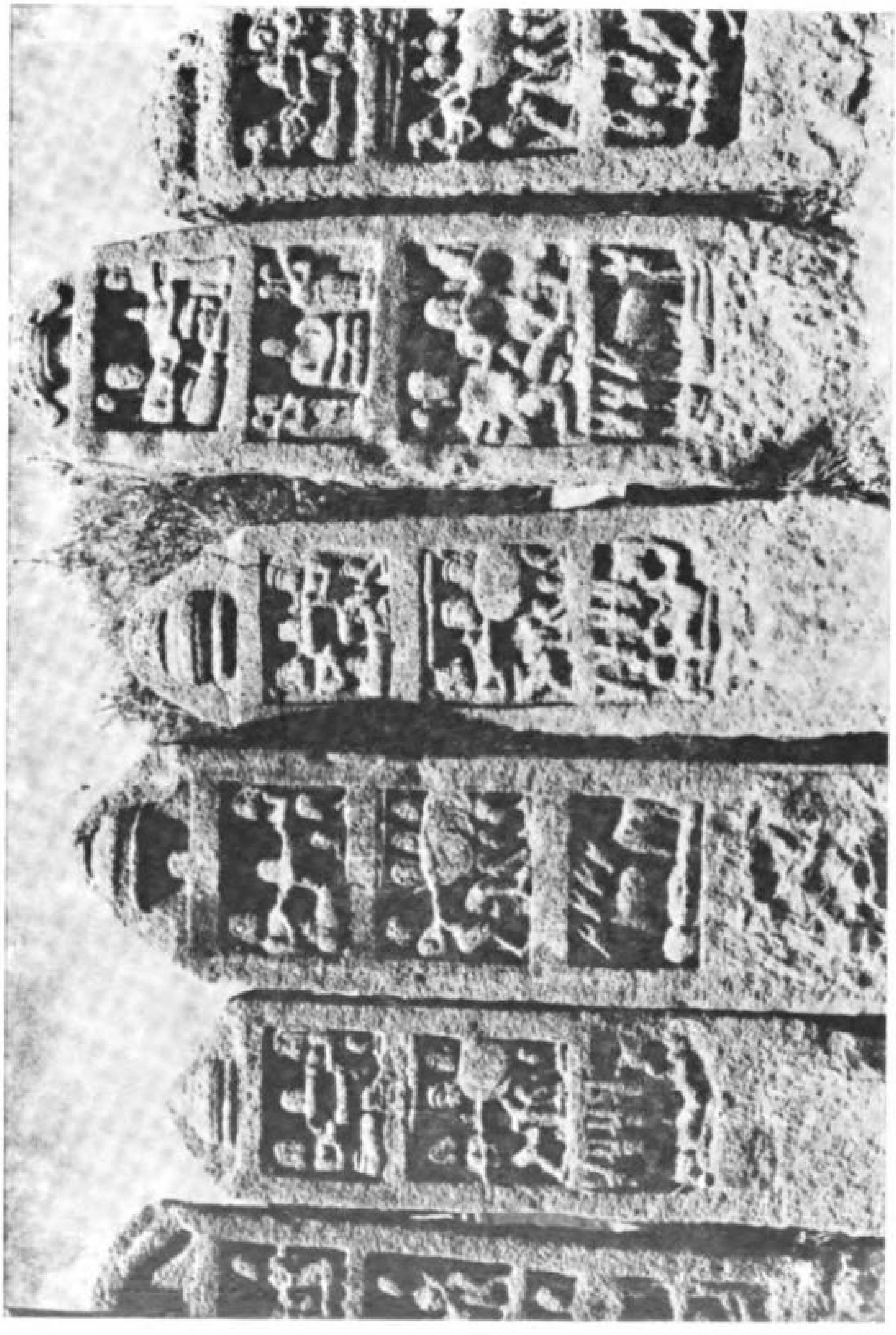

Fig. 1. Cattle-raid stones, Nāygāvpeṭh

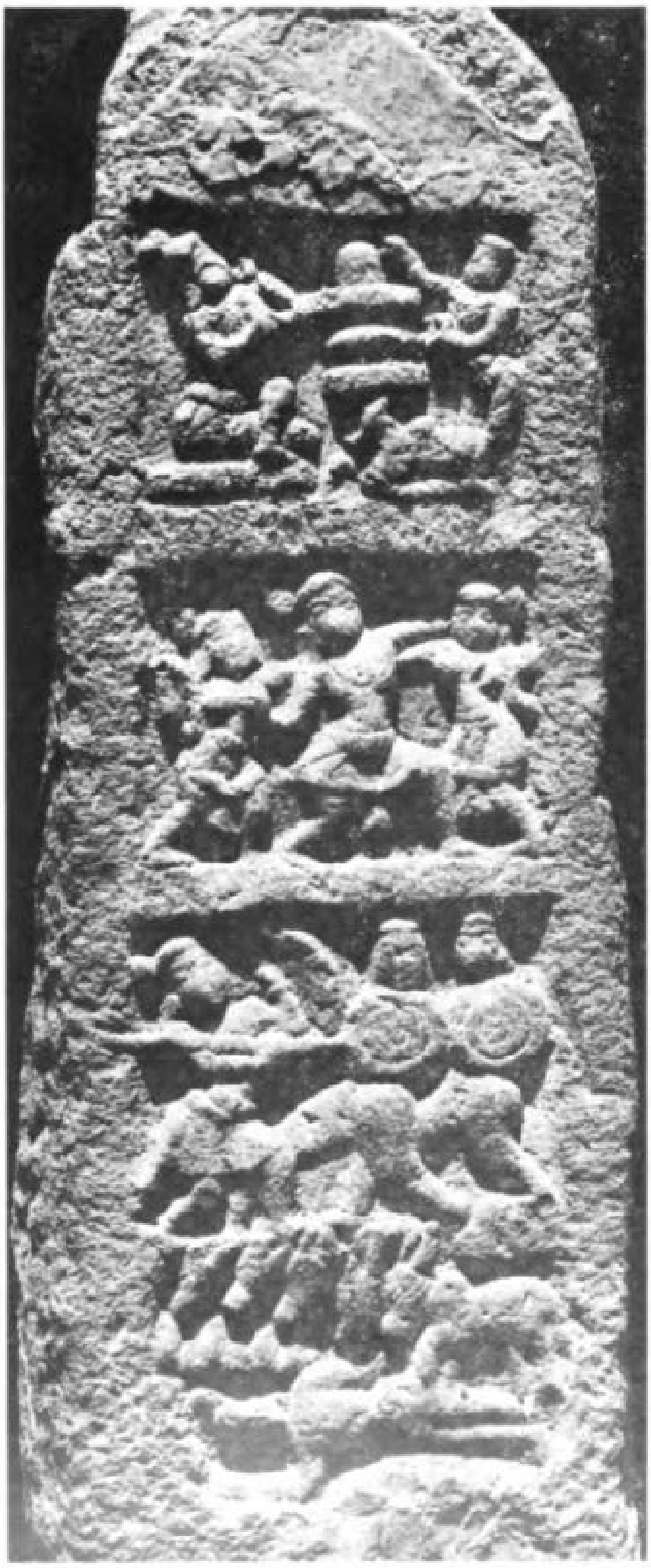

Fig. 2. Cattle-raid stone, Mūrti Moḍhve

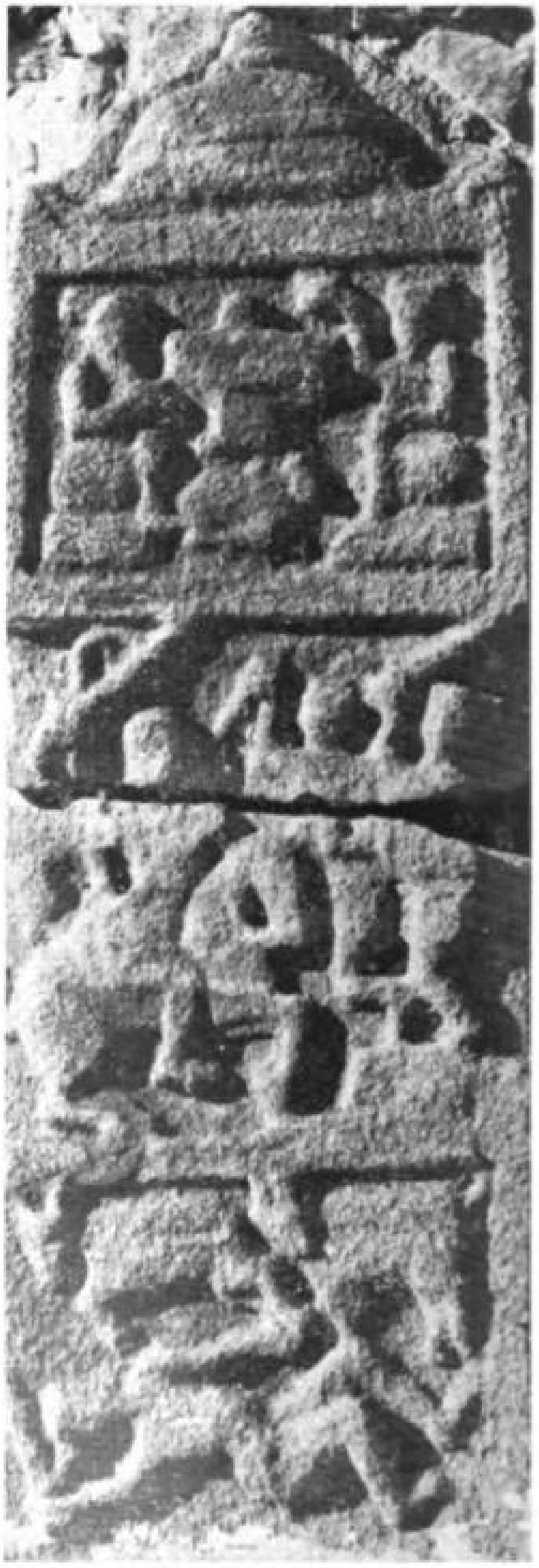

Fig. 3. Cattle-raid stone, Doḷasāṇa

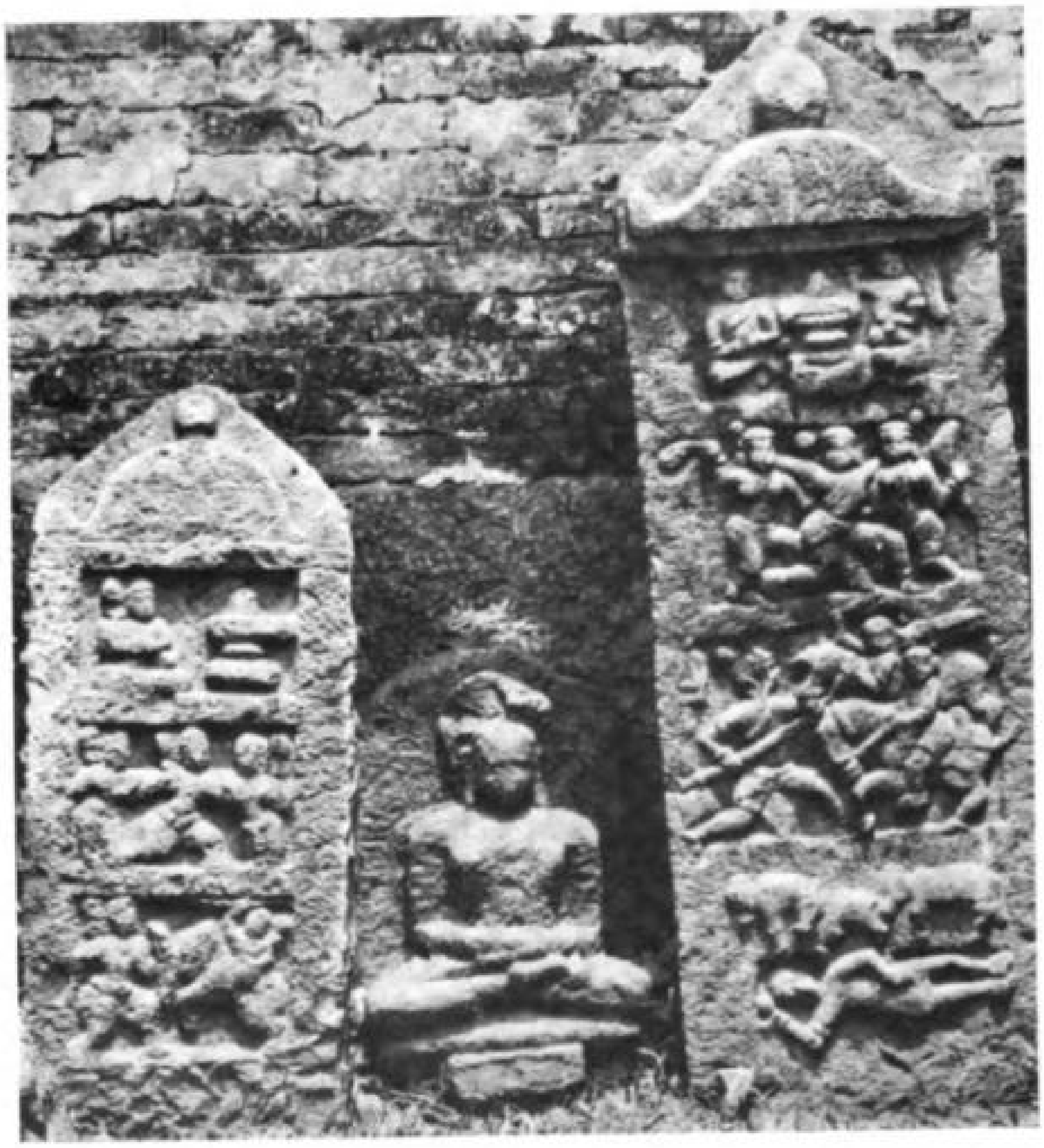

Fig. 4. Cattle-raid stone, Kandār

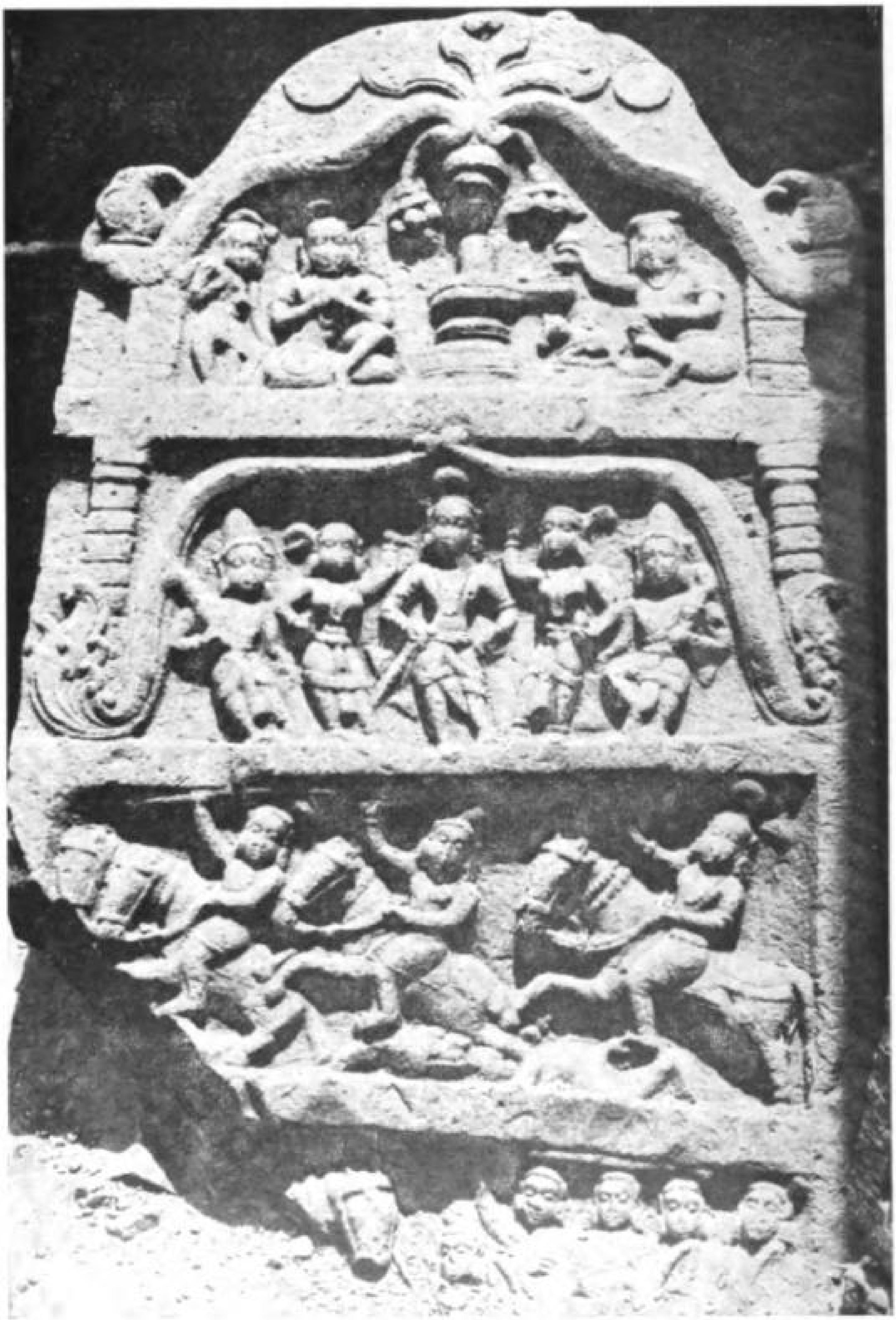

Fig. 5. A typical hero-stone, Veḷāpūr

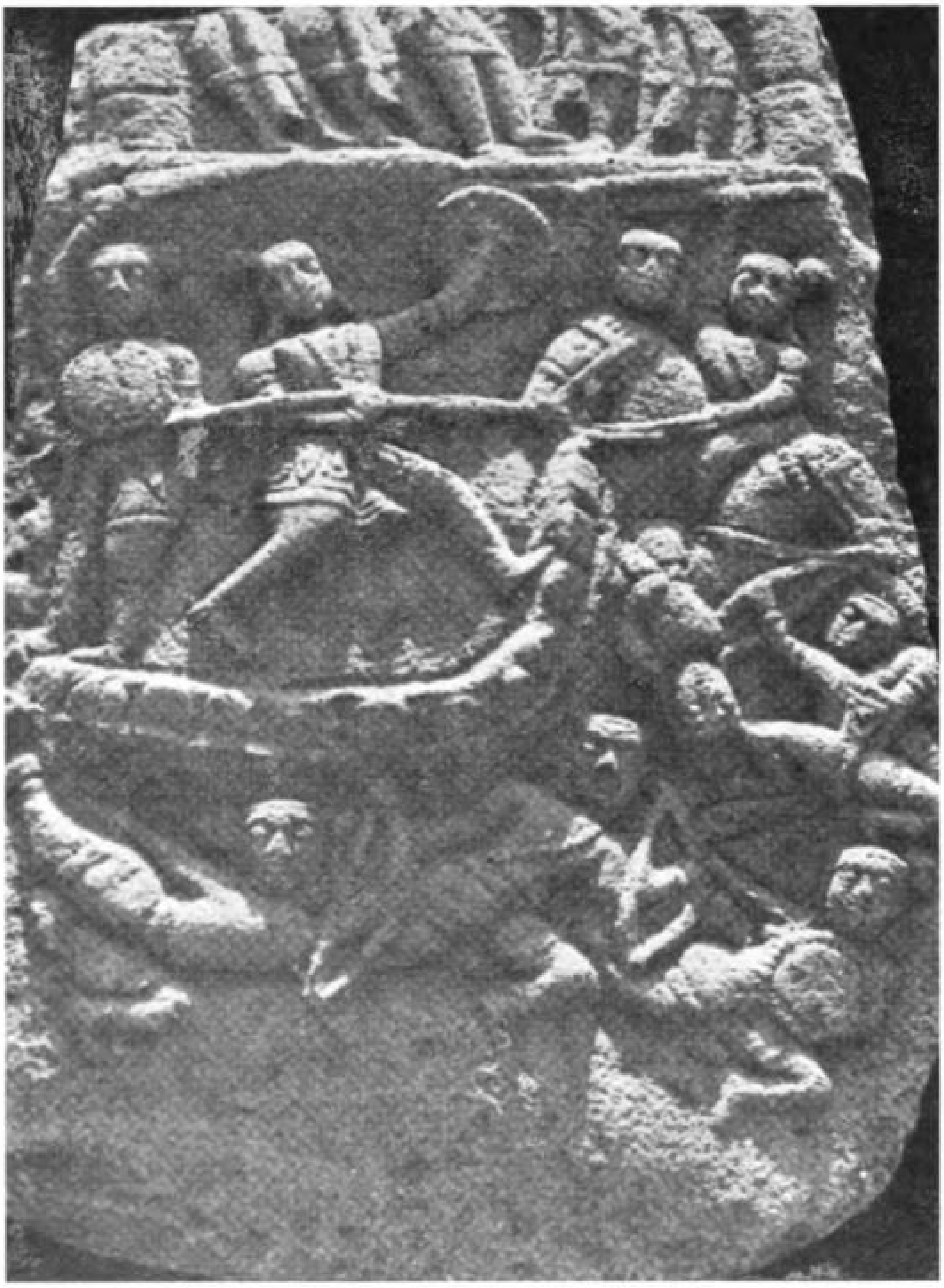

Fig. 6. Defence of a fort, Mhāḷung

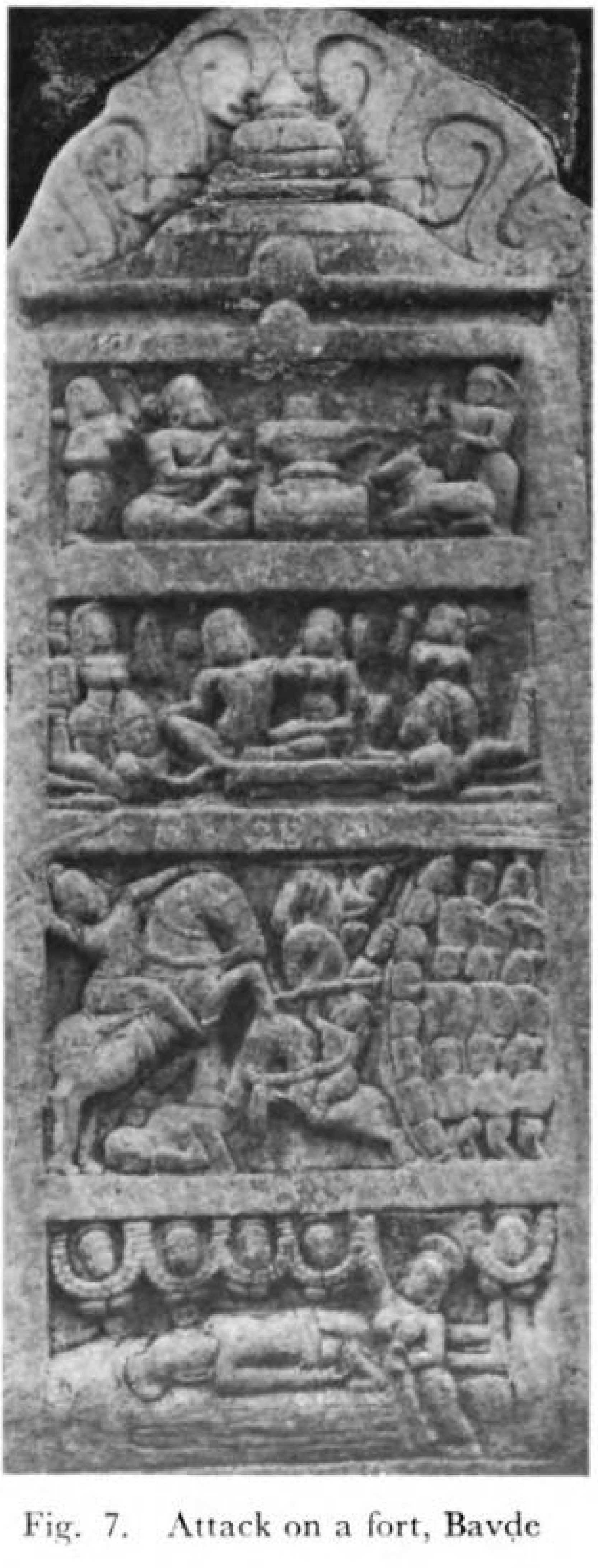

Fig. 7. Attack on a fort, Bavḍe

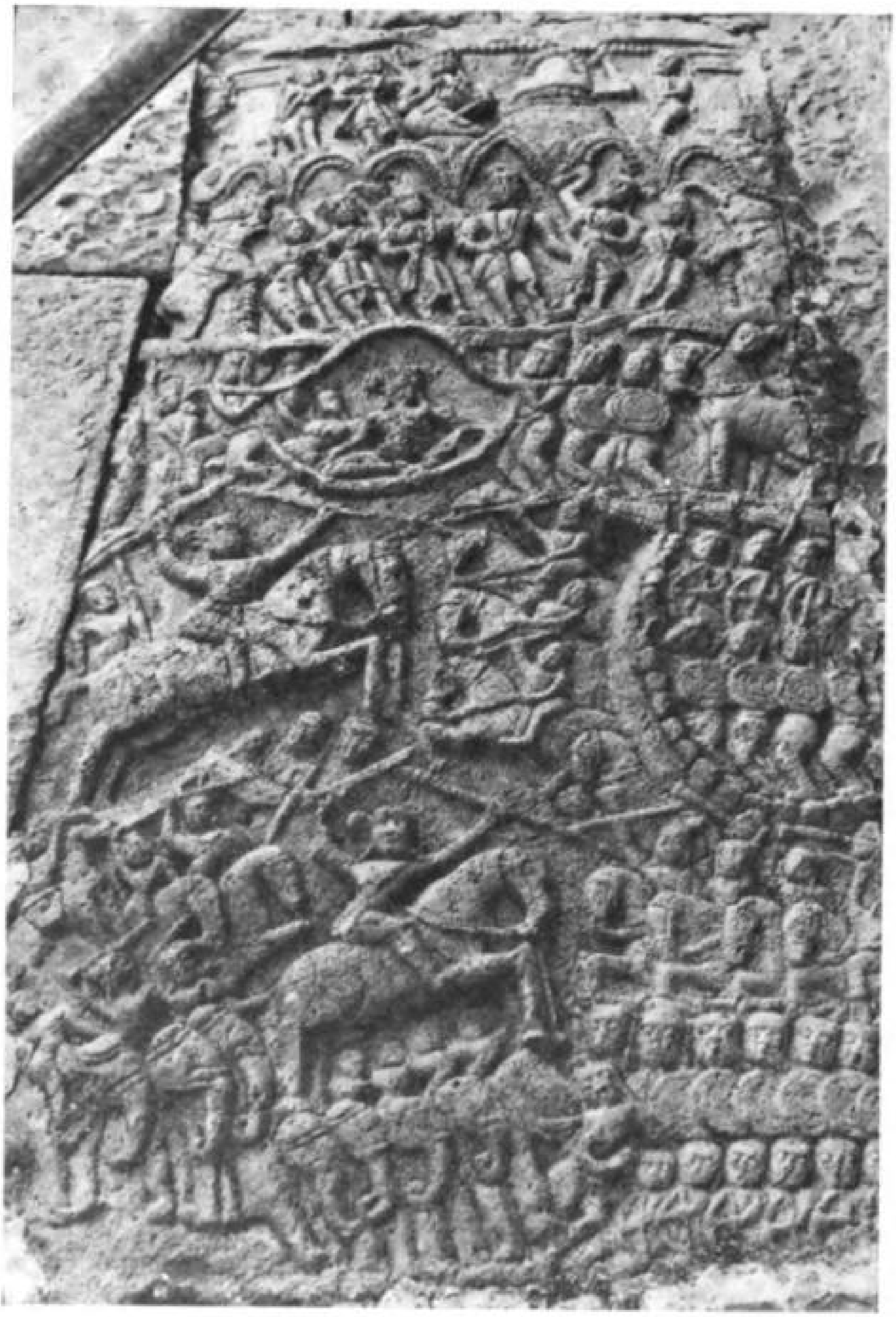

Fig. 8. Conquest of a fort, Āklūj

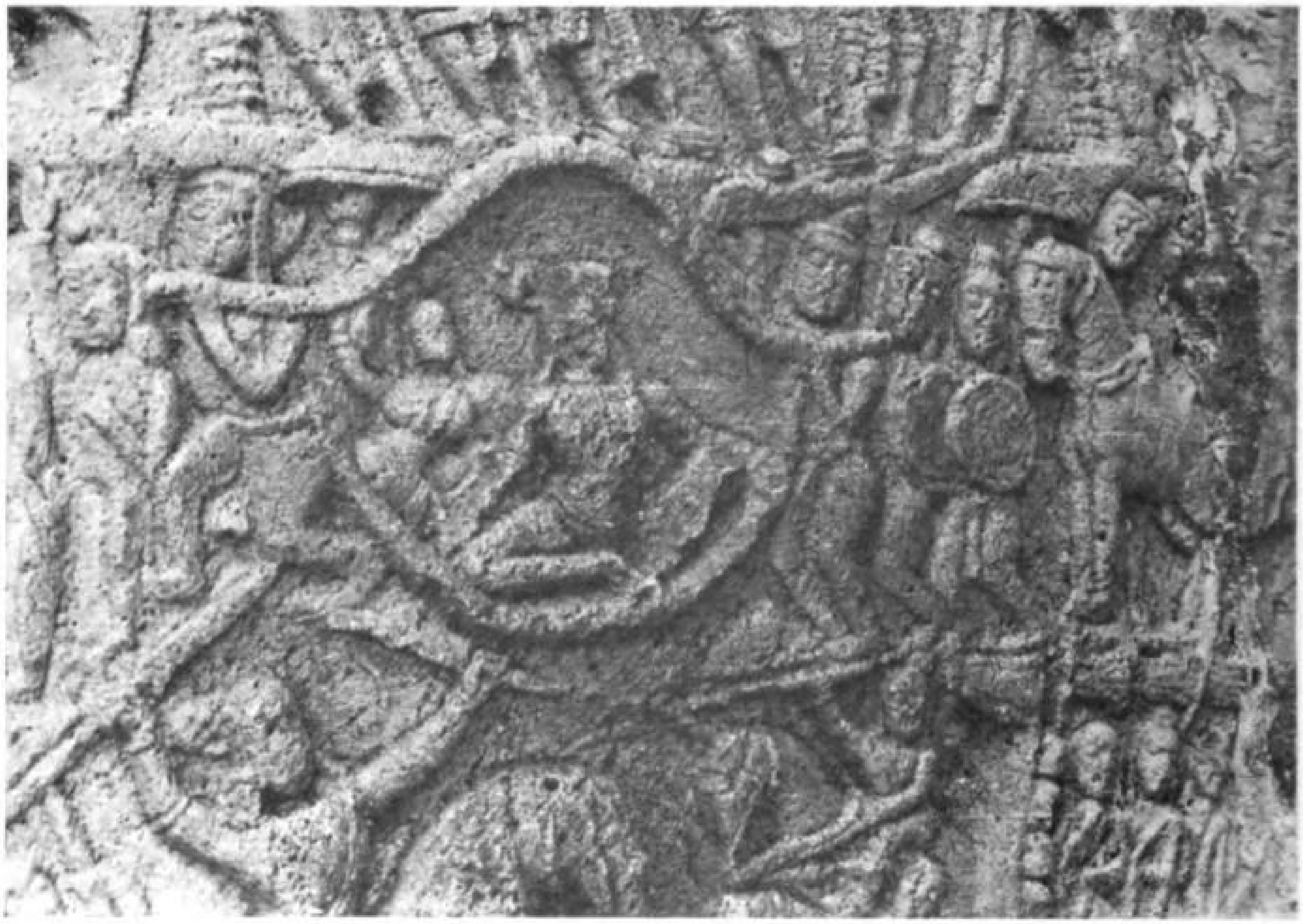

Fig. 9. Detail of Fig. 8

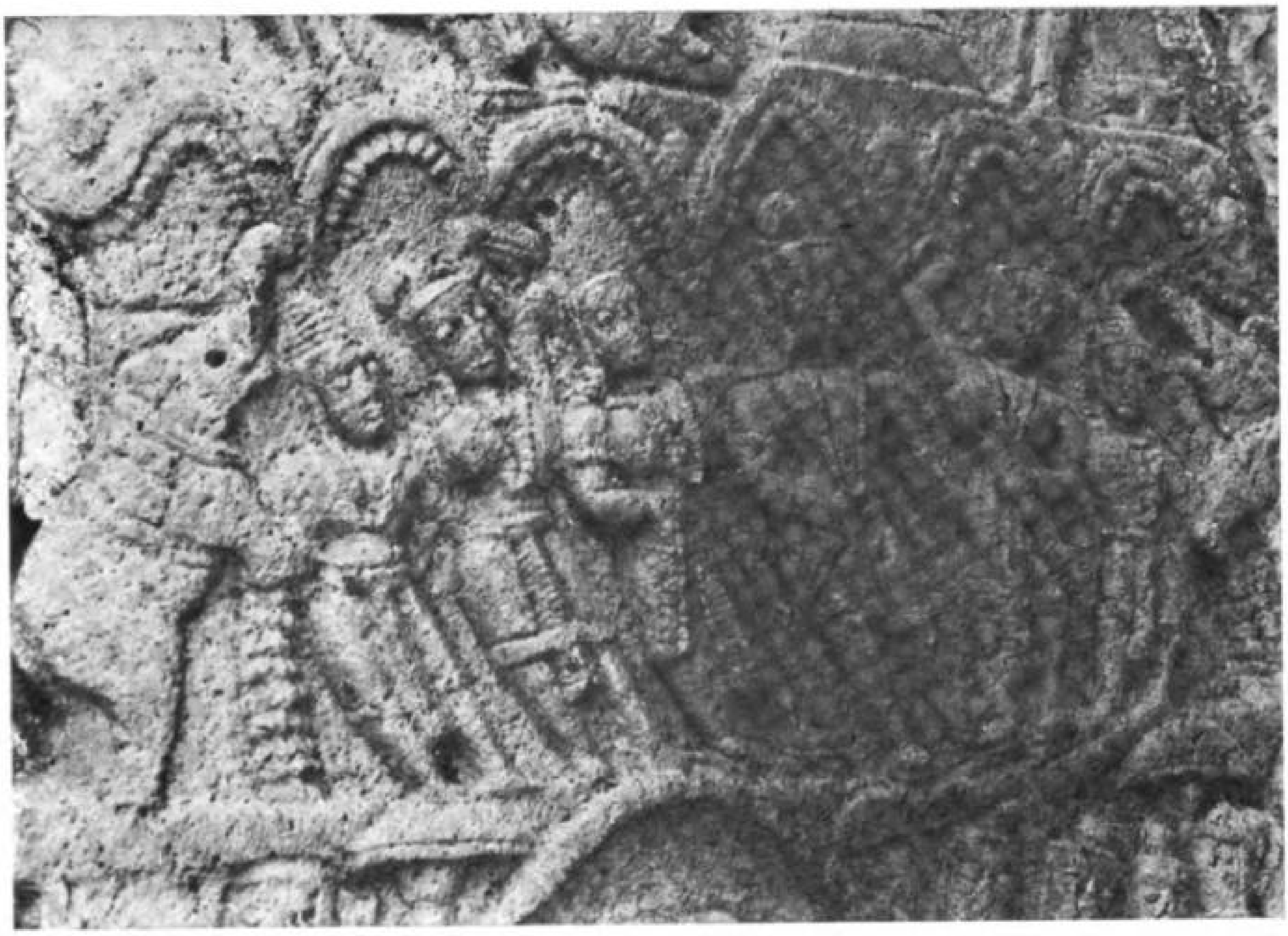

Fig. 10. Detail of Fig. 8

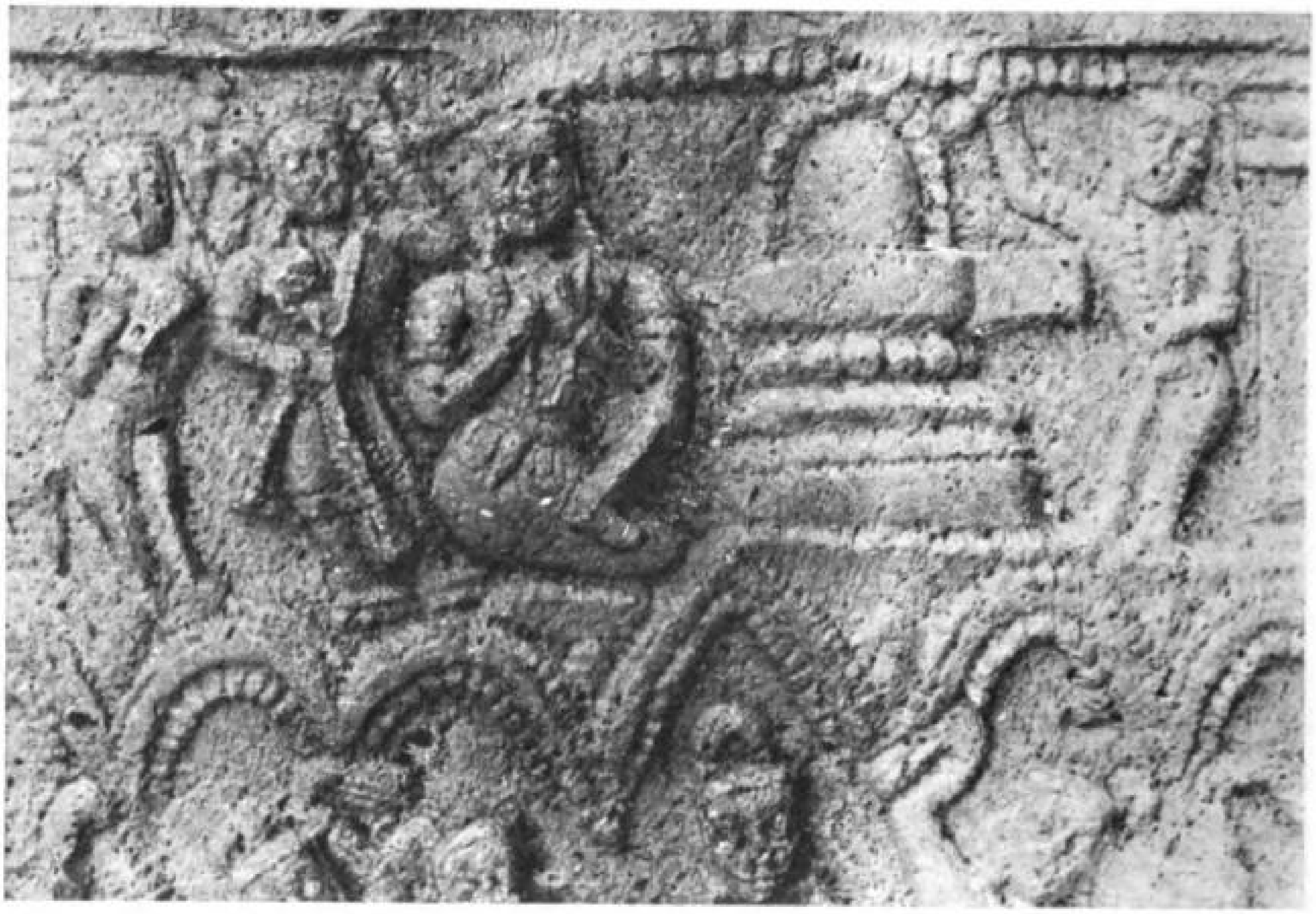

Fig. 11. Detail of Fig. 8

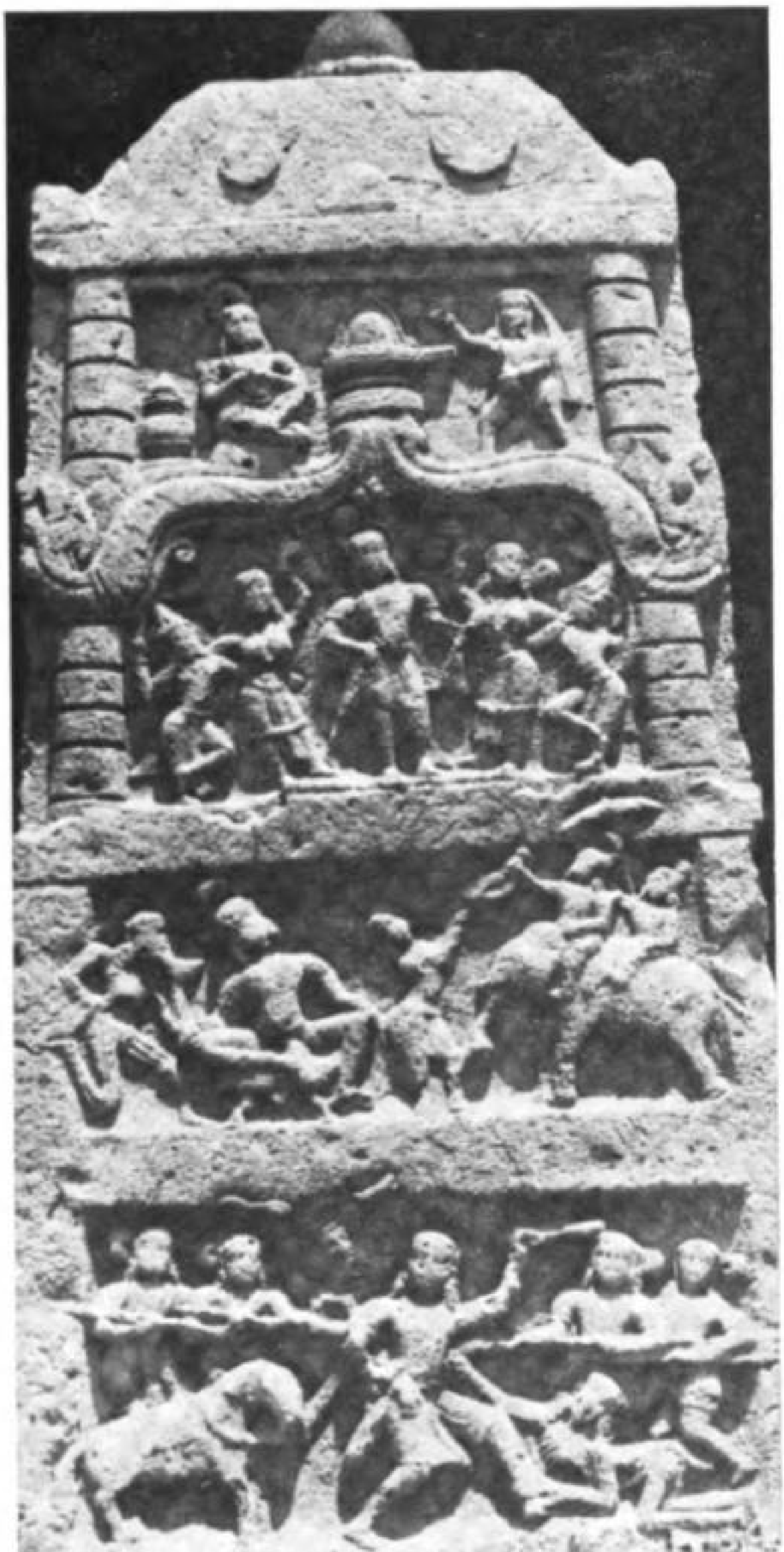

Fig. 12. A hero-stone, Mhāḷung

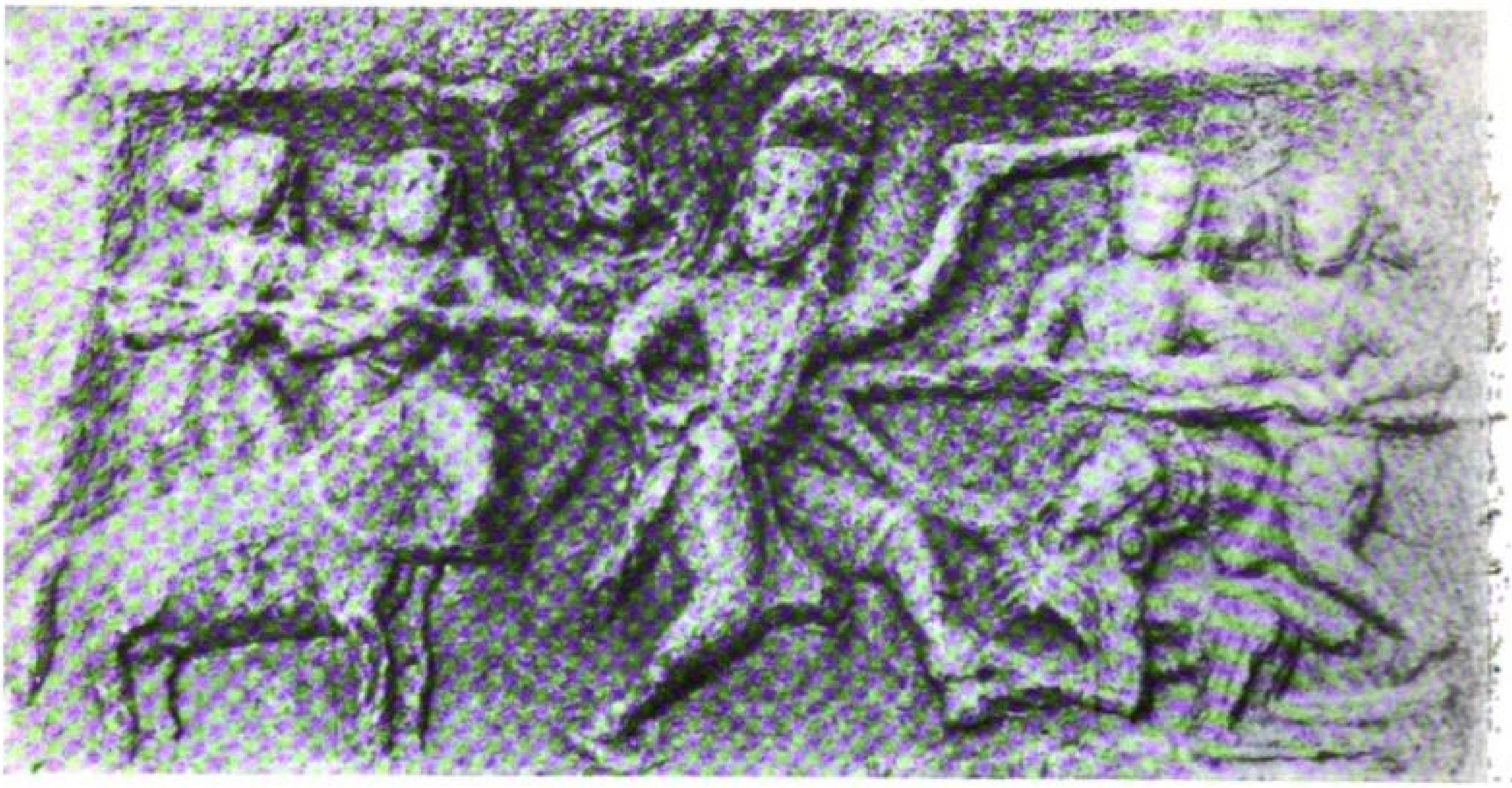

Fig. 13. Detail of Fig. 12

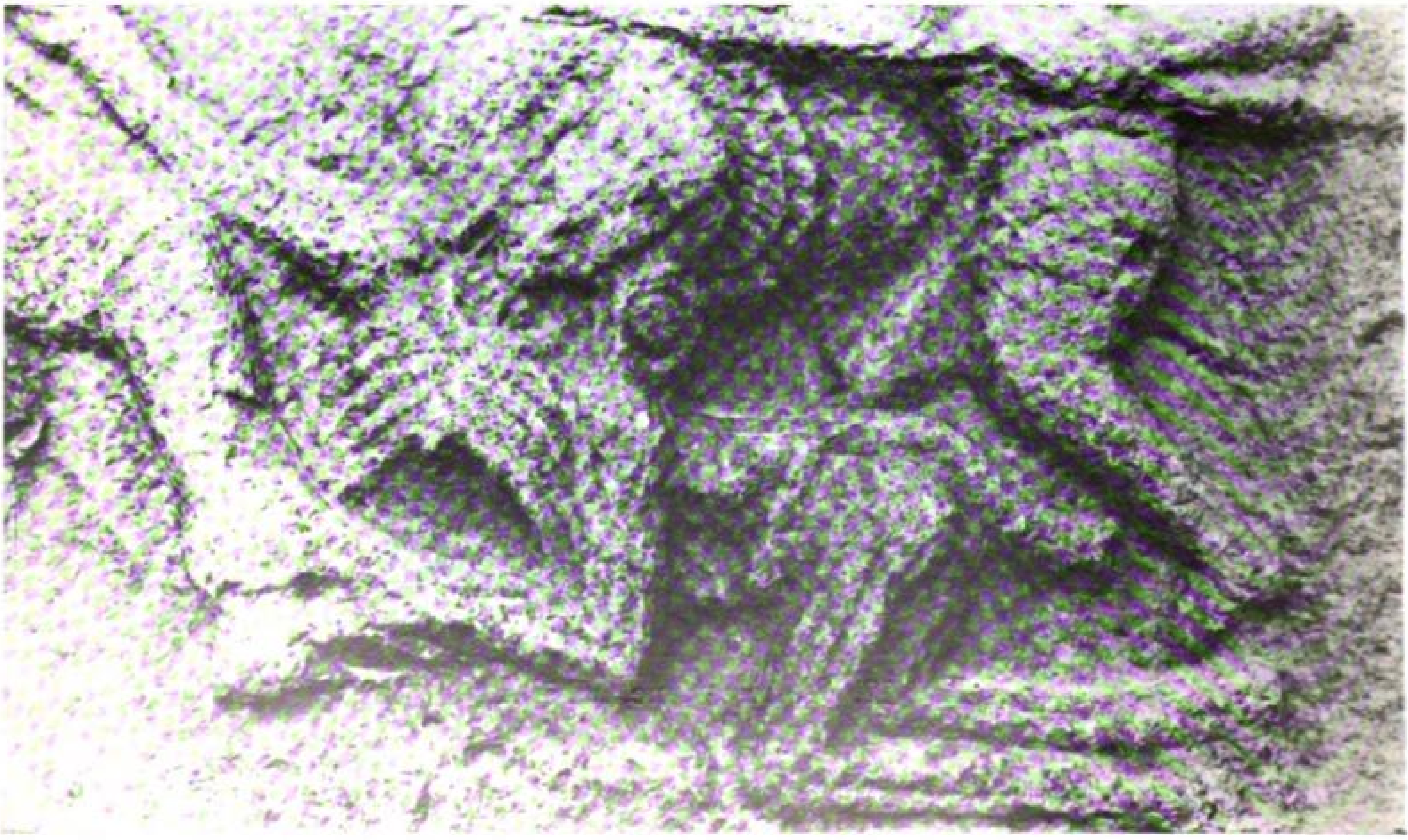

Fig. 14. Detail of Fig. 12

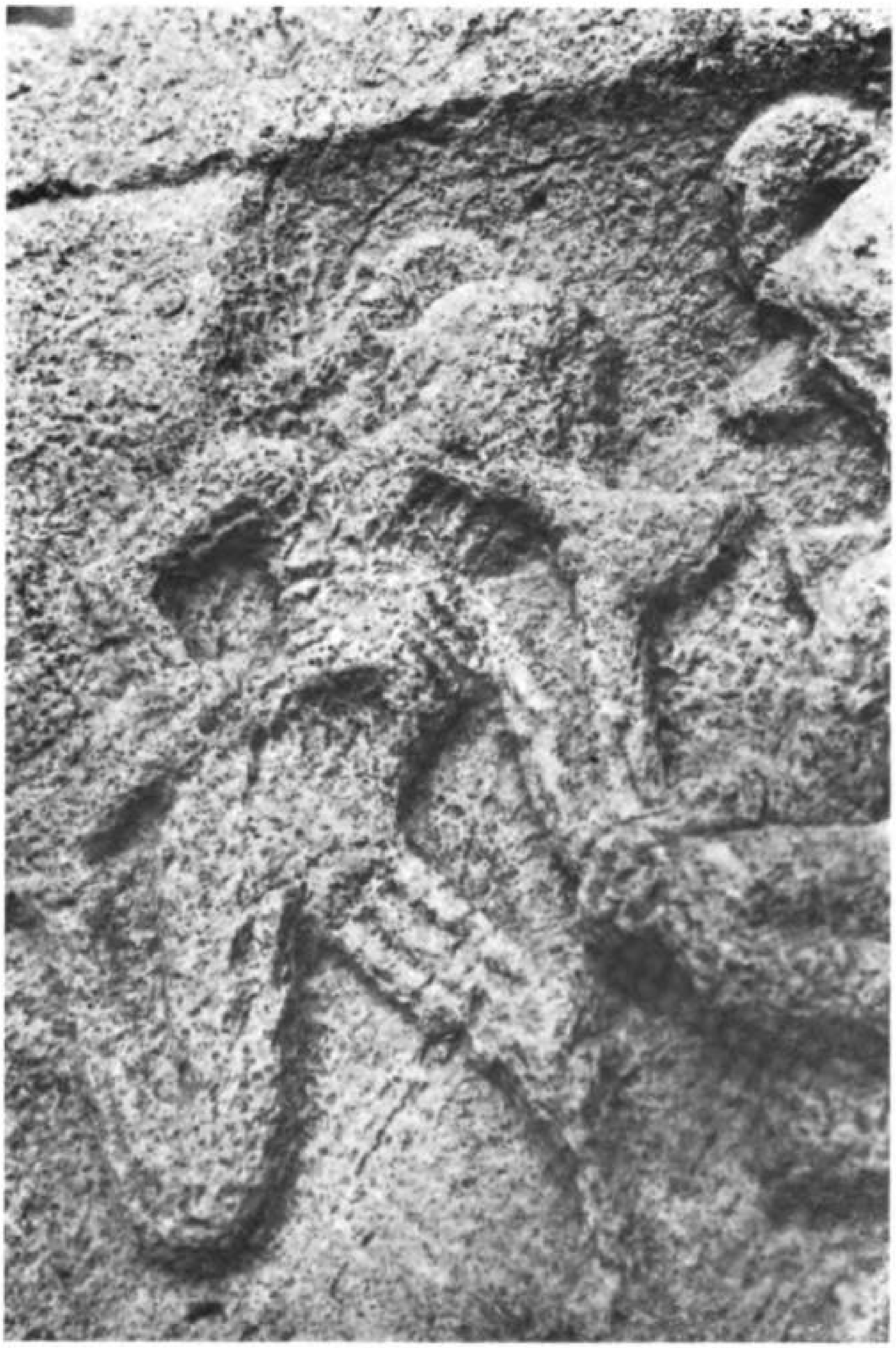

Fig. 15. Detail of Fig. 12

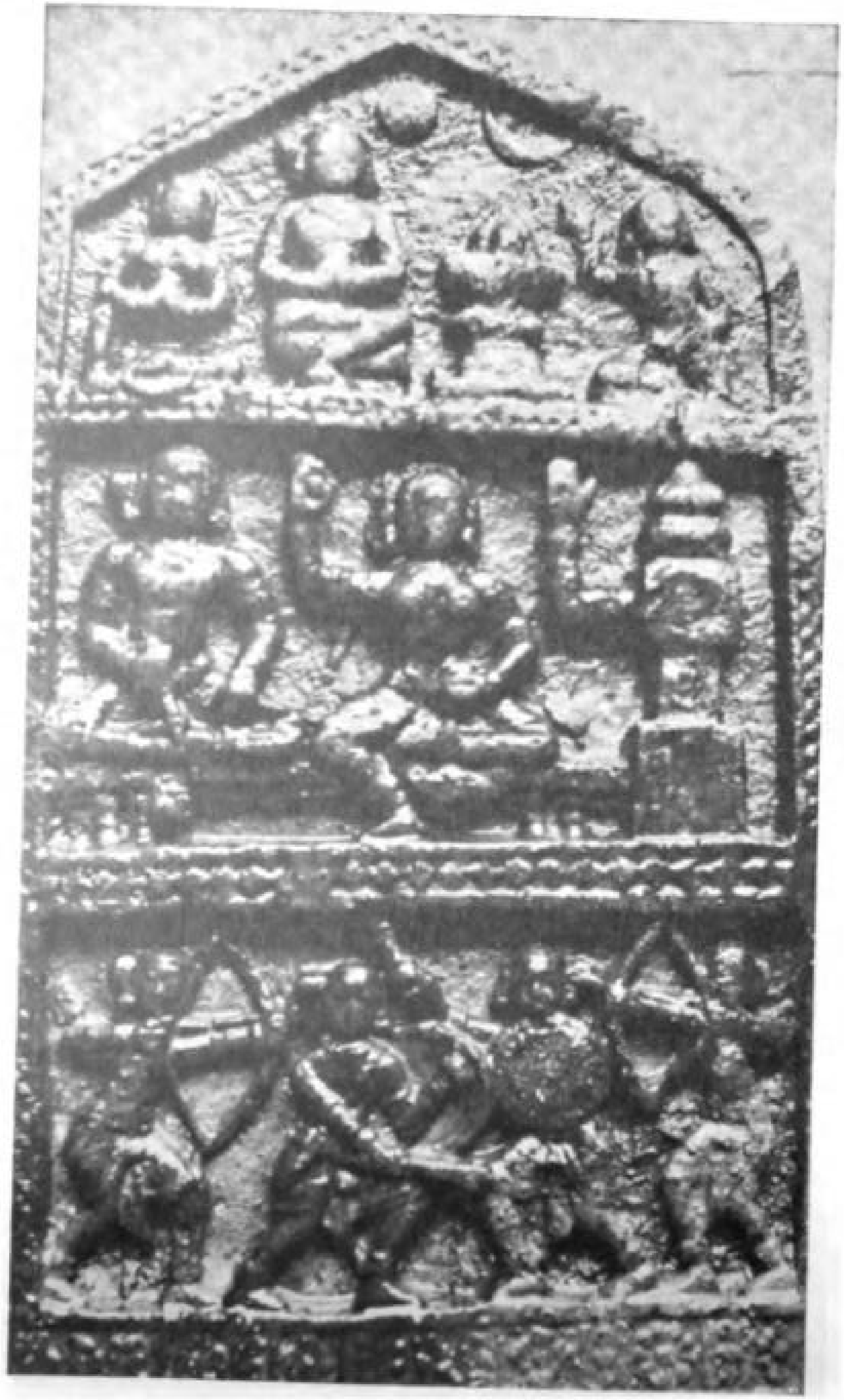

Fig. 16. A hero-*Satī* pillar of the Vijayanagara period, Sāvantvāḍi (Courtesy: Lt. Col. H. H. The Rājbahādūr of Sāvantvāḍi)

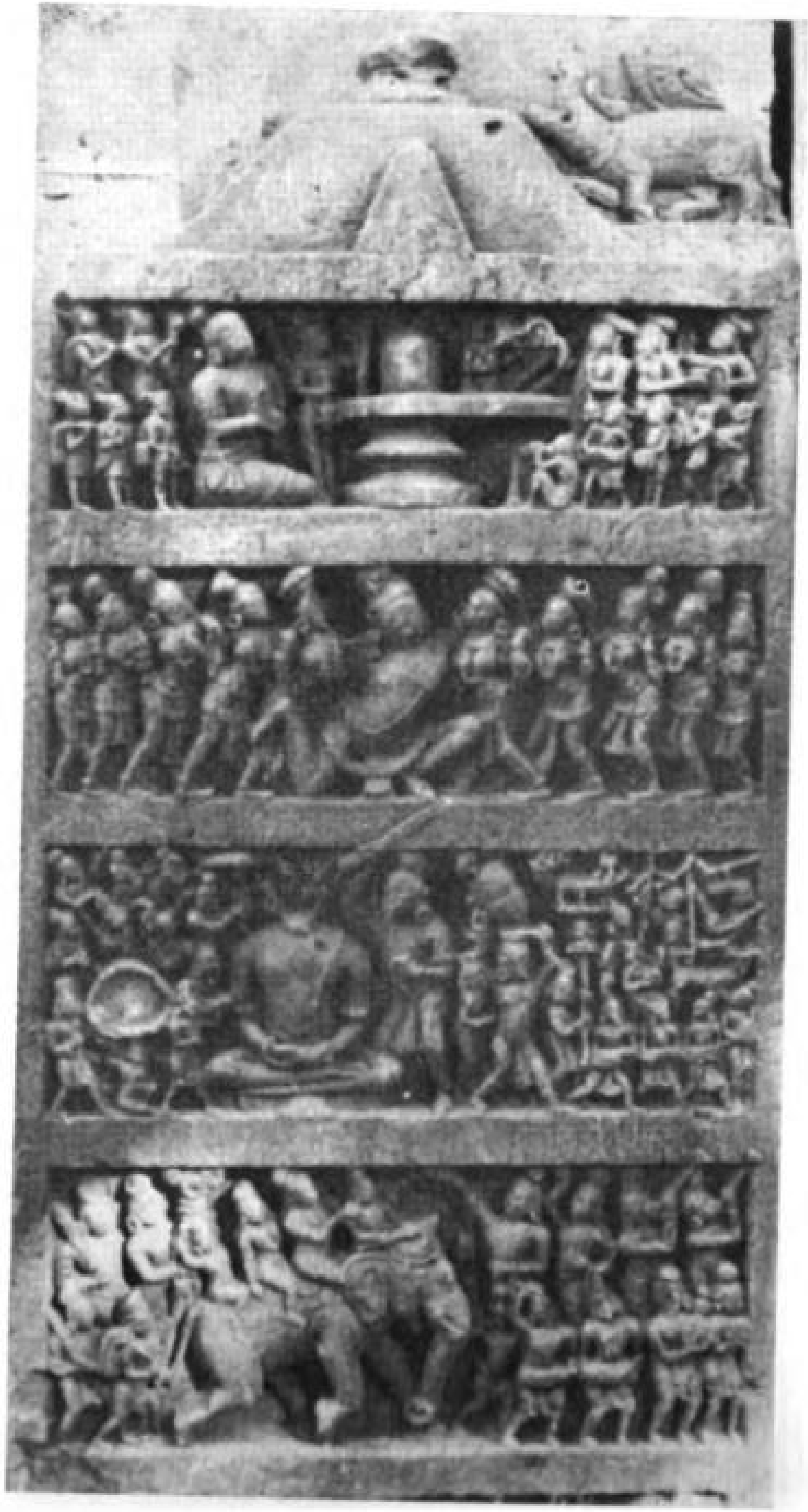

Fig. 17. A hero-stone of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, Mangaḷveḍhā

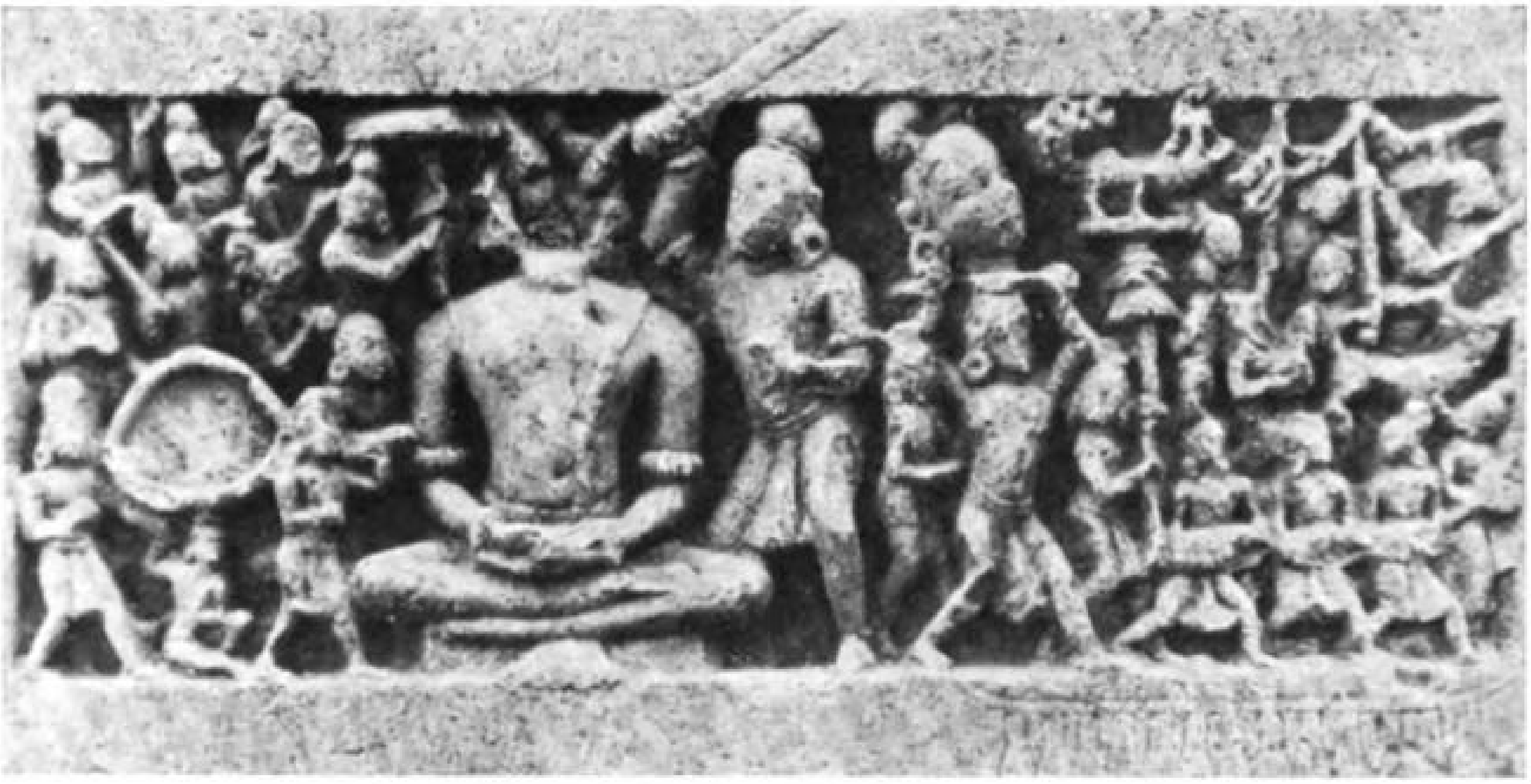

Fig. 18. Detail of Fig. 17

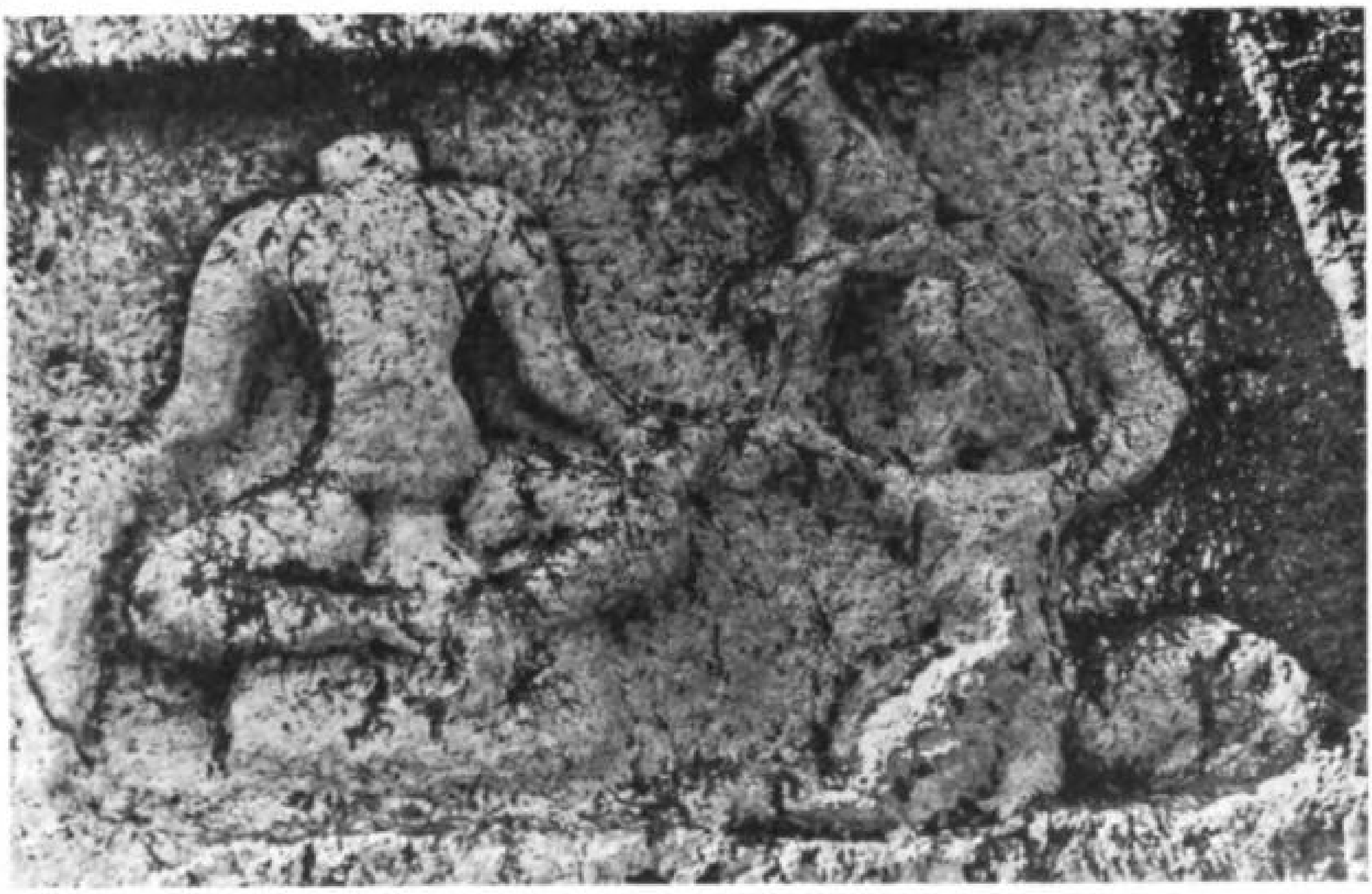

Fig. 19. Detail of a hero-stone at Boṇḍale

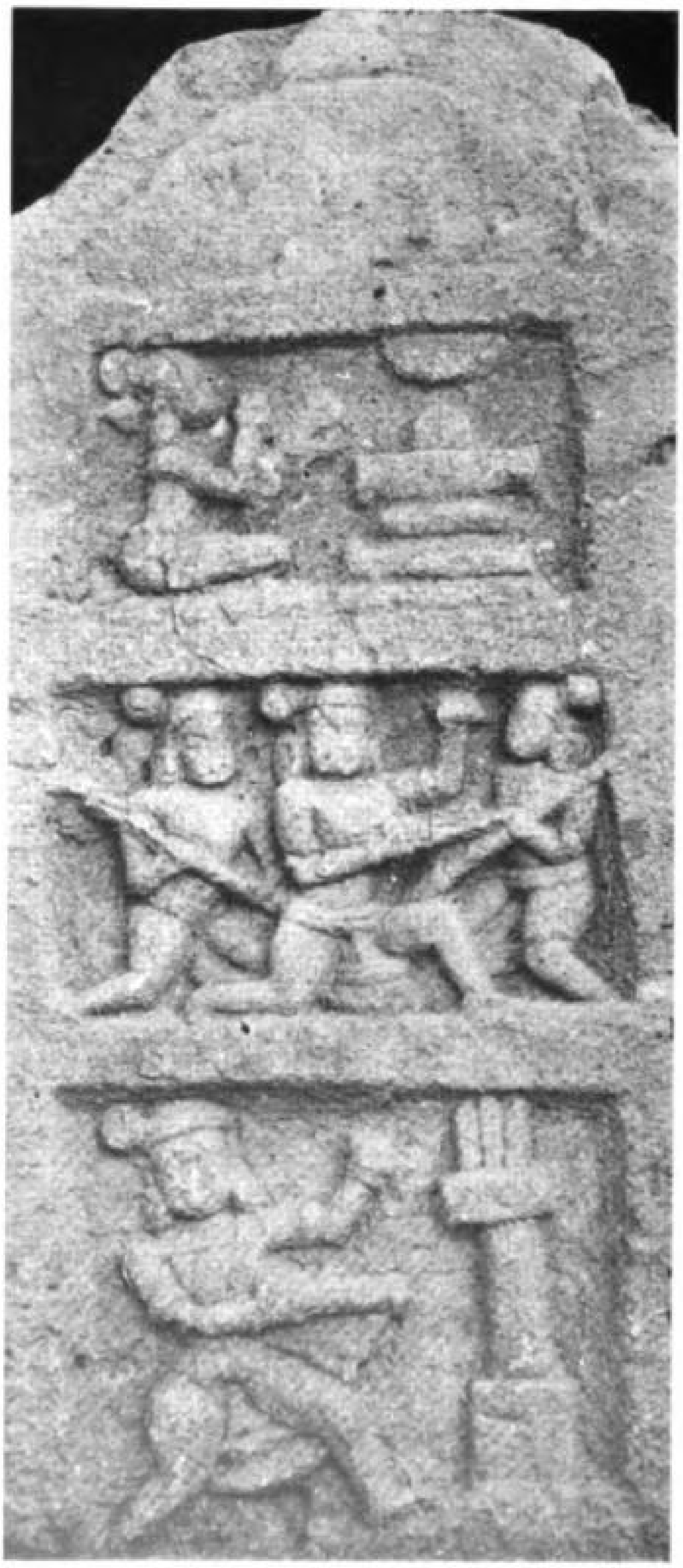

Fig. 20. Hero-stone from Kiklī indicating religious suicide

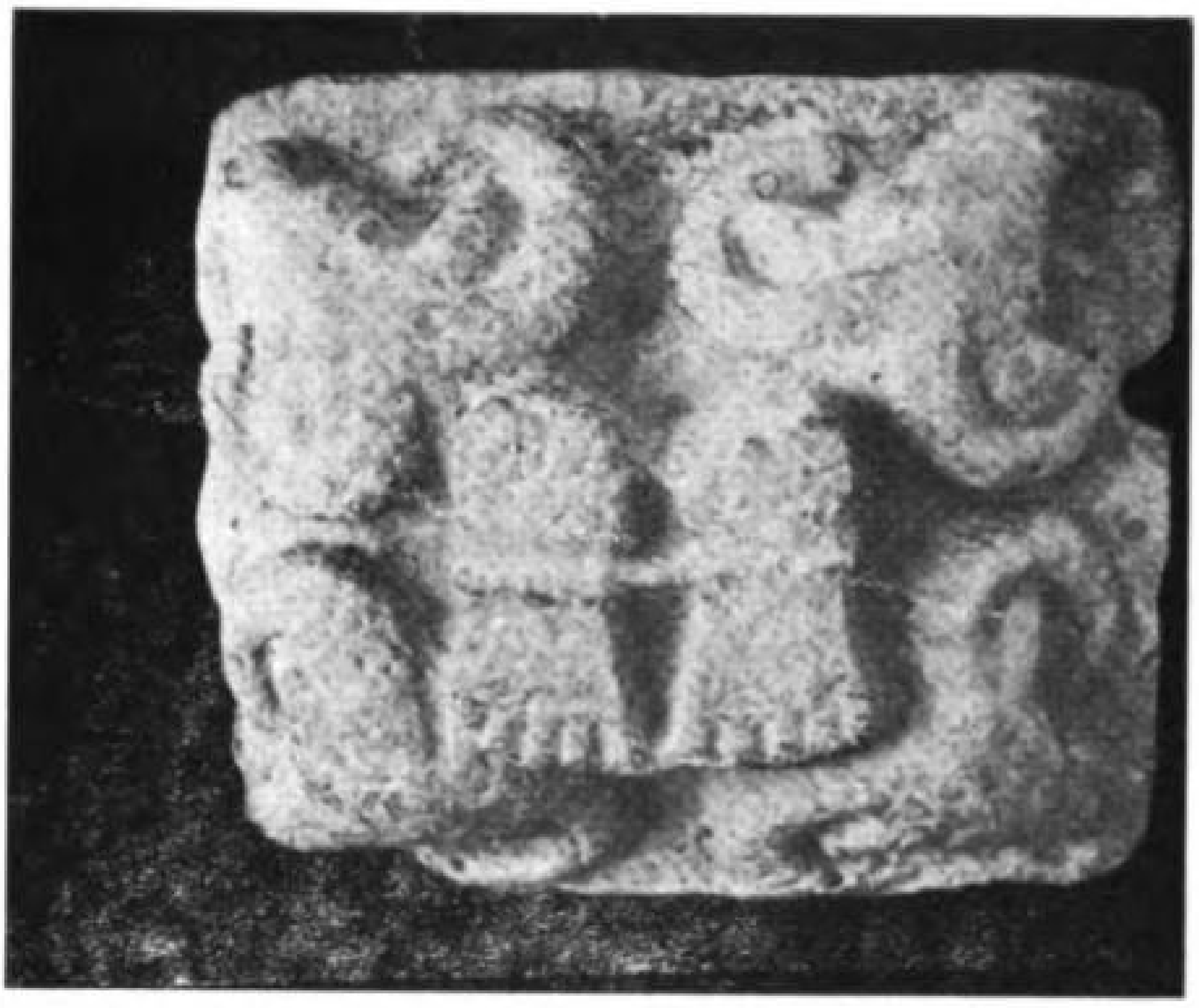

Fig. 21. Memorial at the Khaṇḍobā temple in Jejurī

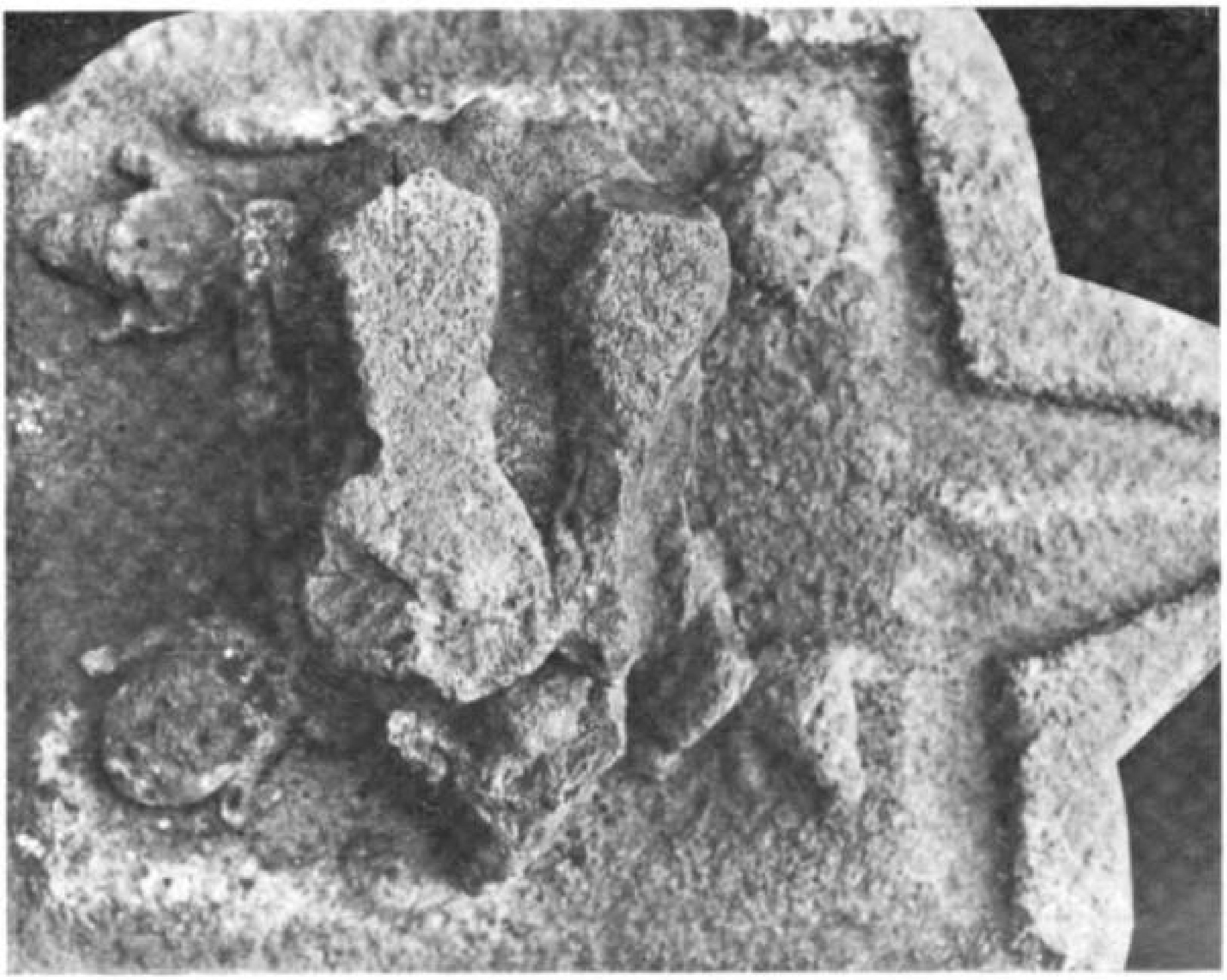

Fig. 22. Memorial at the Khaṇḍobā temple, Āklūj

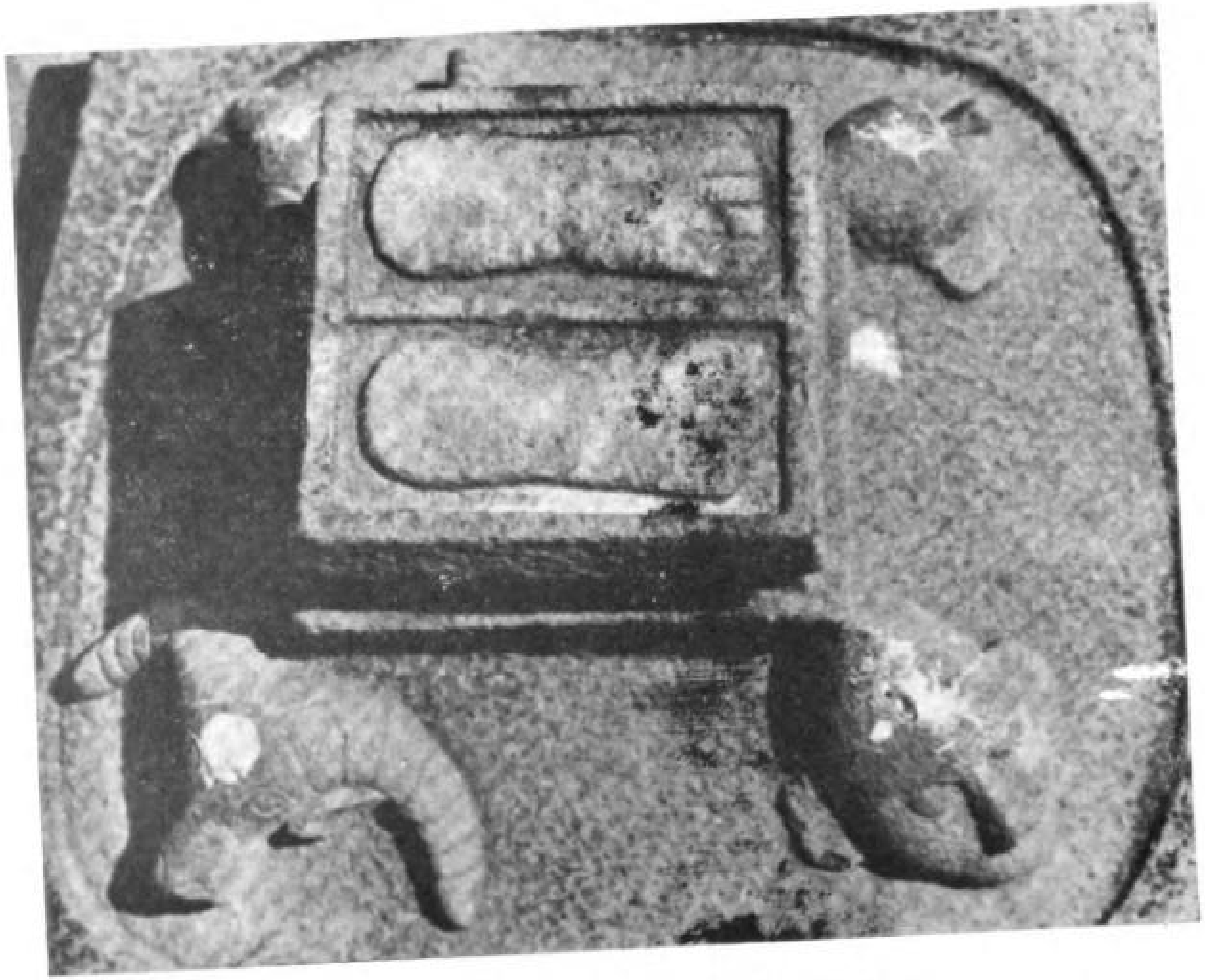

Fig. 23. *Pādukas* of Khaṇḍobā, Phalṭaṇ

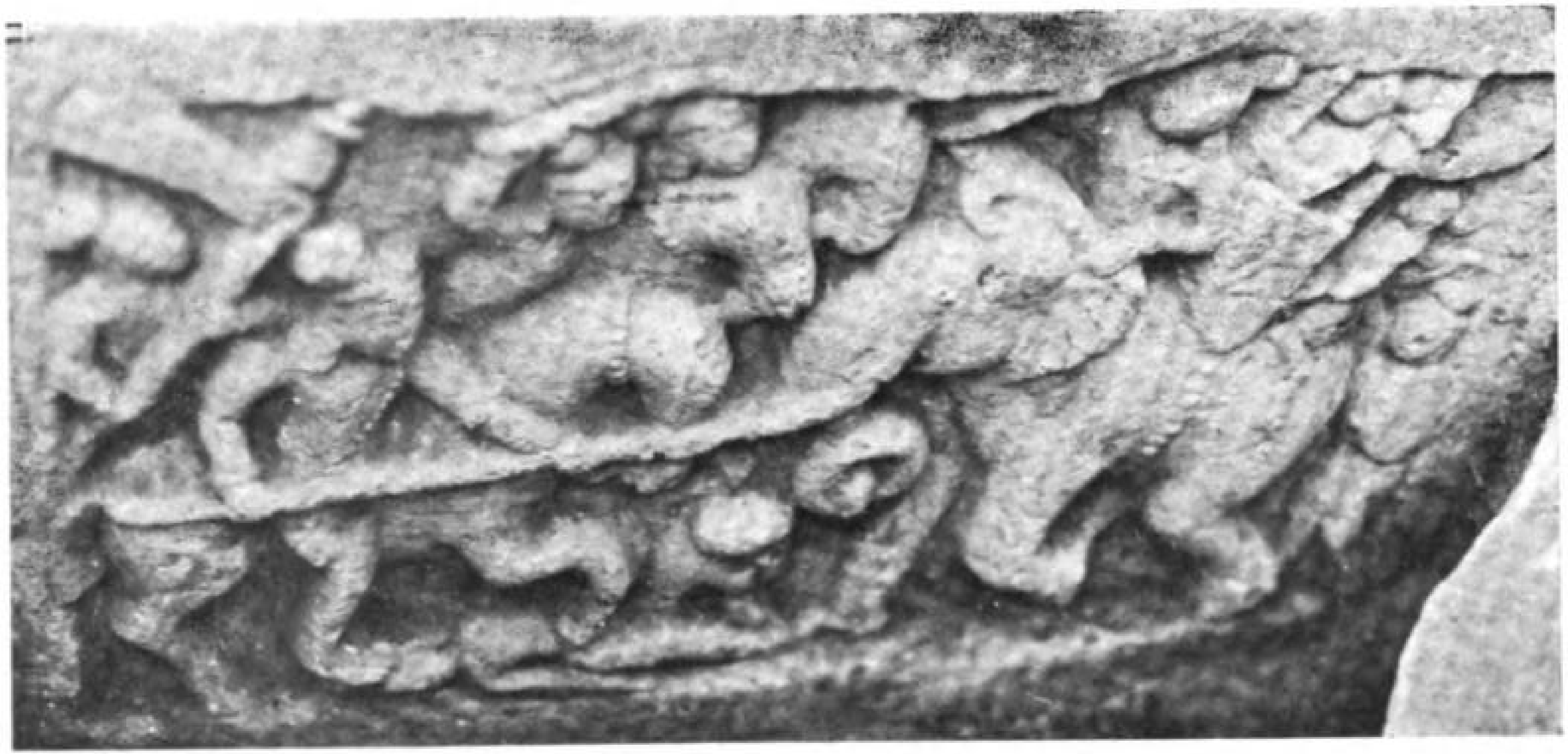

Fig. 24. A panal from a hero-stone, Toṇḍale

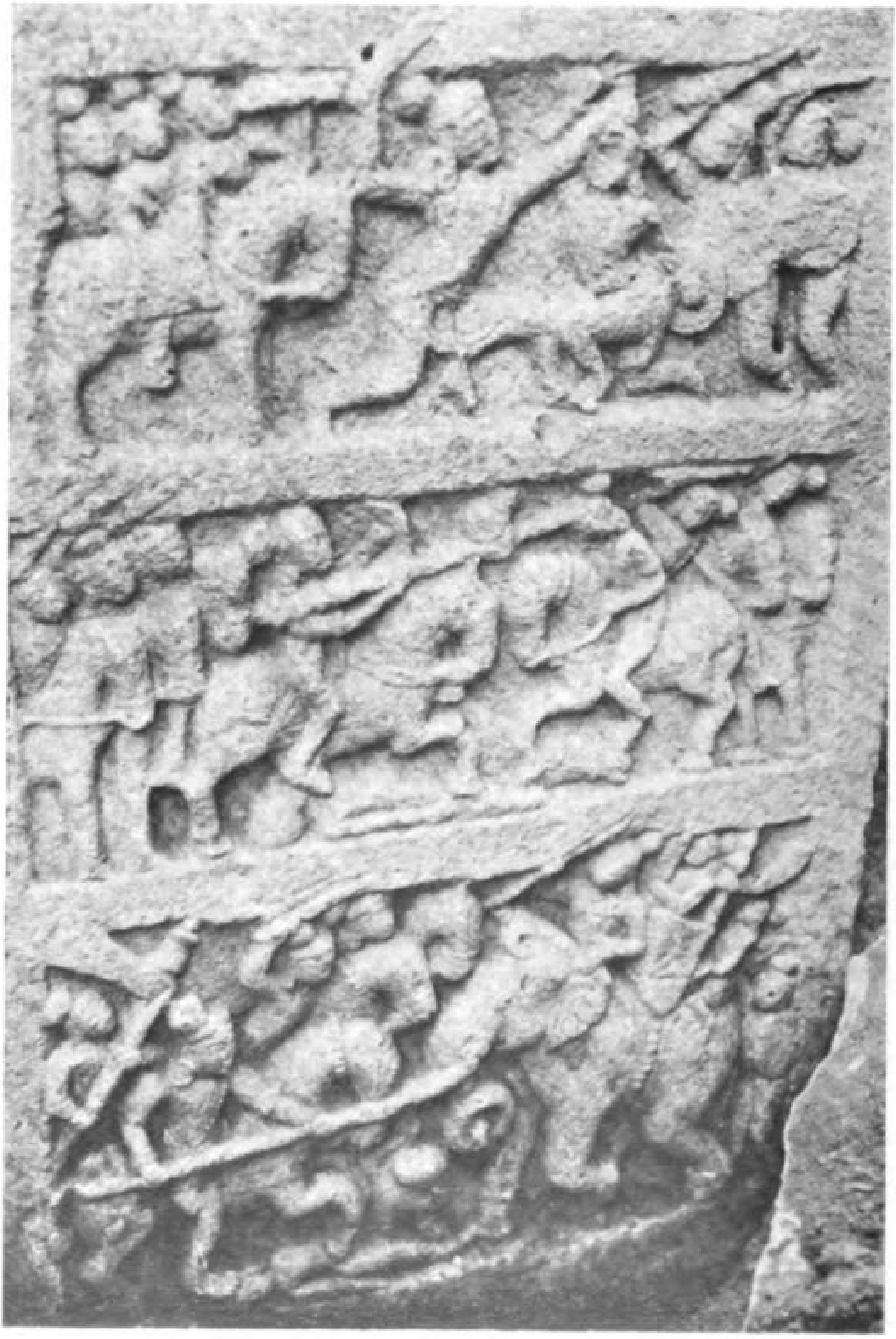

Fig. 25. Details of a hero-stone, Toṇḍale

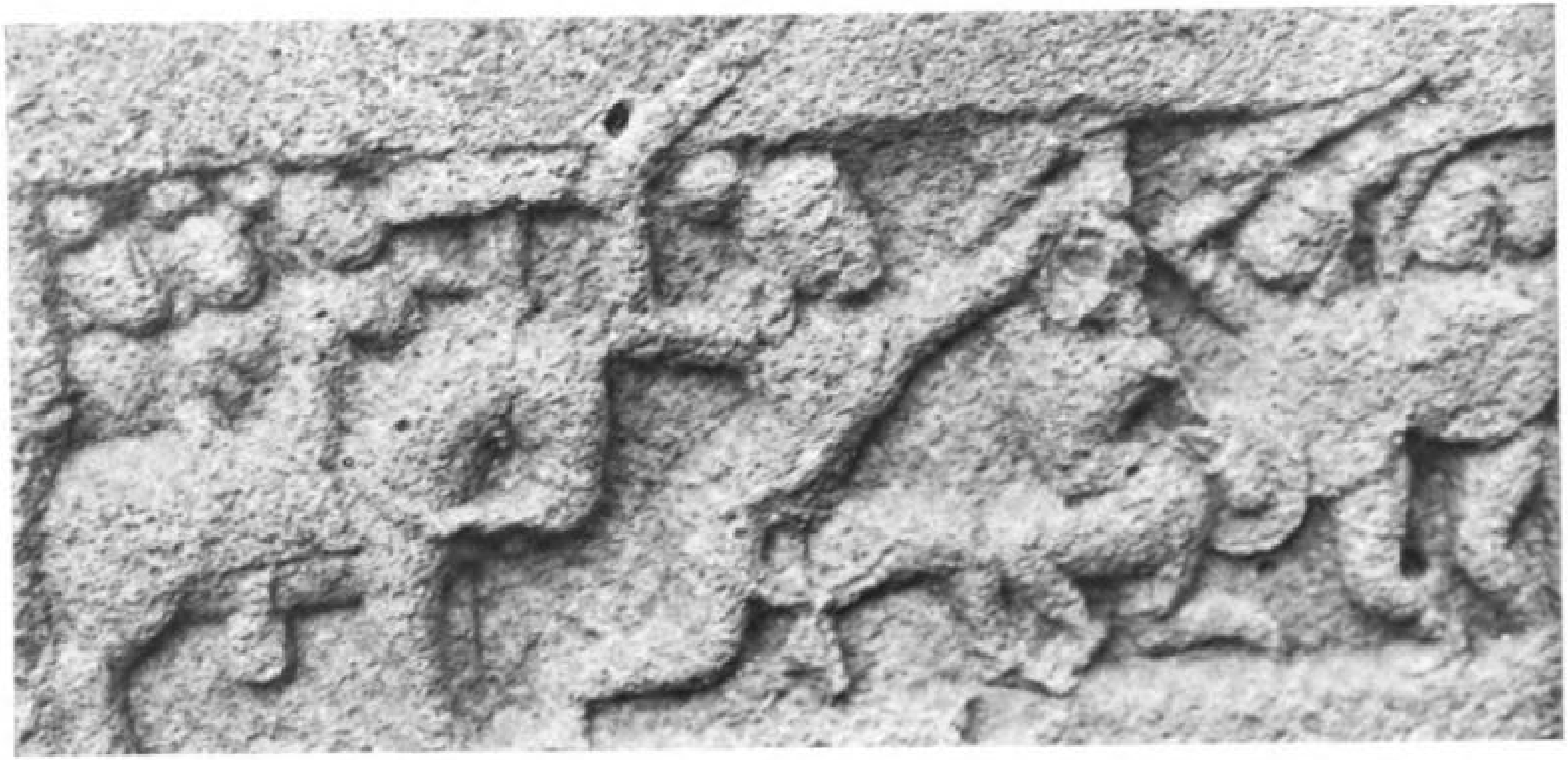

Fig. 26 Another panel of the hero-stone, Toṇḍale.

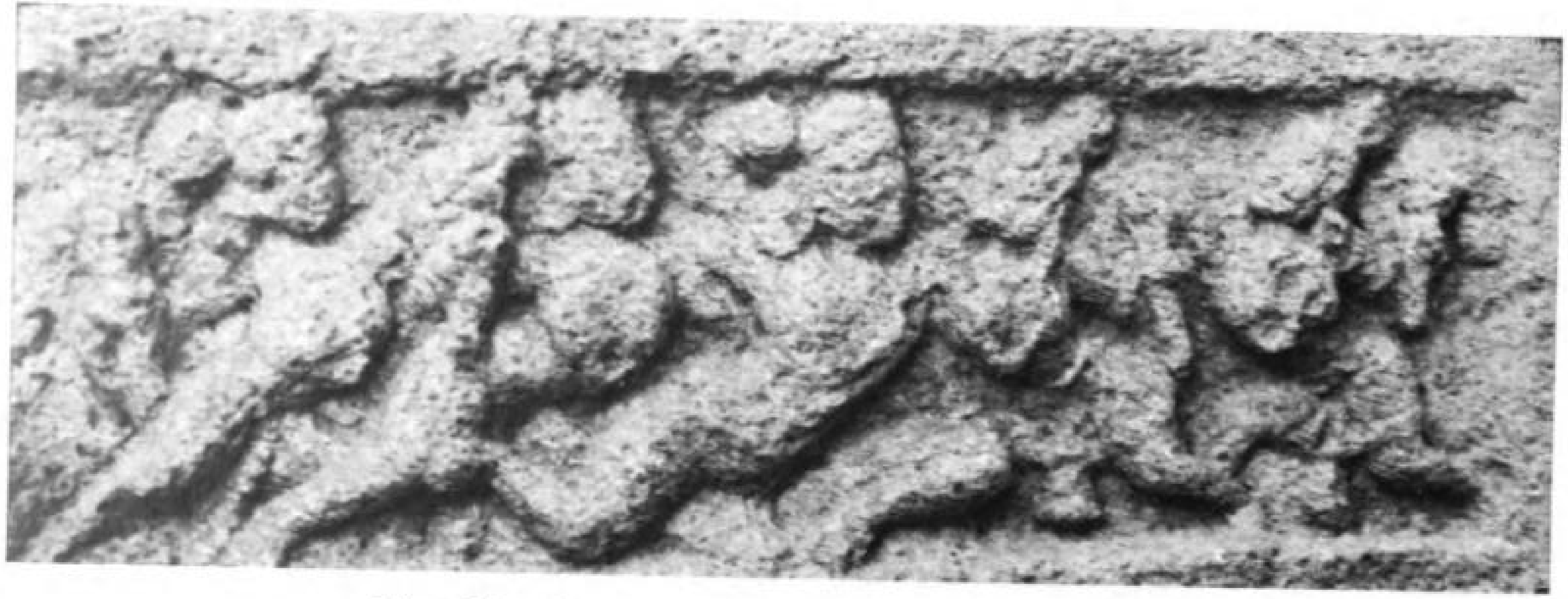

Fig. 27. Another panel of the hero-stone, Toṇḍale

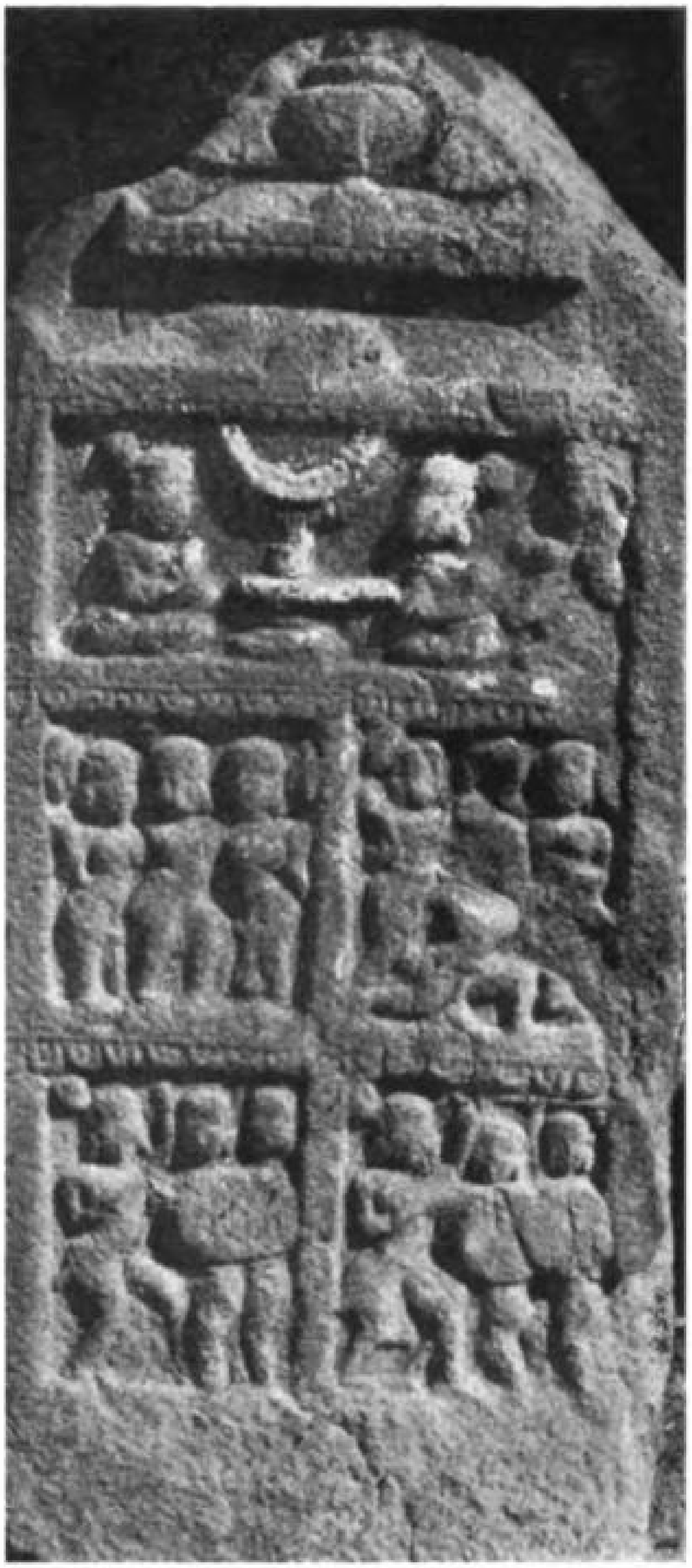

Fig. 28. Memorial for two heroes sitting besides the *Śivalinga* and *Yoni*, Phalṭaṇ

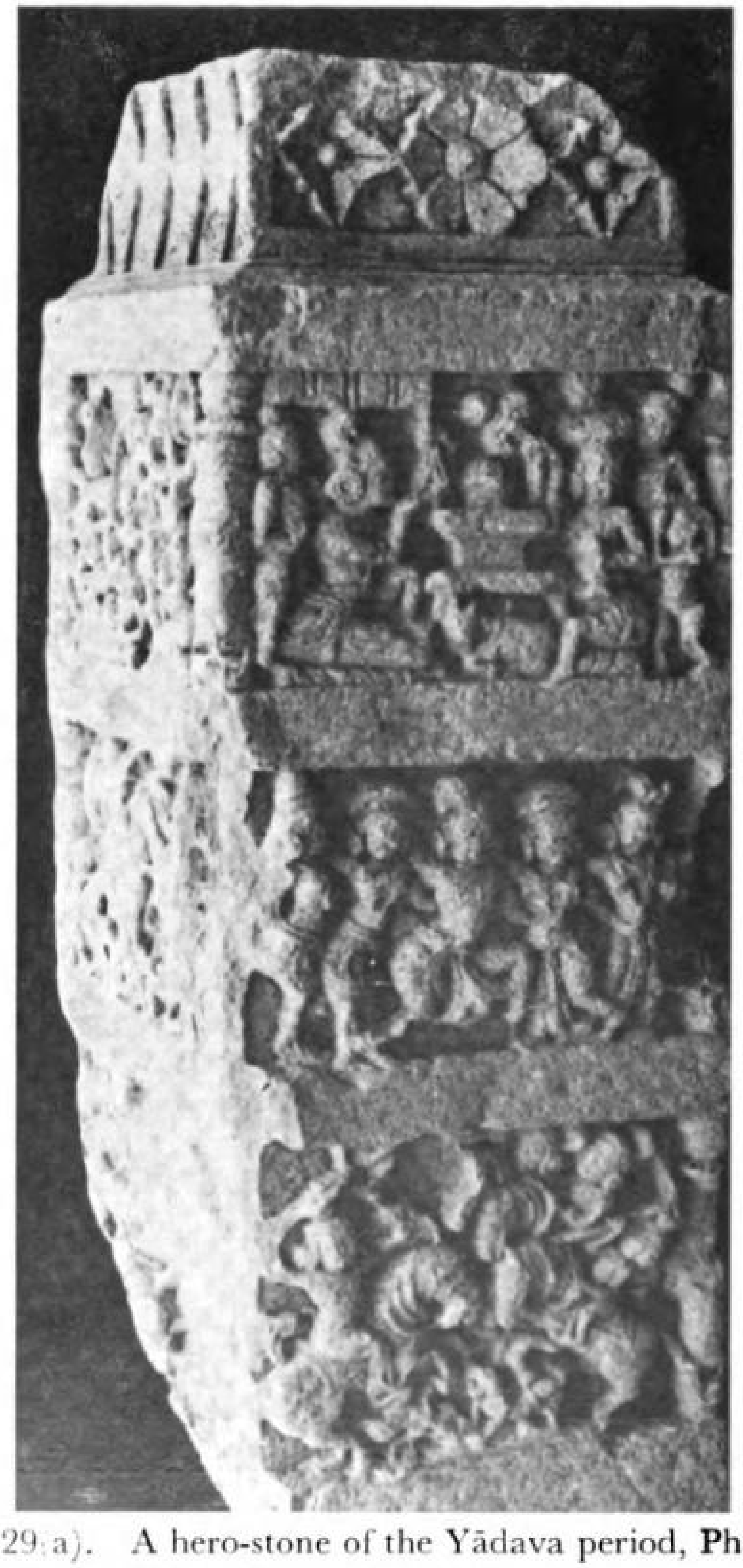

Fig. 29(a). A hero-stone of the Yādava period, **Phalṭaṇ**

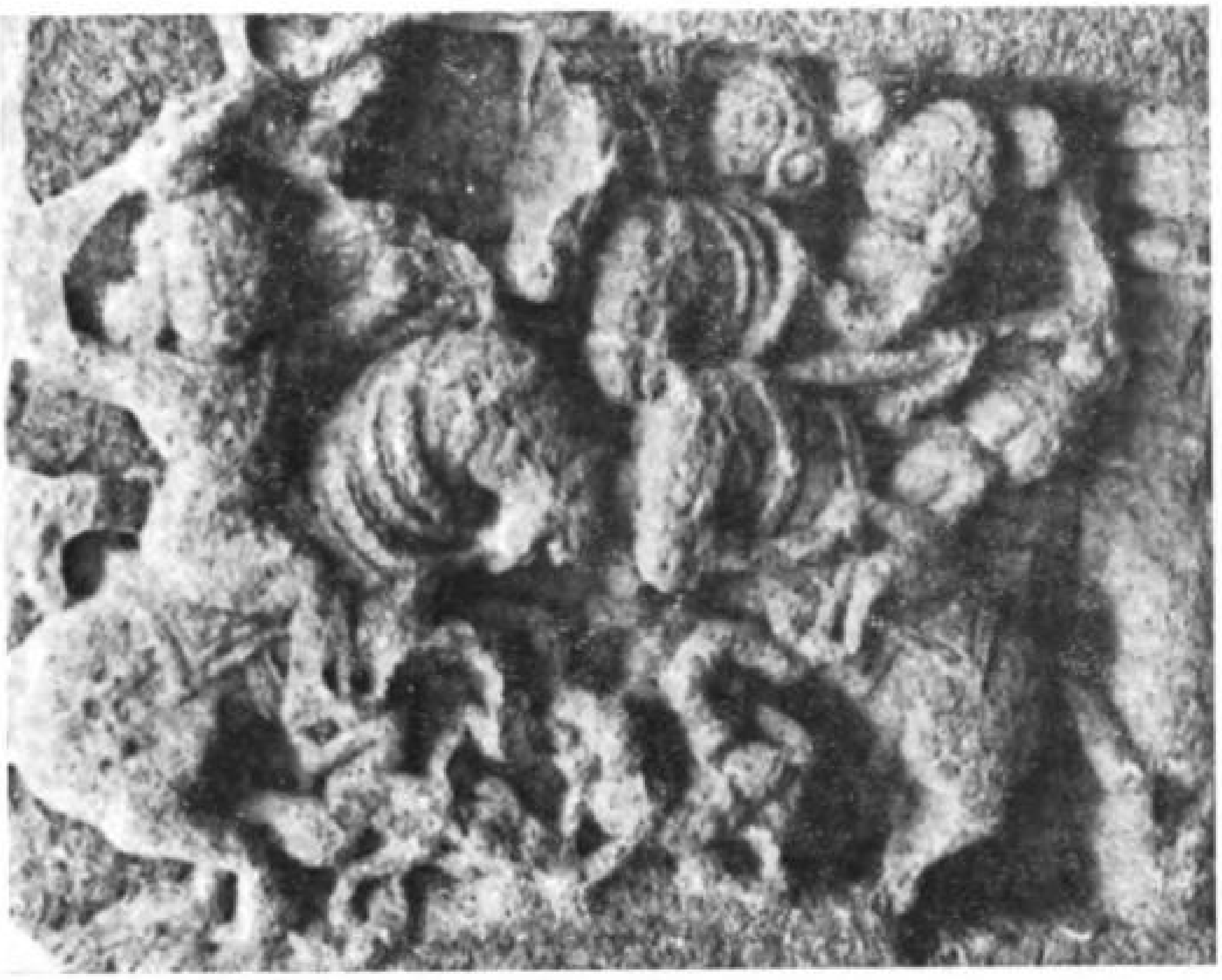

Fig. 29(b). Details of Fig. 29(a)

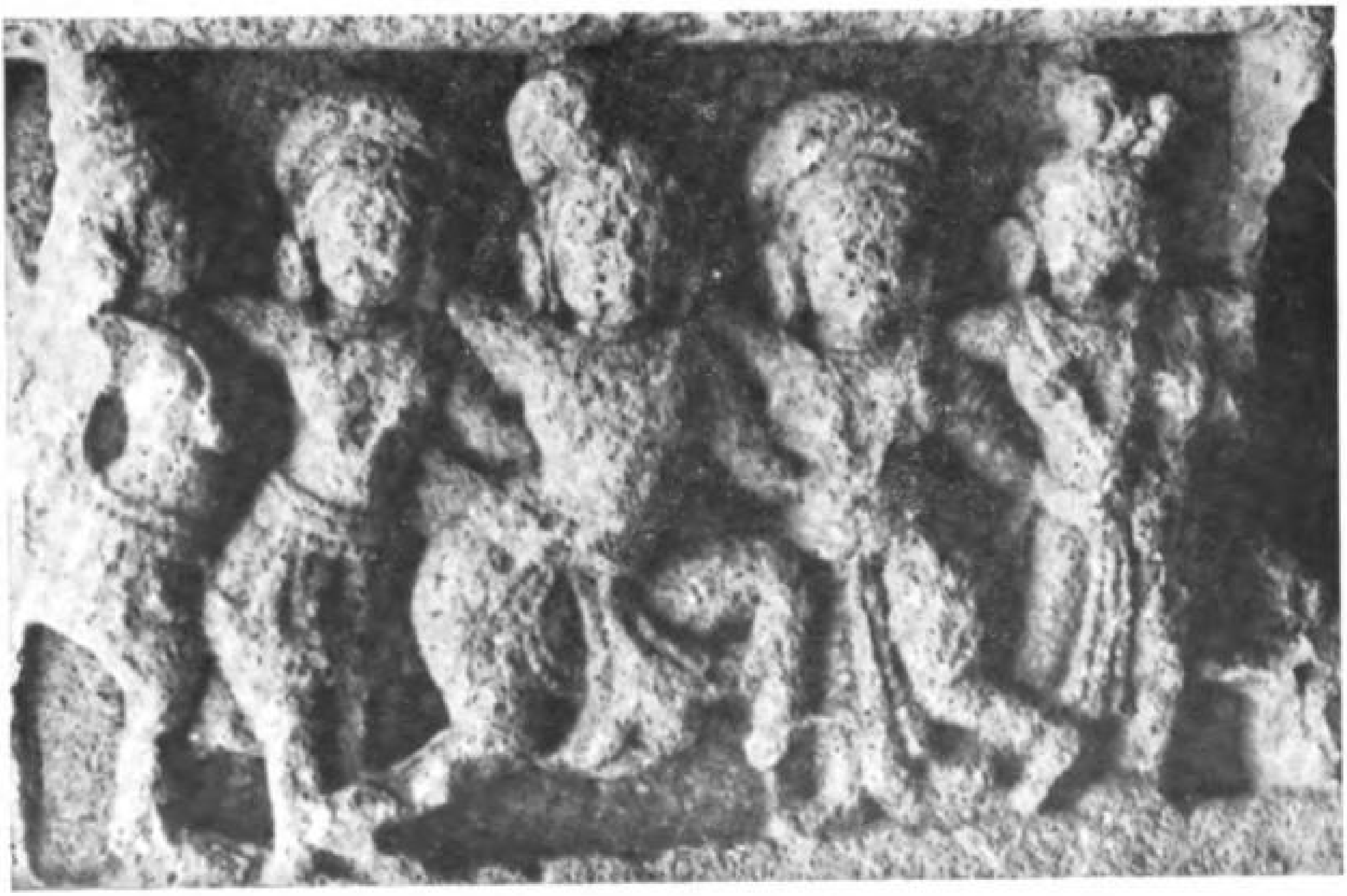

Fig. 29(c). Details of Fig. 29(a)

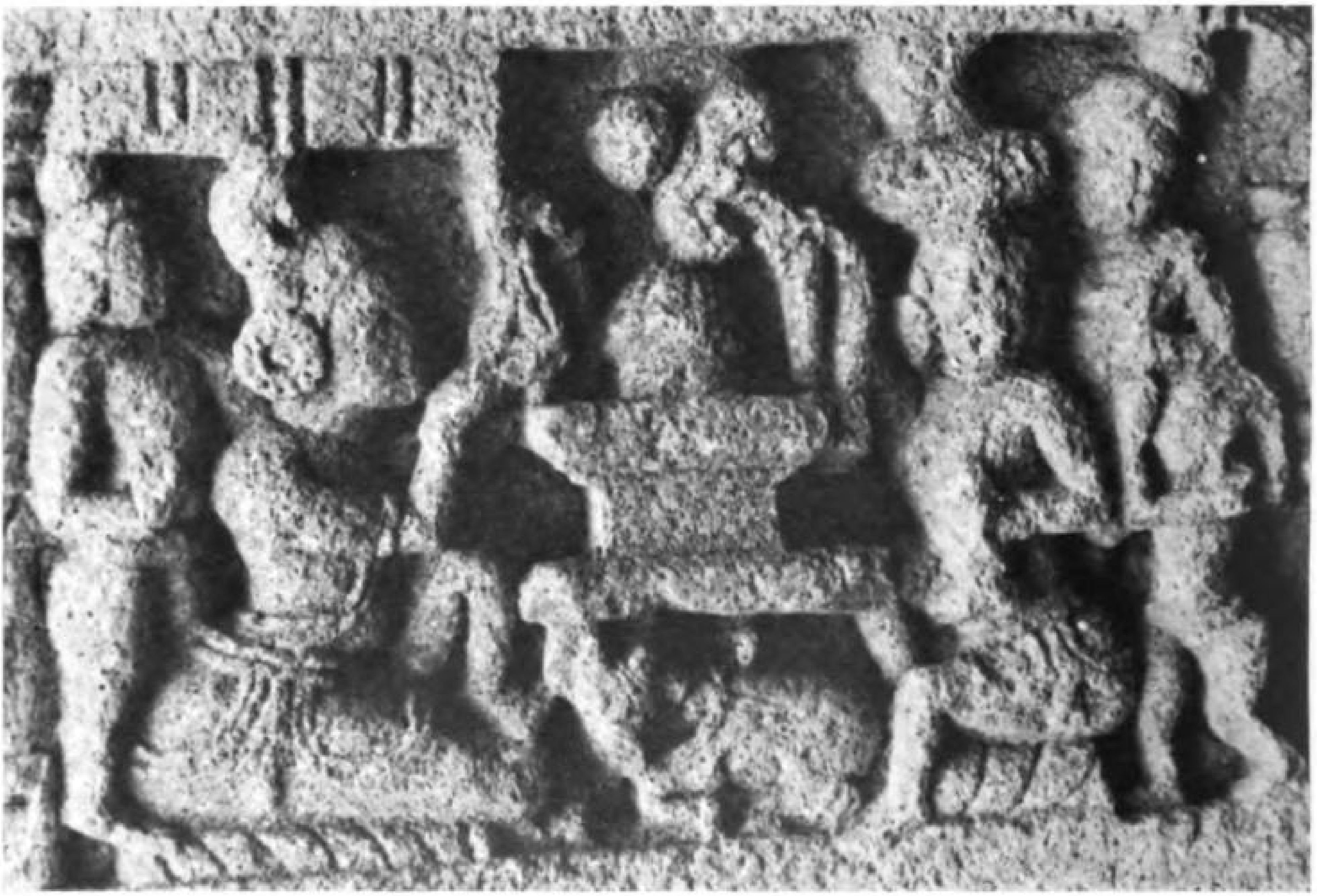

Fig. 29(d). Details of Fig. 29(a)

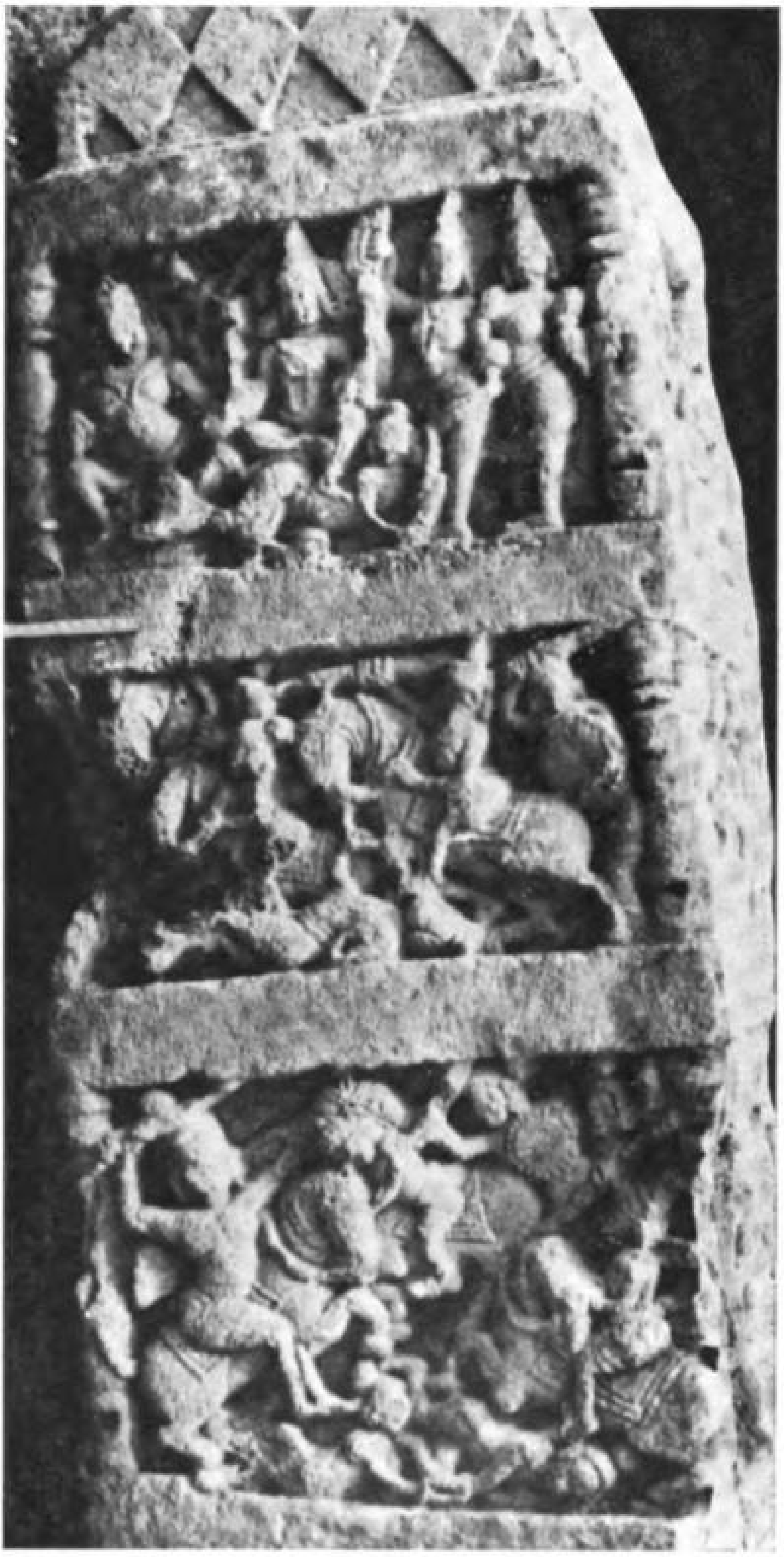

Fig. 29(e). Another side of the Yādava hero-stone, Phalṭaṇ

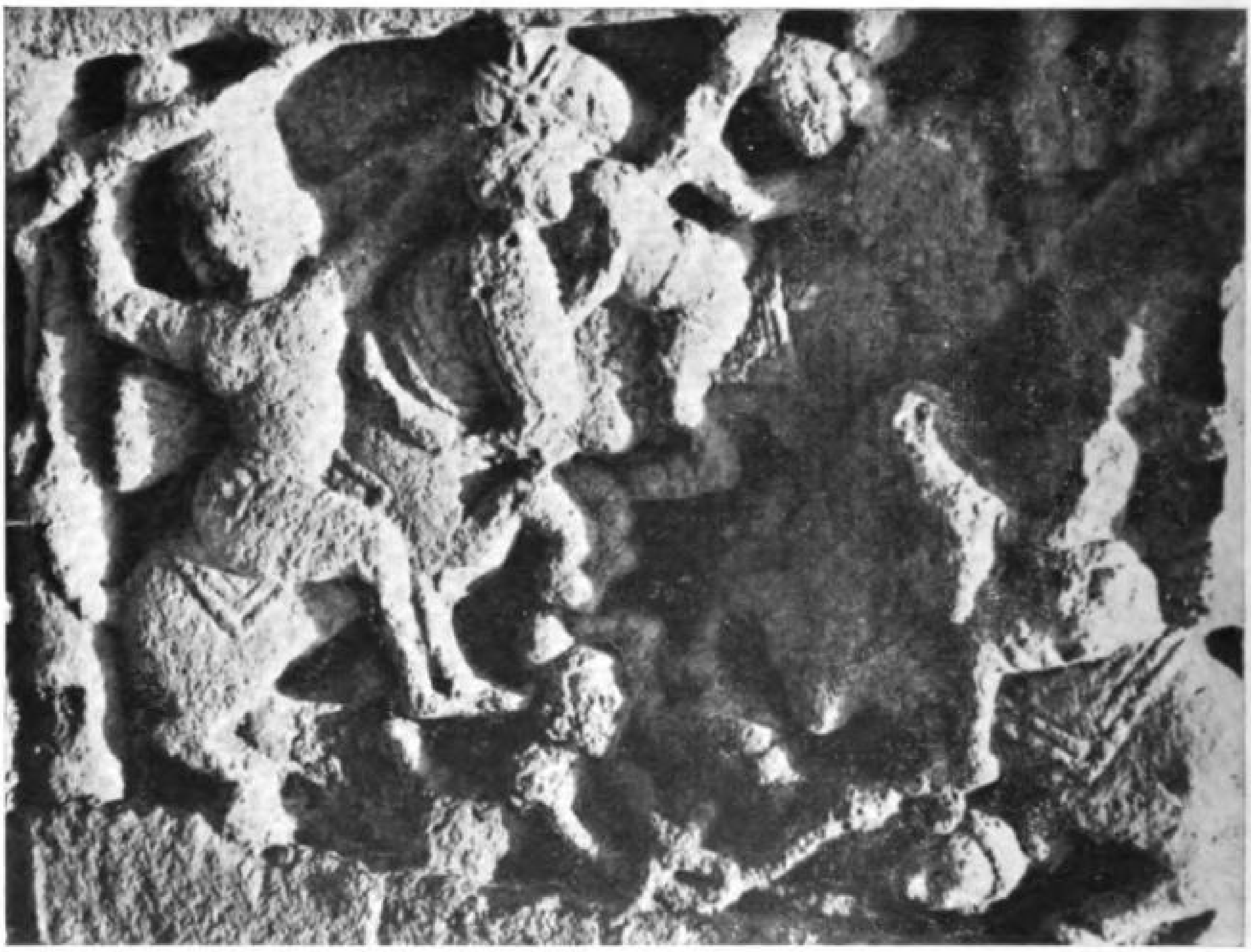

Fig. 29(f). Details of Fig. 29(e)

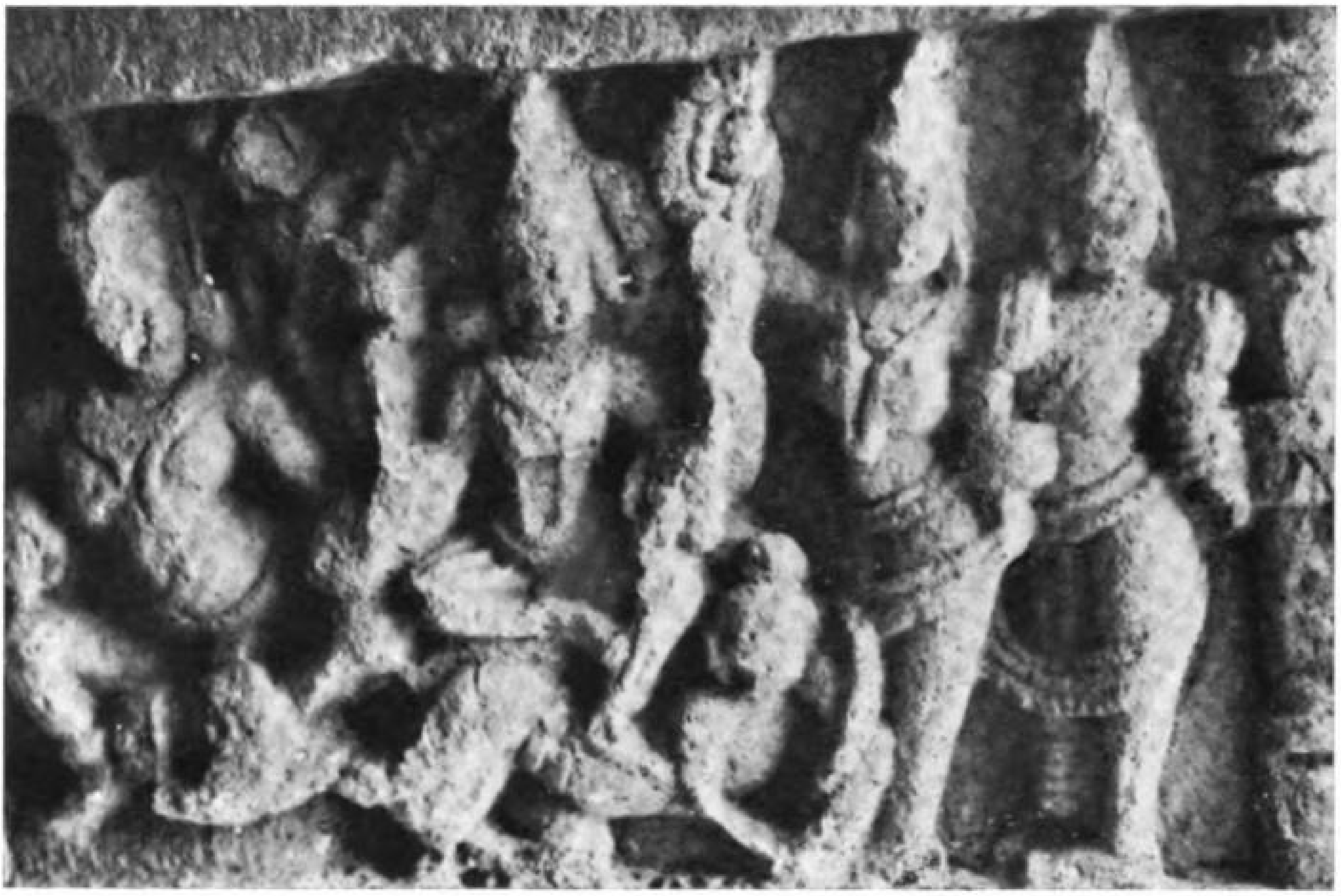

Fig. 29(g). Details of Fig. 29(e)

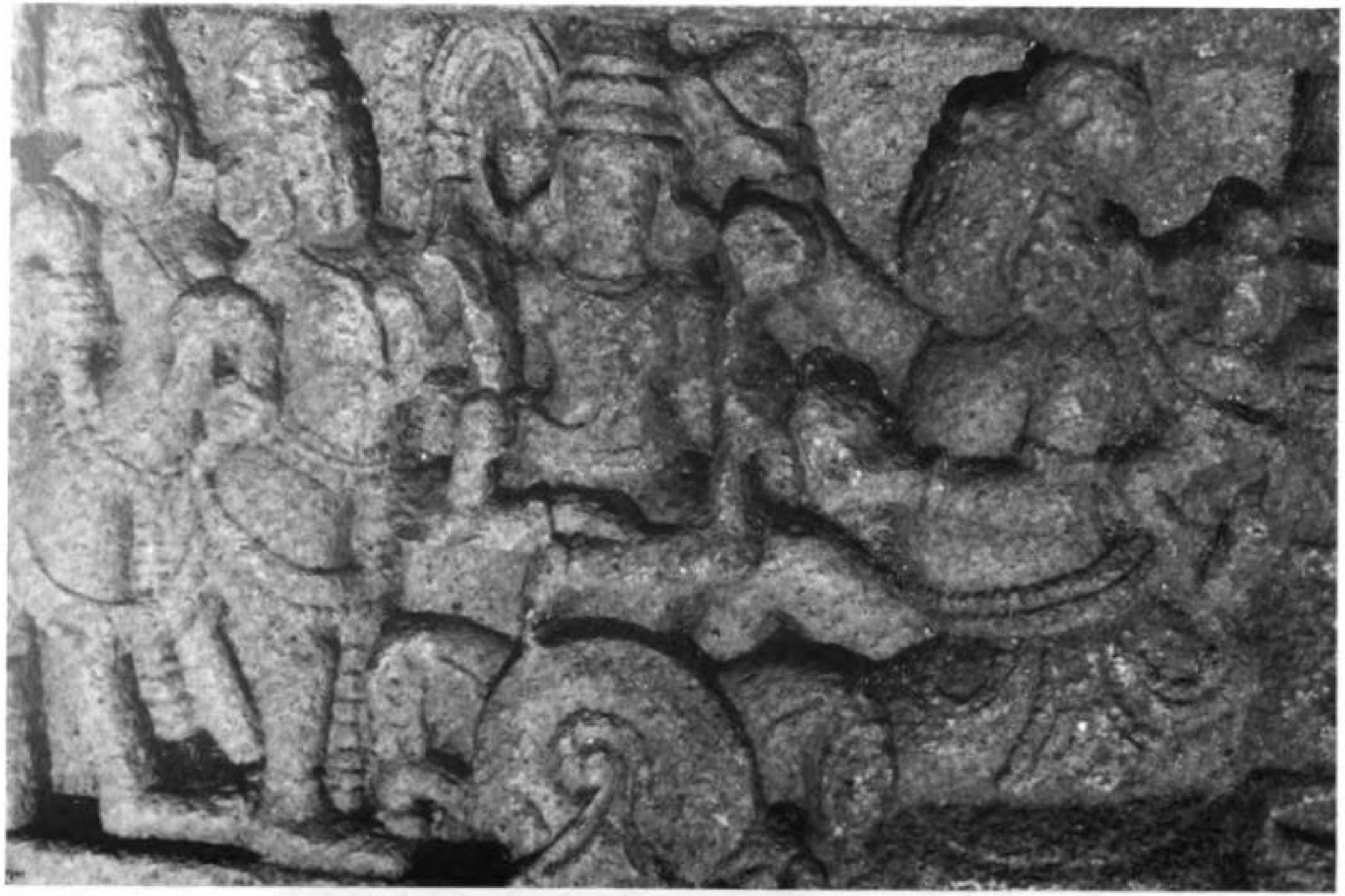

Fig. 29(h). Top panel of the third side of the Yādava hero-stone, Phalṭaṇ

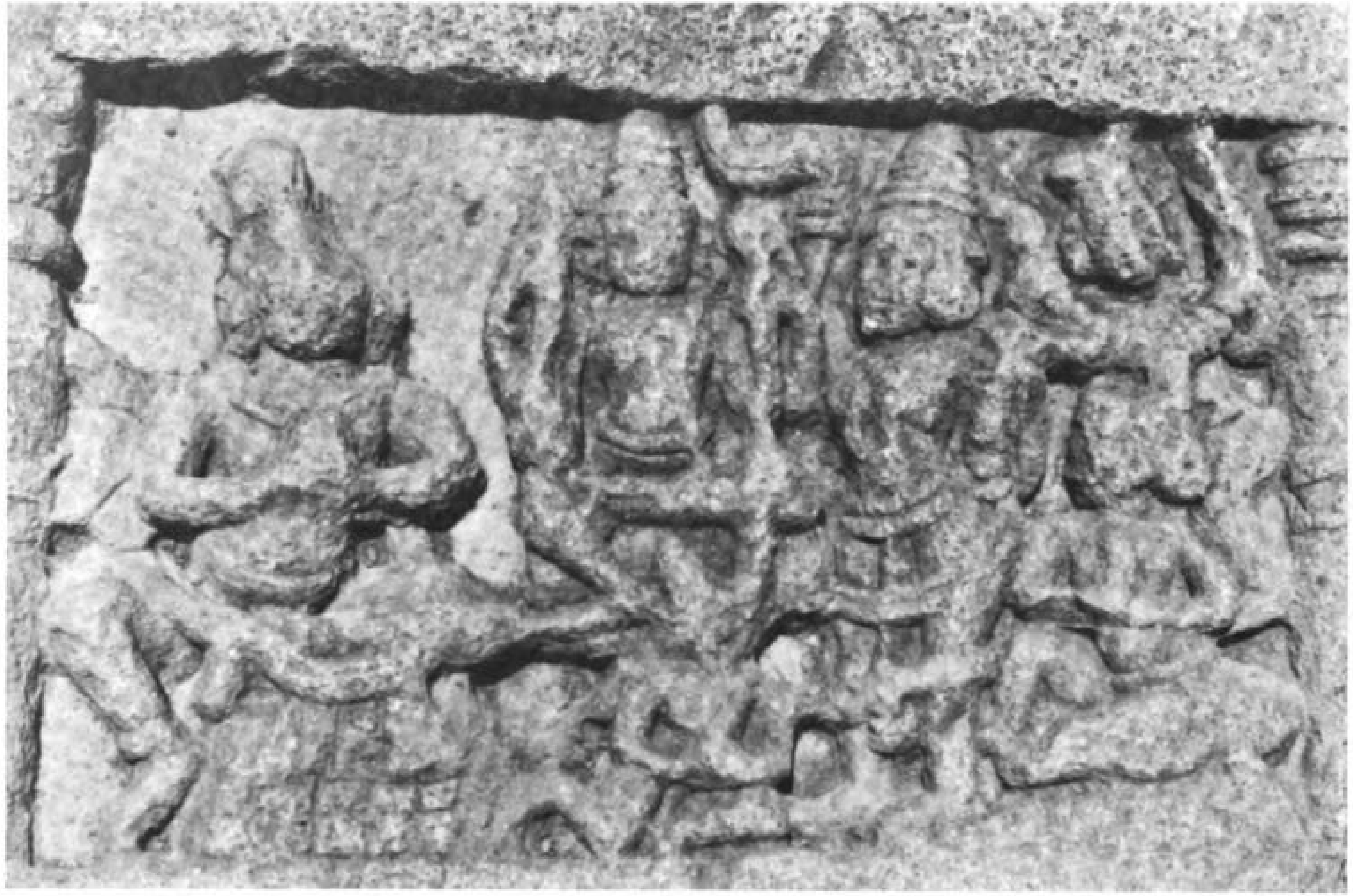

Fig. 29(i). Top panel of the fourth side of the Yādava hero-stone, Phalṭaṇ

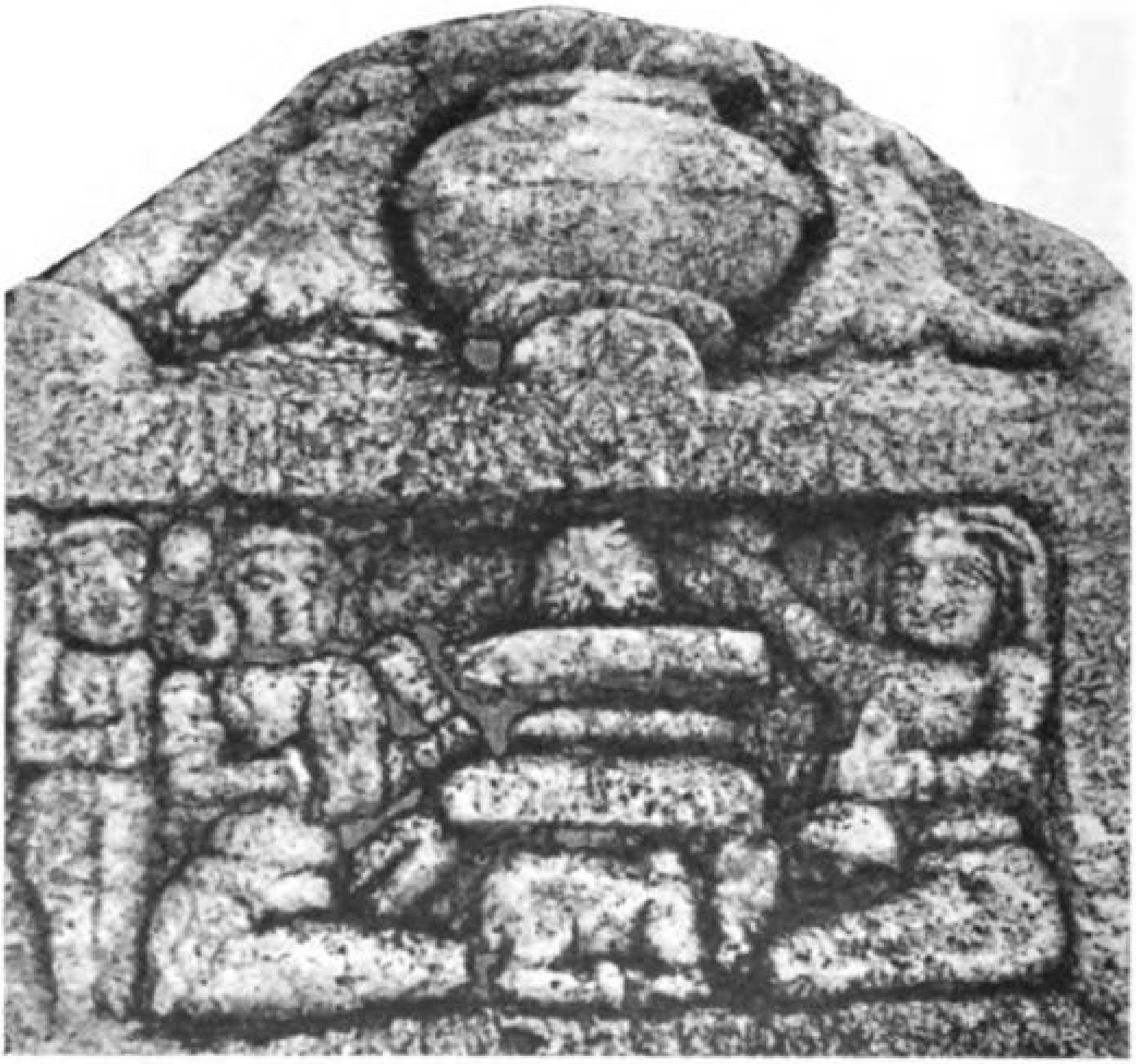

Fig. 30. A broken top panel of a hero-stone, Phalṭaṇ

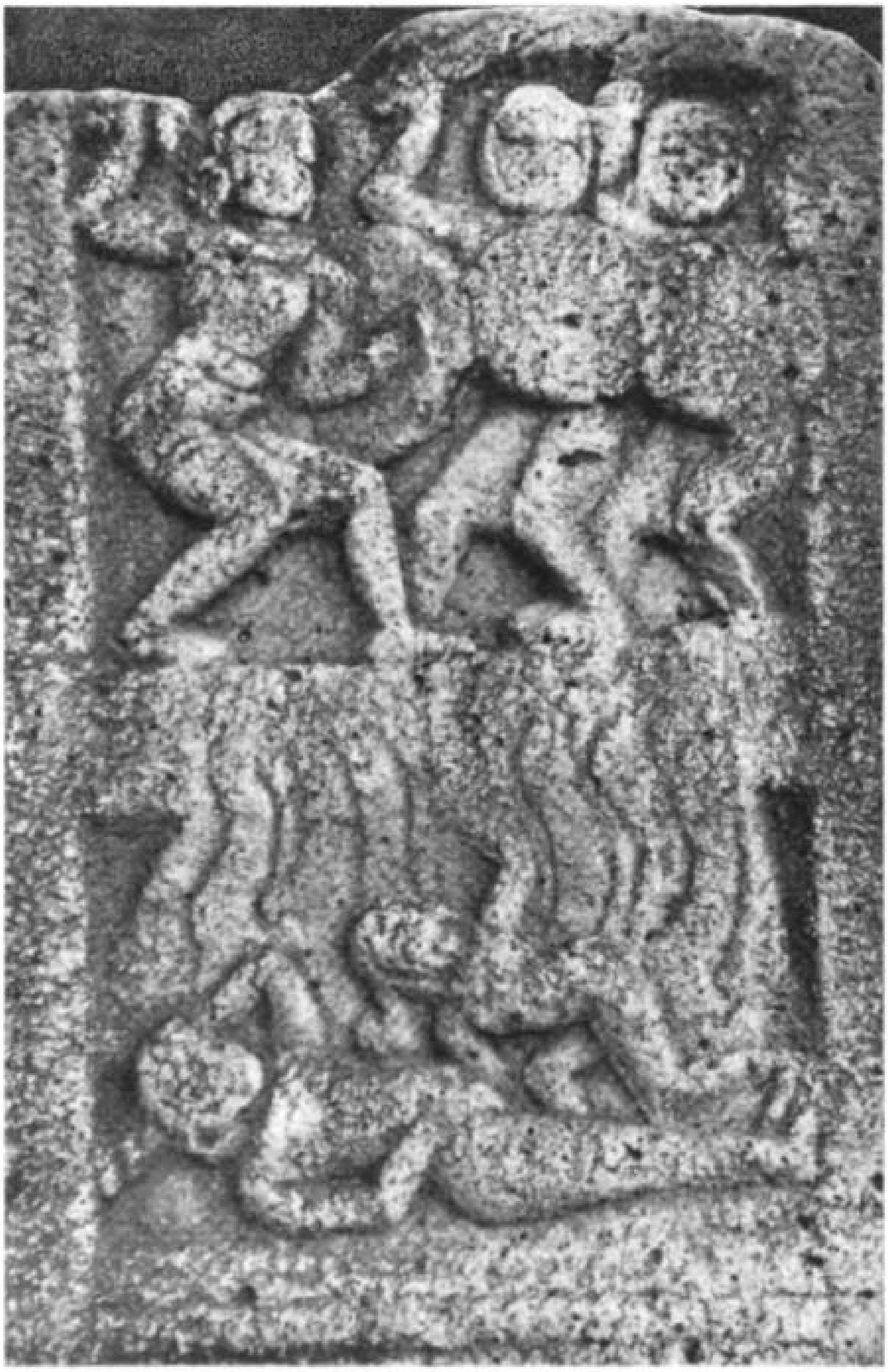

Fig. 31. A *Satī*-stone, Kumbharvaḷaṇ

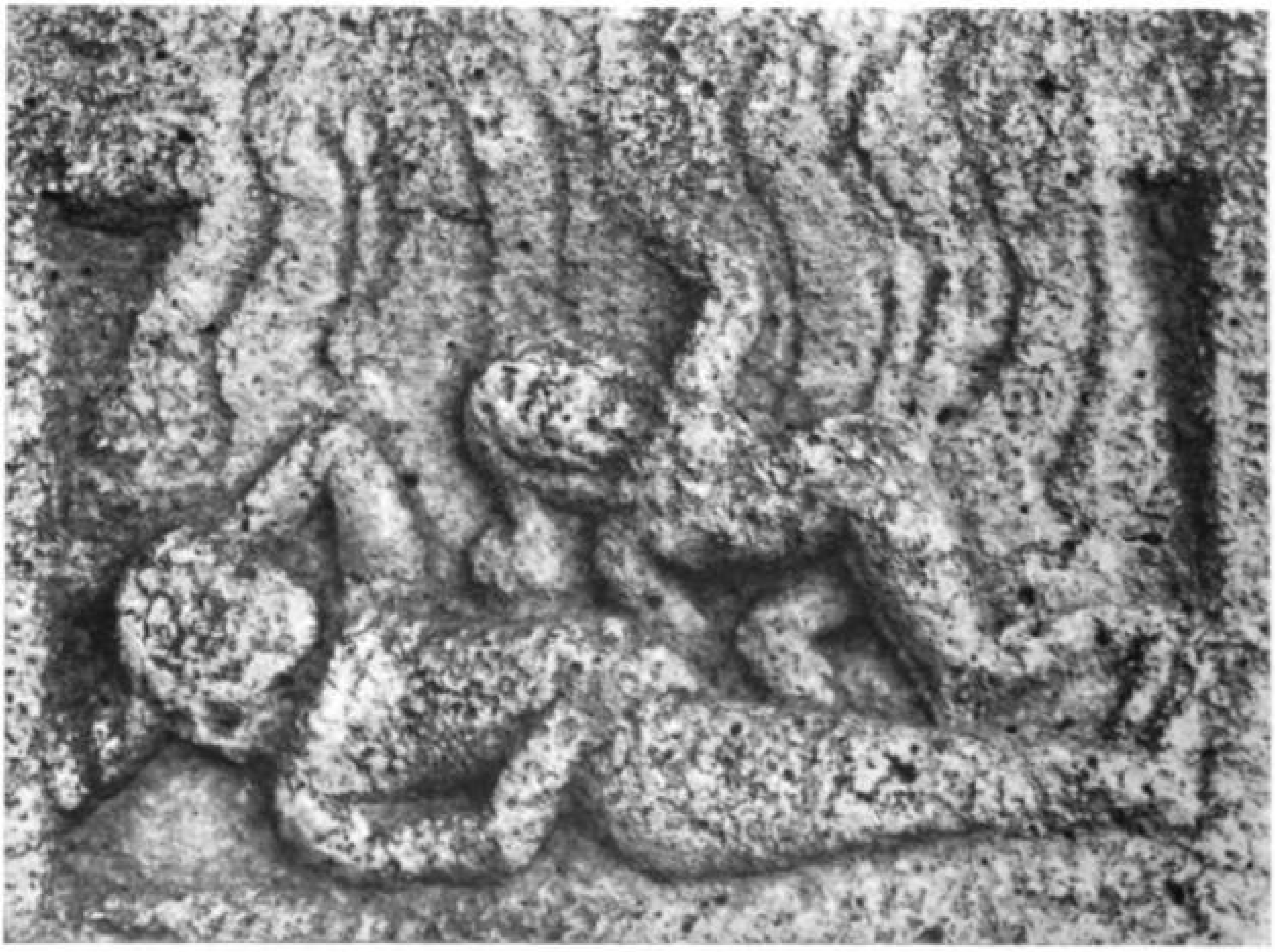

Fig. 32. Details of Fig. 31

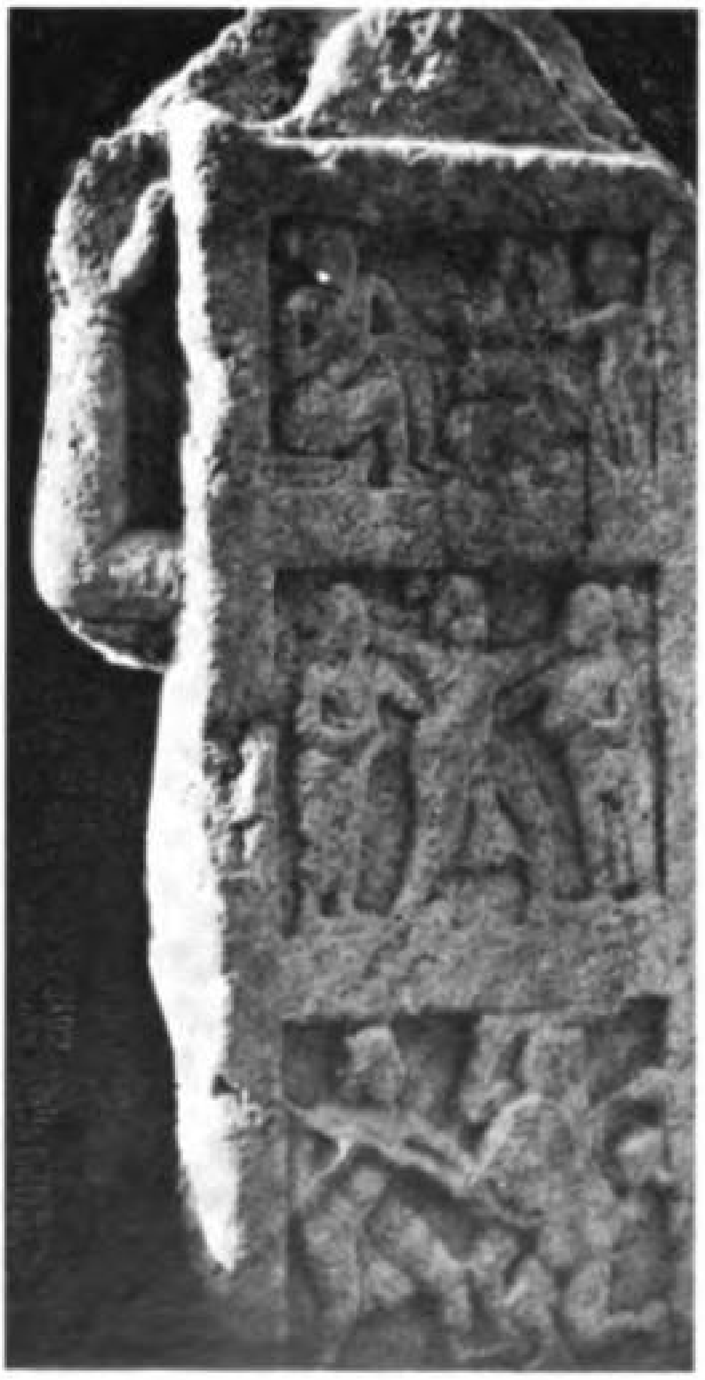

Fig. 33. A hero-*satī*-stone, Vālhā

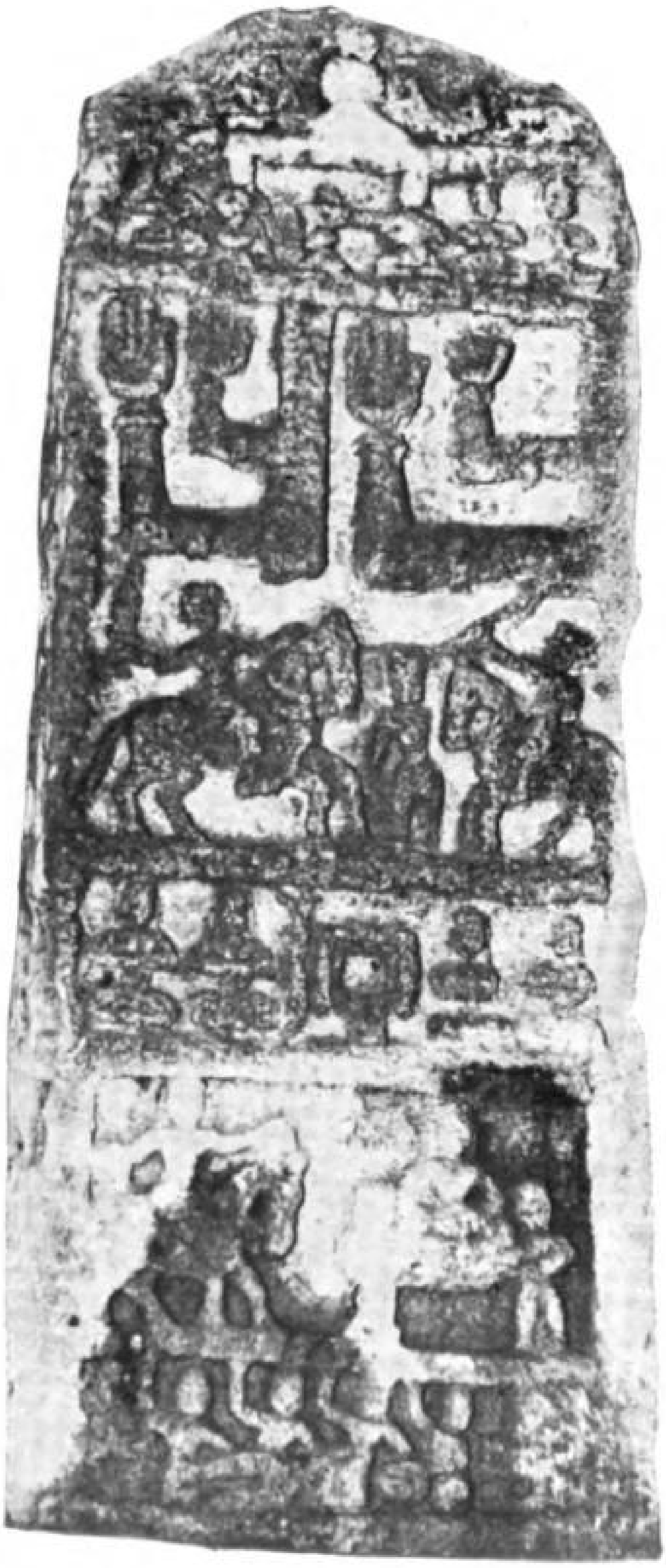

Fig. 34. A hero-*satī*-stone, Nārāyaṇpūr

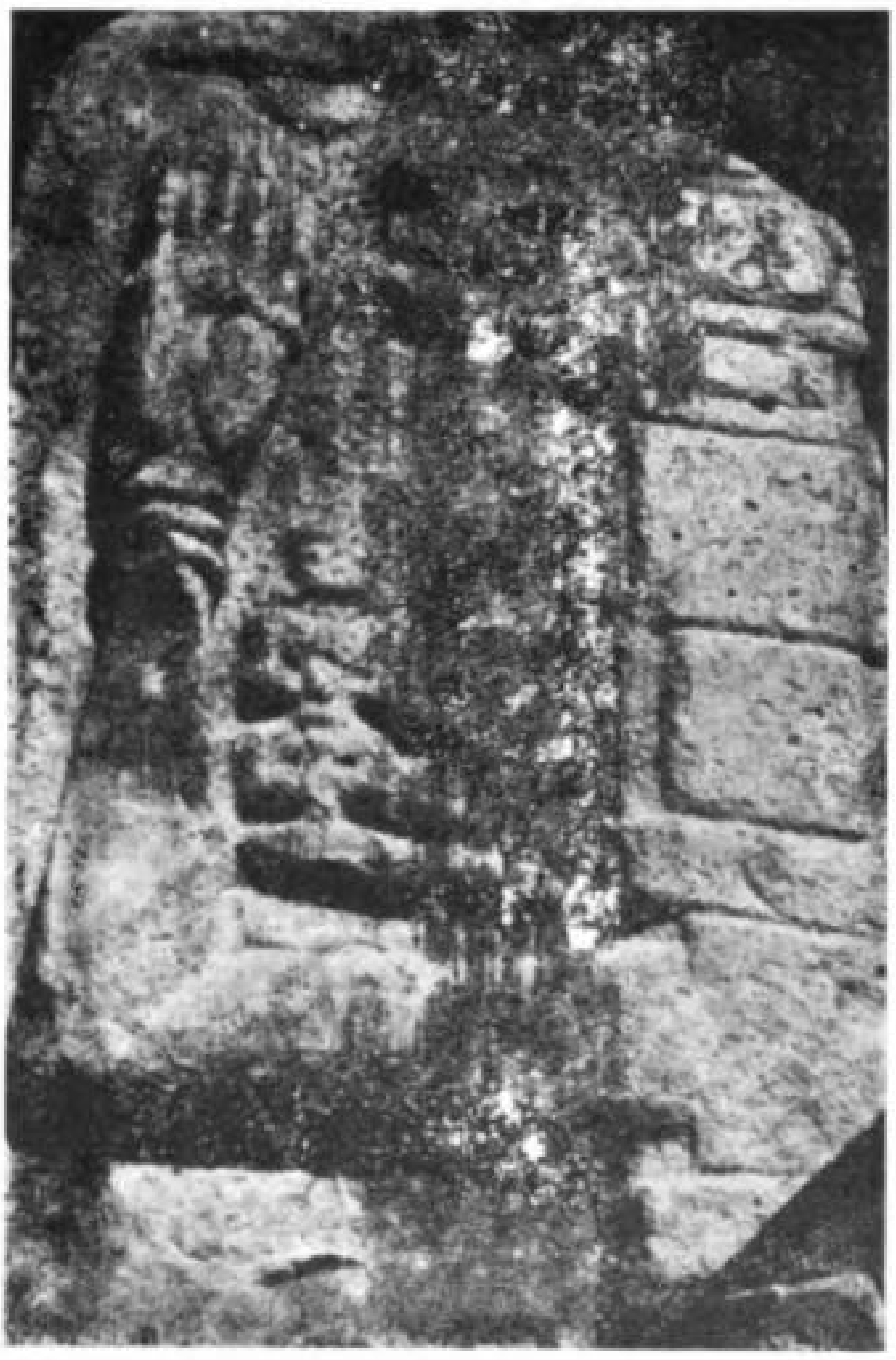

Fig. 35. A typical *satī*-stone with pillar and arm

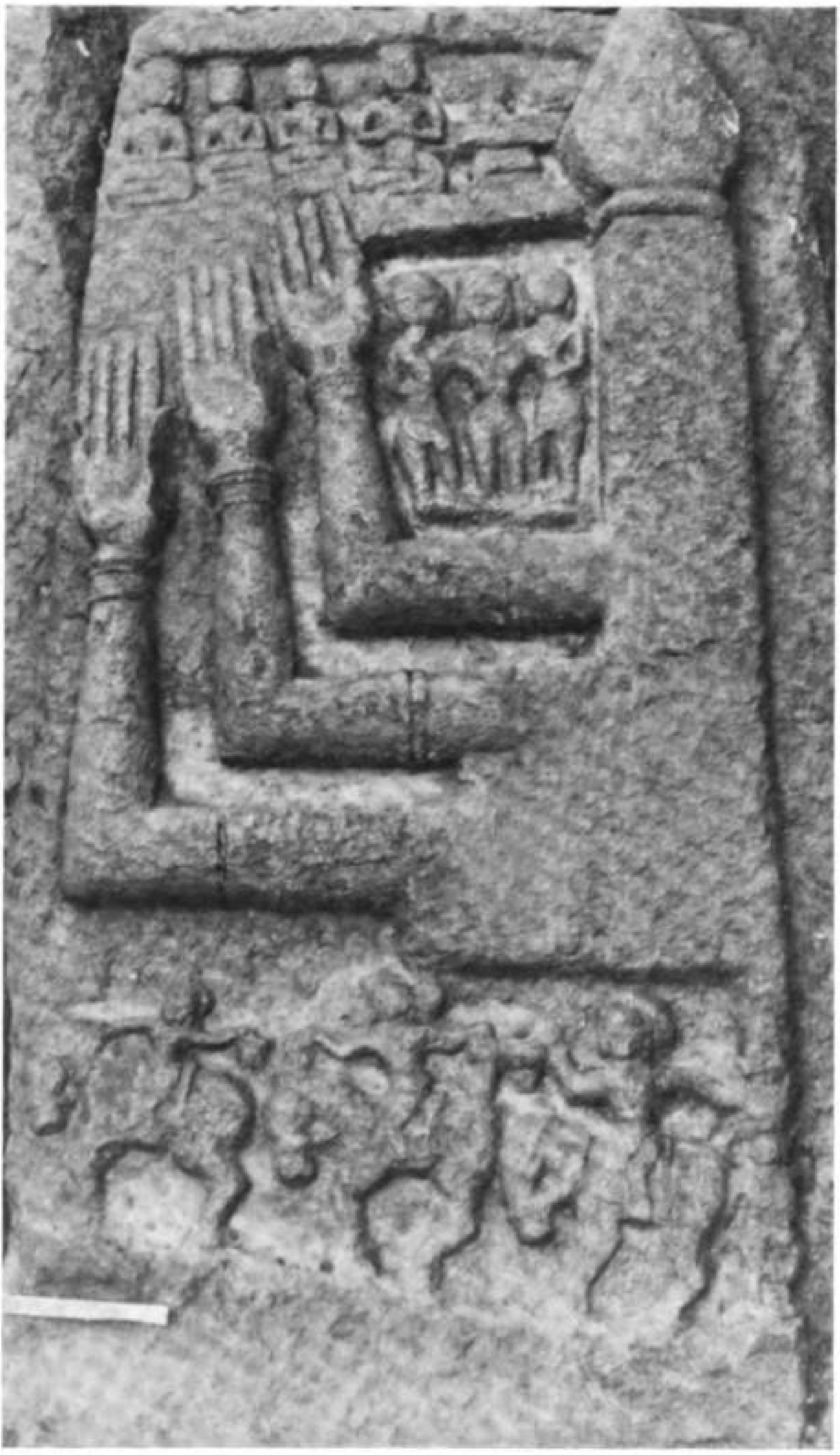

Fig. 36. A *Satī*-stone for three wives, Kandār

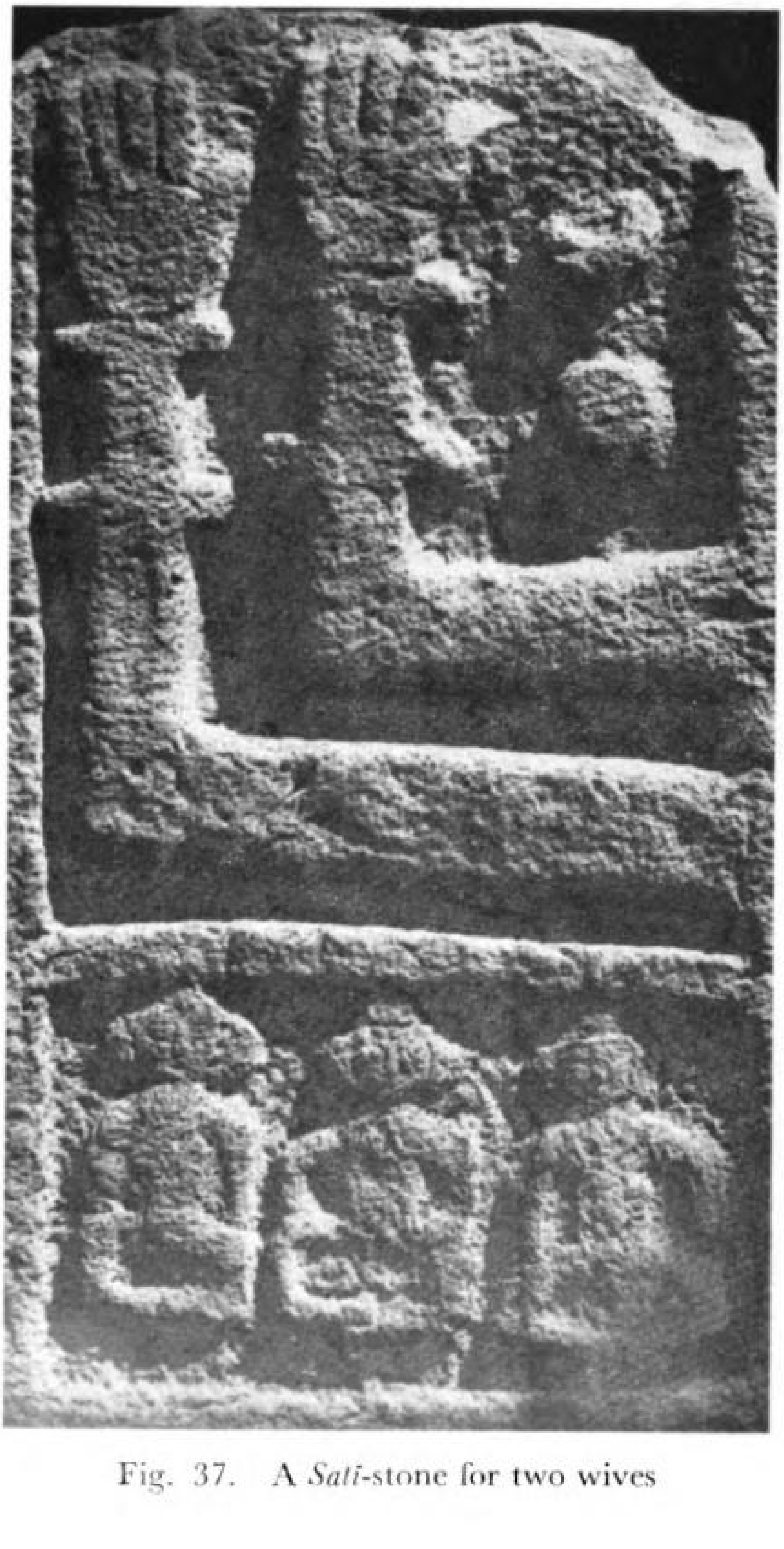

Fig. 37. A *Satī*-stone for two wives

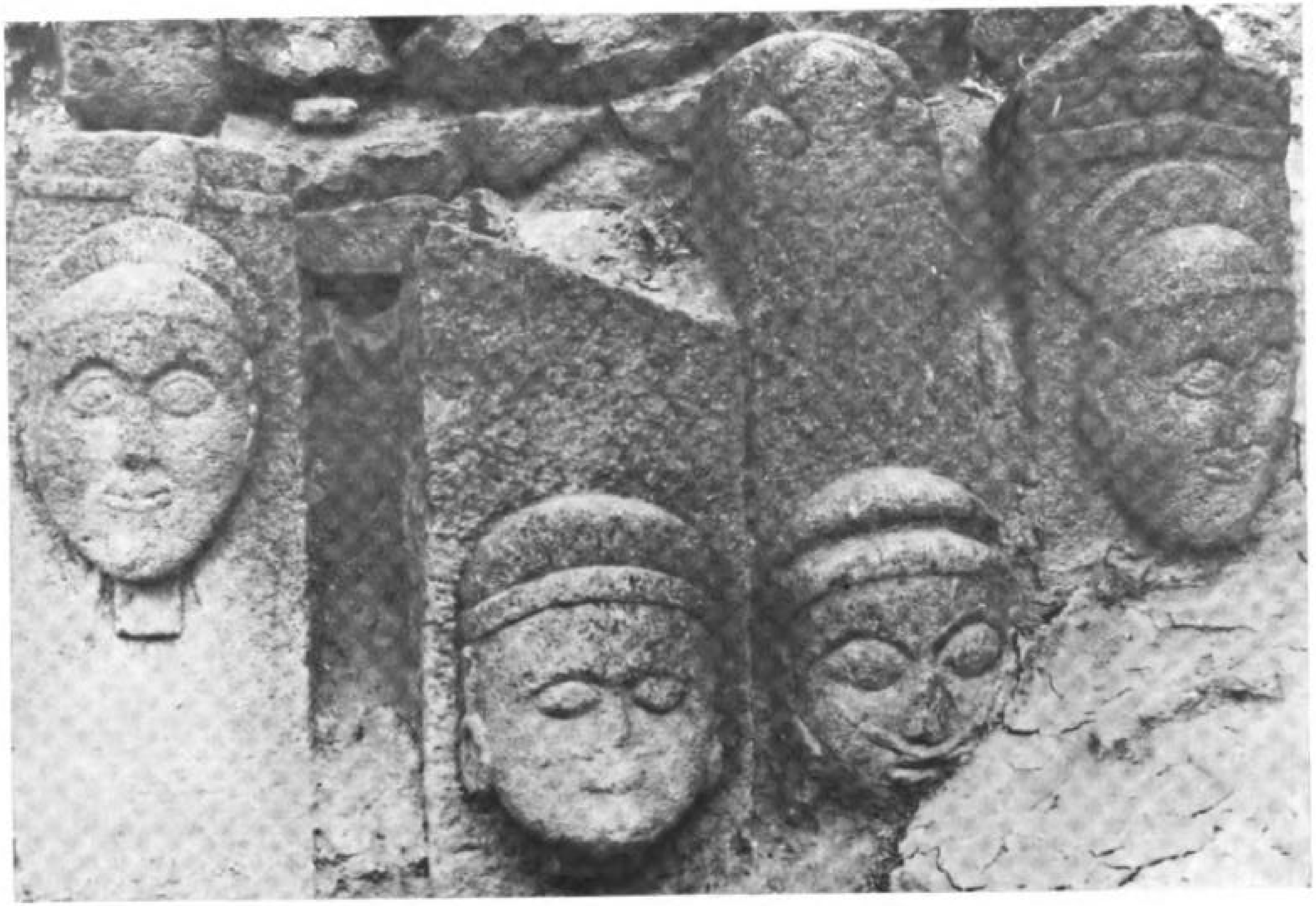

Fig. 38. Pillars with faces of heroes, Korṭī

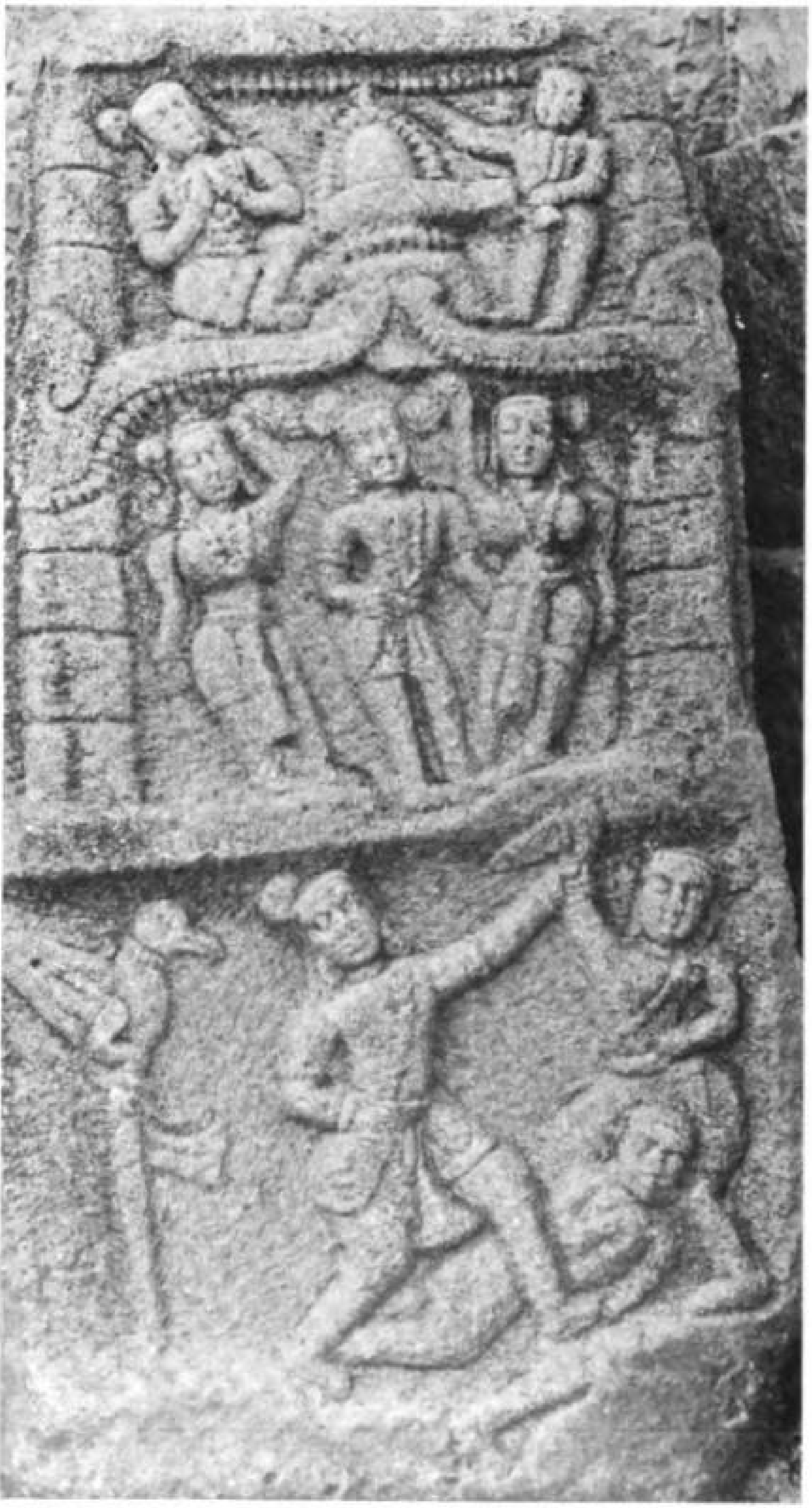

Fig. 39. A hero-stone, Veḷāpūr area

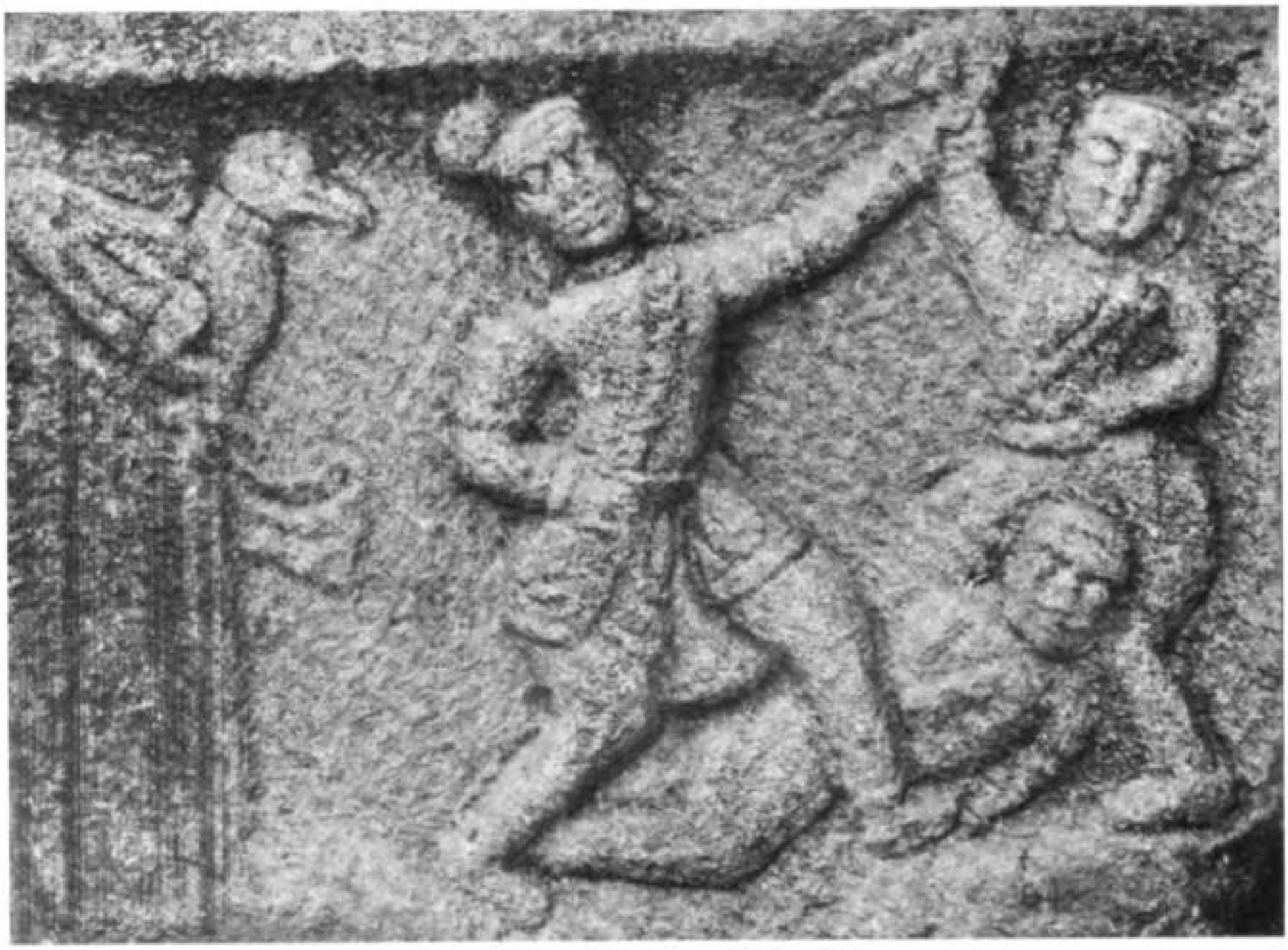

Fig. 40. Details of Fig. 39

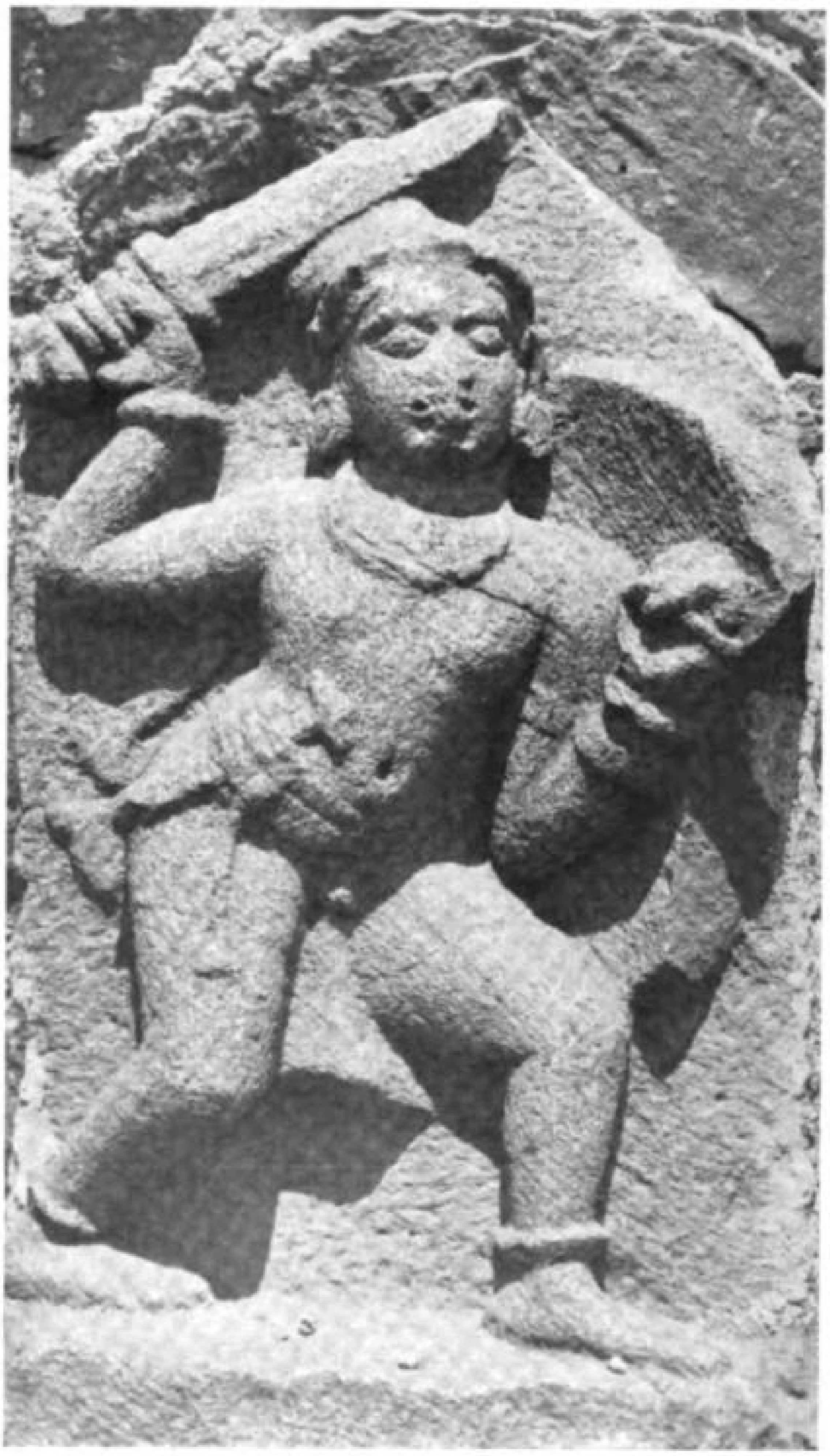

Fig. 41. A hero-stone, Ridhore

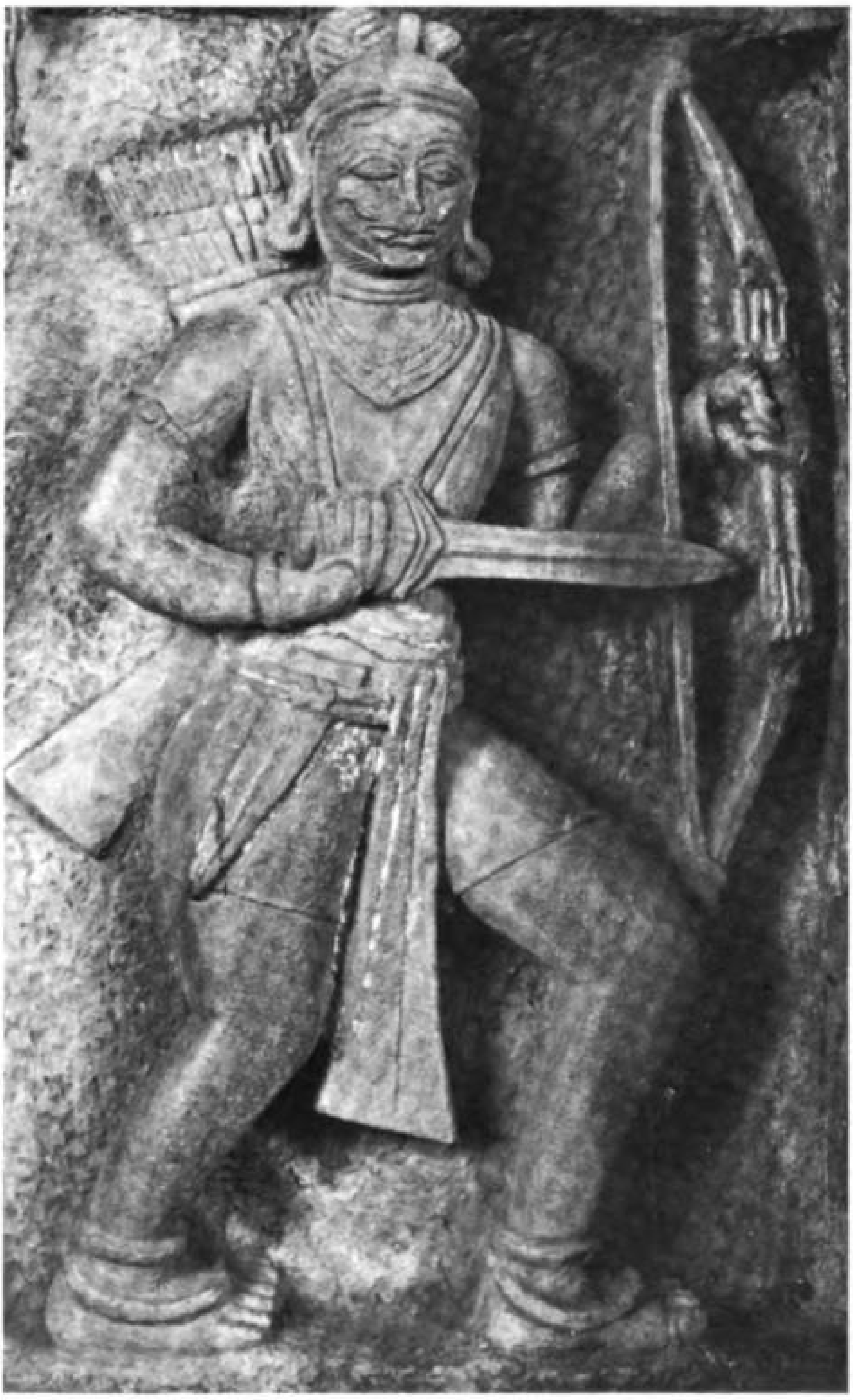

Fig. 42. A hero-stone, Mārkaṇḍī

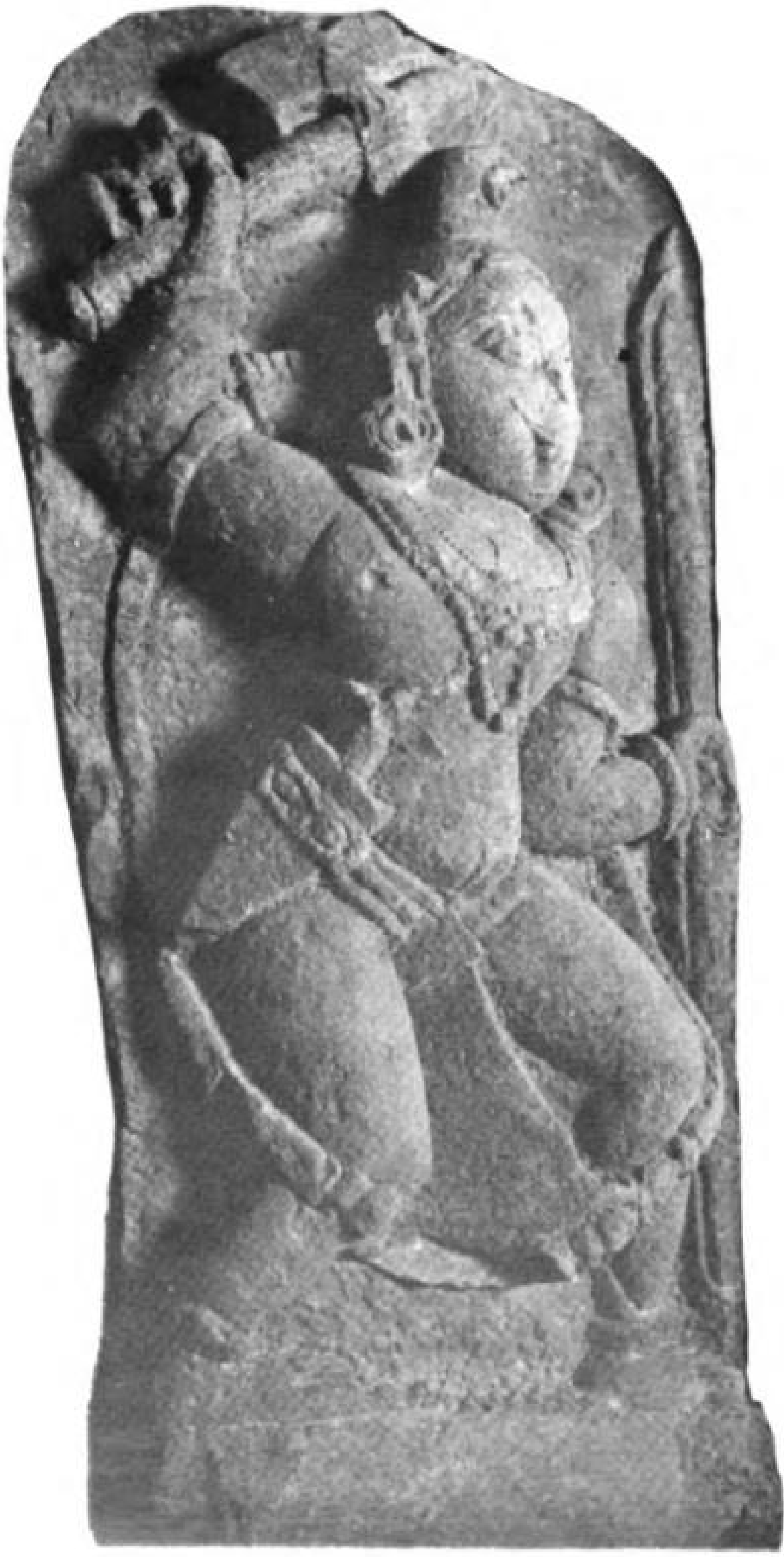

Fig. 43. A hero-stone, Mārkaṇḍī

commemorate the *samādhi-maraṇa* of lay female disciples is more than double the number of the memorials erected to commemorate the death of the nuns. The example set by the saints of early centuries appears to have inspired the lay-disciples, particularly between the 12th and 14th cent. The social and chronological distribution of these *samādhis* helps us understand not only the growing influence of this system, but also the popularity of Jainism in Karnataka between the 10th and 15th cent. and its steady decline during the 14th and 15th cent. This decline reached what we may regard as its dead end in the 16th cent.

The memorials were (generally) erected either by the members of the *sangha* or by the lay-disciples of the deceased preceptor. The *kantīyars* also erected such memorials to their senior colleagues and to the *śramaṇas*. Neither saints nor nuns appear to have erected *niśidhis* in honour of their lay-disciples, male or female. Similarly, the *śramaṇas* appear to have not erected any memorial for *kantīyars* or nuns. The overwhelming majority of the *niśidhis* were established by the lay-disciples, not only because of their economic capability, but also because they considered it their social as well as spiritual obligation.

We tried to inquire into the distribution pattern of the *niśidhis* and its corrolation with the *sangha*, *gaṇa*, *gaccha* and of the *śrāvakas* according to their social and professional status. Our conclusion with regard to the former is indecisive, because a considerable number of inscriptions do not mention these details and, we feel, that it would be hazardous to draw conclusion with the available data. But with regard to the socio-professional background, we are able to get a rough but reliable picture. Of the kings of Karnataka we have only three records. Mārasimha of the Ganga dynasty was one of them. He is praised in this inscription as the patron of several *mānastambhas* and *bastis*, among which the Kūge-Brahmadeva pillar on Candragiri at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa may be one. The inscription does not mention the term *niśidhi*, hence we may safely infer that the present record found on the pillar was recorded after his death in recognition of service he rendered to Jainism, rather than to commemorate his *samādhi-maraṇa*. The other two examples are those of the Rāsṭṛakūṭa king, Indra IV and of Nītimārga. Like the record of Mārasimha, the record of Harihara II and Devarāya of the Vijayanagara dynasty, on the walls of Akkanabasti in Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, cannot be regarded as *niśidhis*, for neither the *sanyāsana* rite nor the term *niśidhi* is mentioned in these inscriptions. We may safely infer that not many Jaina kings and queens resorted to the *sanyāsa* and got *niśidhis* erected in their honour. This means, that even at the height of popularity of Jainism in Karnataka, when it was patronised by kings and queens, the *niśidhis* were not fancied by the cream of the aristocracy. The picture is not, however, different in the case of the chieftains as well as the immediate subordinates of the royal family. Although the quantum of evidence is not impressive, it is interesting to note that Cāvuṇḍarāya, a minister of the Gangas; and Gangarāja, Huḷḷarāja and Mariyānes under the Hoysaḷa dynasty, who were staunch Jainas, erected monolithic images, pillars, temples and *niśidhis* for their teachers and relatives. However they neither appear to have resorted to the *sanyāsa* rite, nor got *niśidhis* erected in their own honour. We have evidence of a *niśidhi* erected only to two minor chieftains in Karnataka: one of the 11th cent. and another of the 15th cent.

But some chieftains and several ministers, *daṇṇāyakas* and other officials, erected memorials not only in honour of their spiritual heads, but also of their wives, sisters and mothers. Gangarāja's family of the 12th cent. bears this out. But with the decline of Jainism in Karnataka after the 12-13th cent., this practice appears to have survived only in definite social and professional groups. Of these, the *seṭṭis* (who probably belonged to the upper-middle economic group but held very little political power) and *gāvuṇḍas* (who belonged to the middle class but held interesting bureaucratic position, and also a place in politics), are the most conspicuous ones. Of the *niśidhis* erected to the *seṭṭis*, one belongs to the 12th cent., four to the 13th, none to the 14th and 15th and only one to the 16th cent. Besides these, four more *niśidhis*, whose dates cannot be determined, have also been found. Of the *niśidhis* erected for the *gāvuṇḍa* families, at least one can definitely be assigned to the 12th cent., (although several of those under the miscellaneous group may also belong

Century	*Saints*	*Nuns*	*Laymen*	*Laywomen*	*Gauḍas*	*Gauḍis*	*Seṭṭis(M)*	*Seṭṭis(F)*	*Kings*	*Chiefs*	*Total*
6-7th cent.	15	5	1	0	0		0				21
8th cent.	8	1	0	0	0		0				9
9th cent.	3	1	1	0	0		0				5
10th cent.	10	2	3	2	0		0	1	2		20
11th cent.	3	2	1	2	1		1	1		1	12
12th cent.	10	1	6	7	1		2	1			28
13th cent.	6	1	8	4	6	1	3	5		1	35
14th cent.	6	0	5	4	4	0	0	0		1	20
15th cent.	1	0	2	2	4	0	1	0	2		12
16th cent.	2	0	0	0	0		1	0			3
17th cent.	2	0	0	0	0		0	0			2
18th cent.	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	1		1
19th cent.	1	0	0		0		0				1
Miscellaneous	26	6	11	3	12	4	6				68
Uncertain	13	0	0	0	0	0	0				13*

*See Appendice

to this period), atleast six can be attributed to the 13th cent., five to the 14th and two to the 15th. About a dozen inscriptions, which mention *niśidhis* erected for *gāvuṇḍas*, may either belong to these four centuries or to a later date. Thus it is only upto the 15-16th cent. that we get recorded evidence relating to the *niśidhi* memorials erected in honour of lay-men. Among the latter the *seṭṭis* and *gāvuṇḍas* stand out, through whose patronage Jainism appears to have derived its sustenance after it lost royal patronage.

A study of the geographical distribution of the *niśidhi* stones would have been as rewarding as the one made aboves but, unfortunately, it is not possible to undertake such a study at present as parts of former Hyderabad, Bombay and Madras Karnataka areas are still not as thoroughly surveyed as the former Mysore state. Nonetheless, the available data indicates concentration of this practice in certain holy centres. The largest number is found in the Hassan Dt., and next largest in the Shimoga Dt. In the Hassan region not less than one hundred and three *niśidhis* are found, of which about a hundred are located in Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa itself. No other centre compares with this centre in Karnataka. Next in the order is probably Koppal in the Raichur Dt. The published records of this town have helped us to know that atleast twenty-two *niśidhis* were erected in this place. There is no doubt that these two were undoubtedly the greatest Jaina centres of Karnataka. Though not less than fifty-two *niśidhis* have been discovered in the Shimoga Dt., they are not concentrated in any centre; of these Here Āvaḷi and Humcha appear to have been considered holy by the Jains.

Both literary and epigraphical evidence help us realise that the Jains preferred to erect *niśidhis* in select sacred centres. It is interesting to draw attention to a reference found in the *Cāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* wherein saint Kumāra Sena is stated to have shifted his seat of meditation from Mulugunda to Koppaṇa because he felt that he may not attain liberation in the former centre. Epigraphical evidence gives an indication that *niśidhi* memorials were erected in memory of persons in certain holy centres rather than in places of their actual death. We have the example of Mārasimha who died at Bankāpura in the Dharwad Dt., but whose death was commemorated at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Similarly, Bhānukīrtideva's end at Hūvinabāgi in the Bellary Dt., was commemorated at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Hassan Dt. These instances prove that the *samādhi-maraṇa* at a holy spot was not a pre-condition for the erection of the *niśidhi* in a known holy centres. Interesting details are also found with regard to the mode of the erection and the method of the maintenance of *niśidhis*, but we shall not go into those details in this paper.

APPENDICE

I. 6-7th *Cent.*

Saints:	1. *EC* II, 1; 2. *Ibid.*, 2(2); 3. *Ibid.*, 13(11); 4. *Ibid.*, 14(12); 5. *Ibid.*, 15(13); 6. *Ibid.*, 94(84); 7. *Ibid.*, 98(88); 8. *Ibid.*, 104(92); 9. *Ibid.*, 110(95); 10. *Ibid.*, 126(111); 11. *Ibid.*, 130(113); 12. *Ibid.*, 85(75); 13. *Ibid.*, 87(76); 14. *Ibid.*, 20(17); 15. *Ibid.*, 118(93).
Nuns:	1. *Ibid.*, 111(96); 2. *Ibid.*, 112(97); 3. *Ibid.*, 113(98); 4. *Ibid.*, 129(112); 5. *Ibid.*, 132(114).
Laymen:	1. *Ibid.*, 114(99).

II. 8th *Cent.*

Saints:	1. *EC* II, 10(8); 2. *Ibid.*, 11(9); 3. *Ibid.*, 16(14); 4. *Ibid.*, 17(15); 5. *Ibid.*, 89(79); 6. *Ibid.*, 92(82); 7. *Ibid.*, 95(83); 8. *Ibid.*, 6(5).
Nuns:	1. *EC* II, 9(7).

III. 9th *Cent.*

Saints:	1. *APGAS* Nos. 3 and 57; 2. *KHQ* II, No. XLVIII; 3. *KI of Koppal* 1935, No. 2.
Nuns:	1. *ASMAR* 1916, para 68.
Laymen:	1. *EC* II, 68(62).

IV. 10th *Cent.*

Saints:	1. *EC* III, My. 40; 2. *EC* XIV, Kr. 84; 3. *EC* XIV, Yd. 79; 4. *EC* XV, Hn. 55; 5. *KHQ* II, No. XLVIII, 153; 6. *Ibid.*, 154; 7. *Ibid.*, 155; 8. *ASMAR* 1913, para 58; 9. *ASMAR* 1914, para 63; 10. *ASMAR* 1914, para 65.
Nuns:	1. *EC* XV, Hn. 65; 2. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 74.
Laymen:	1. *EC* XV, Hn. 68; 2. *ASMAR* 1920, para 67; 3. *ASMAR* 1940, No. 34.
Laywomen:	1. *EC* II, 78(68); 2. *ASMAR* 1914, para 65.
Laywomen:	Seṭṭi: 1. *EC* XV, Hn. 67.
Kings:	1. *EC* II, 64(59); 2. *Ibid.*, 163 (133).

V. 11th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *EC* I, 71(34); 2. *Ibid.*, 89(56); 3. *ASMAR* 1917, para 19.
Nuns: 1. *EC* II, 203(150); 2. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 74.
Laymen: 1. *EC* II, 532(384).
Chieftains: 1. *EC* II,101(30).
Laywomen: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 198; 2. *ASMAR* 1920, para 28.
Laywomen: Seṭṭi: 1. *SII* XX, No. 249.
Gauḍa: 1. *EC* VII, Hl. 79.
Seṭṭi: 1. *SII* XX, No. 7.

VI. 12th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *EC* II, 70(63); 2. *Ibid.*, 71(64); 3. *Ibid.*, 73(66); 4. *Ibid.*, 77(67); 5. *Ibid.*, 135(117); 6. *Ibid.*, 156(127); 7. *Ibid.*, 173(140); 8. *SII* XV, 544; 9. *ASMAR* 1916, para 83; 10. *ASMAR* 1929, No. 41.
Nuns: 1. *ASMAR* 1916, para 147.
Laymen: 1. *EC* II, 155(126); 2. *Ibid.*, 174(141); 3. *Ibid.*, 175(142); 4. *Ibid.*, 212(163); 5. *APGAS* No. 3, 65; 6. *KI* V, No. 92.
Laywomen: 1. *EC* II, 136(118); 2. *Ibid.*, 157 (128); 3. *Ibid.*, 176(143); 4. *SII* XV, No. 550; 5. *ASMAR* 1931, No. 63; 6. *ASMAR* 1941, No. 30; 7. *ASMAR* 1943, Nos. 73-74.
Laywomen: Seṭṭi: 1. *EC* VII, Sk. 148.
Gauḍa: 1. *SII* XV, No. 598.
Seṭṭi: 1. *EC* II, 208(159); 2. *ASMAR* 1929, No. 17.

VII. 13th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *SII* XV, No. 606; 2. *KI of Koppal* 1935, No. 1; 3. *APGAS* Nos. 3, 56; 4. *ASMAR* 1907, para 50; 5. *ASMAR* 1929, No. 14; 6. Gurav, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
Nuns: 1. *EC* II, 539 (389).
Laymen: 1. *APGAS* No. 3, 56; 2. *Ibid.*, 59; 3. *SII* XV, 608; 4. *Ibid.*, 399; 5. *APGAS* 1961, 59; 6. *KI* IV, 9; 7. *Ibid.*, V, 43; 8. *Ibid.*, VI, 51.
Chief: 1. *SII* XV, No. 198.
Laywomen: 1. *EC* VII, Sk. 232; 2. *KI* V, 108; 3. *ASMAR* 1929, No. 58; 4. *KI* V, No. 108.
Laywomen: Seṭṭi: 1. *EC* II, 358(477); 2. *EC* VII, Sk. 161; 3. *EC* VIII, Sb. 162; 4. *KI* VI, No. 49; 5. *Ibid.*, 50.
Gauḍi: 1. *SII* XV, No. 623.
Gauḍas: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 101; 2. *Ibid.*, Sb. 43; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 49; 4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 50; 5. *KI* I, 47; 6. *ASMAR* 1934, No. 49.
Seṭṭis: 1. *SII* XV, No. 613; 2. *SII* XX, No. 223; 3. *KI Koppal* Nos. 4 and 7.

VIII. 14th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *EC* II, 72(65); 2. *Ibid.*, 360(254); 3. *Ibid.*, 378(272); 4. *Ibid.*, 379(273); 5. *EC* VIII, Sb. 200; 6. *SII* VII, No. 310.

Lay disciples men: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 116; 2. *Ibid.*, Sb. 201; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 51; 4. *SII* XV, No. 659; 5. *ASMAR* 1931, No. 12.

Chief: 1. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 53.

Laywomen: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 121; 2. *Ibid.*, Sb. 199; 3. *ASMAR* 1938, No. 36; 4. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 50.

Gauḍas: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 104; 2. *Ibid.*, Sb. 110; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 121; 4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 196.

IX. 15th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *KI* I, No. 49.

Laymen: 1. *SII* XV, No. 667; 2. *KI* I, No. 38.

King: 1. *EC* II, 445(328); 2. *Ibid.*, 446 (329).

Laywomen: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 51; 2. *KI* I, No. 39.

Gauḍas: 1. *EC* VIII, Sb. 117; 2. *Ibid.*, Sb. 118; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 119; 4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 120.

Seṭṭi: 1. *ASMAR* 1939, No. 1.

X. 16th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *EC* IV, Ch. 149; 2. *EI* XXVIII, 292.

Seṭṭi: 1. *SII* XV, No. 693.

XI. 17th *Cent.*

Saints: 1. *EI* XXVIII, 46; 2. *EC* IV, Ch. 149.

XII. 18th *Cent.*

King: 1. *EC* I, 29.

XIII. 19th *Cent.*

Saint: 1. *EC* II, 252(167).

XIV. *Miscellaneous:*

Saints: 1. *EC* II, 24(21); 2. *Ibid.*, 25(22); 3. *Ibid.*, 26 (23); 4. *Ibid.*, 27(24); 5. *Ibid.*, 28(25); 6. *Ibid.*, 30(27); 7. *Ibid.*, 32(29); 8. *Ibid.*, 34(31); 9. *Ibid.*, 35(32); 10. *Ibid.*, 36(33); 11. *Ibid.*, 37(34); 12. *Ibid.*, 81(71-72); 13. *Ibid.*, 118(103); 14. *Ibid.*, 119(104); 15. *Ibid.*, 120(108); 16. *Ibid.*, 121(106); 17. *Ibid.*, 123(108); 18. *Ibid.*, 364(258); 19. *EC* IV, Ch. 3; 20. *EC* XIV, Yd. 79; 21. *APGAS*

	Nos. 3, 57 and 62; 22. *KHQ* XLVIII, 156; 23. *ASMAR* 1926, No. 12; 24. *ASMAR* 1927, No. 50; 25. *ASMAR* 1909, para 45; 26. *ASMAR* 1909, para 80.
Nuns:	1. *EC* II, 23(20); 2. *EC* XIV, Tn. 266; 3. *EC* XIV, My. 67; 4. *Ibid.*, Tn. 88; 5. *ASMAR* 1924, No. 7; 6. *ASMAR* 1932, No. 15.
Laymen:	1. *EC* II, 7(6); 2. *Ibid.*, 21(18); 3. *Ibid.*, 22(19); 4. *Ibid.*, 29(26); 5. *Ibid.*, 31 (28); 6. *Ibid.*, 33(30); 7. *EC* VIII, Sb. 97; 8. *Ibid.*, Sb. 113; 9. *Ibid.*, Sb. 210; 10. *KHQ* II, 10; 11. *ASMAR* 1930, No. 86.
Gauḍas:	1. *EC* II, 243(468); 2. *EC* VIII, Sb. 53; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 111; 4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 114; 5. *Ibid.*, Sb. 115; 6. *Ibid.*, Sb. 122; 7. *Ibid.*, Sb. 123; 8. *Ibid.*, Sb. 198; 9. *Ibid.*, Sb. 334; 10. *Ibid.*, Sb. 40; 11. *EC* XI, Mk. 16; 12. *Ibid.*, Mk. 17.
Seṭṭis:	1. *EC* VII, Ci. 7; 2. *EC* VIII, Sb. 406; 3. *EC* XI, Dg. 9; 4. *Ibid.*, Mk. 19; 5. *EC* XII, Mi. 68; 6. *ASMAR* 1929, No. 17.
Laywomen:	Gauḍi: 1. *EC* II, 122(107); 2. *EC* VIII, Sb. 112; 3. *Ibid.*, Sb. 122; 4. *Ibid.*, Sb. 124; 5. *Ibid.*, Sb. 195; 6. *Ibid.*, Sb. 197; 7. *SII* XX, No. 251.

XV. *Uncertain:*

Saints:	1. *EC* VII, Sk. 217; 2. *Ibid.*, Sk. 218; 3. *Ibid.*, Sk. 219; 4. *Ibid.*, Sk. 220; 5. Kundanagar, *op. cit.*, No. 38; 6. *ASMAR* 1909, para 25; 7. *Ibid.*, para 29; 8. *ASMAR* 1912, para 32; 9. *EC* II, 156(127); 10. *Ibid.*, 131(426); 11. *EC* VIII, Sk. 142; 12. *APGAS* Nos. 3, 64; 13. *SII* XV, No. 616.

IV

MEMORIALS AND SOCIETY

BOUNDARY DISPUTES AND HERO-STONES IN KARNATAKA

G. S. DIKSHIT

SMRITI literature on boundary disputes: In ancient and mediaeval India, strict injunctions were prescribed by writers on the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstra* to settle boundary disputes to the mutual satisfaction of the parties concerned. This literature classifies such disputes into two categories: 1. disputes between individuals over a field in a village; and 2. disputes over the boundaries between two villages. The first is called, "field dispute" or *kṣetraja-vivāda*, and the second, "boundary dispute", or *sīmā-vivāda.* I shall first survey this literature to find out the measures it prescribes for the settlement of boundary disputes and then instance examples, where, on the basis of those measures, such disputes were settled peacefully. Lastly, I shall give examples which could not be settled and which remained disputed.

Measures for the peaceful settlement of land and boundary disputes: The rule of the *śāstras* was that all transactions relating to land should take place in public. The *Mitākṣara* says that all transactions relating to sale and rights on land should take place publicly, in the presence of the leaders of the village in which the lands lay.[1] This was necessary because, in case of dispute, the leading men of the village had to act as witnesses. Similarly, all transactions relating to land which lay between villages had to be settled in the presence of the representatives of the four neighbouring villages known as *caturgrāma*, or *caugām*, or *caugāve.*

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[1] Gharpure, J.R., (ed.), *Yājñavalkya Smriti* II, pt. IV, p. 993.

The second precaution taken to obviate such disputes was by fixing boundary marks. The *Mitākṣara* says that, in a dispute over the boundary of a field appertaining to two villages, as also in a dispute regarding the boundaries of a field falling within one village, the neighbours and others should determine the boundary marked by signs.[2]

The third precaution taken was to see that every village kept a record of its boundaries. An inscription in Degāve, of the Goa Kadamba times, calls itself a *sīmā-śāsana* (boundary record) and gives a detailed list of the boundary marks of that *agrahāra*.[2a] This practice of keeping a list of the boundary marks can also be seen in Karnataka in the Keḷadi times. A record of 1743 A.D., of a Keḷadi ruler, explains how the records of the demarcated boundaries were kept. "In order to mark out the ground with stones engraved with the *linga* (the boundary mark), we (the ruler) have sent a servant, Mādiyaṇṇa, who will assemble those of the four boundary villages and in their presence mark out the ground according to the *rekhā* (measuring line) so that no dispute may arise, and set up the boundary stones. This paper will be copied into the *Senabova's kaḍita* and returned."[3]

Finally, when for some reason witnesses and records were not available or even if available were of doubtful validity, the dispute was to be settled by recourse to an ordeal. In other words, when a human agency could not settle a dispute, there was an appeal to the superhuman agency. Having seen what precautions were taken to fore-stall disputes in theory, we will now see how these rules worked in practice.

The working of Caturgrāma or Caugāve: According to a record from Maḍakasira of A.D., 950-1, in the presence of the four villages of *caugāve*, namely Cirupi, Cinta-kuṇṭe, Ciriyavoḷalu and Uluvutta, two *gāvuṇḍas* were granted land for repairing the Oḷagere tank.[4] In 1178 A.D., in Haṭṇa (Mysore Dt.,), *paṭṭaṇasvāmi*-Soviśeṭṭi made certain gifts of land with the approval of the headman and inhabitants (*gauḍa-praje*) of *caugāve*.[5]

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1149.

[2a] *JBBRAS* IX, p. 30.

[3] *EC* VIII, Sb. 354.

So far we were concerned with the institutions of the *caugāve* in its task of preventing future disputes by being a witness to transactions which might in course of time lead to disputes. But disputes did take place and, when they did, the same institutions were generally successful in settling them peacefully.

In about 1214 A.D., in a village called Kaḷikaṭṭe (Hassan Dt.,), a land dispute arose between the authorities of a temple and their neighbours. The dispute was referred to the temple priests (*jīyas*), village headmen (*gauḍas*), and representatives of the four neighbouring villages (*caugāve*). The arbitrators inspected the disputed lands and told the temple authorities, "it is not right for you to dispute about this," on which, they agreed and said, "We will make no dispute."[6]

A similar example of peaceful settlement of a boundary dispute between two villages by the intervention of the neighbouring villages comes from Andhra. A boundary dispute between Ponnāḍiya and Bontalkoṭi was settled by a judicial tribunal appointed by Aniyanka Bhīma III. The *nāyakas* of seven villages were selected as judges, and Narasimha-mahāmuni conducted the proceedings. After examining the record of Ponnāḍiya, the boundary was fixed in favour of that village and it was given a letter of authority. Offenders against the agreement were to be punished by confiscating their property, expelling them from society or depriving them of their livelihood.[7]

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[4] *SII* IX, pt. i., No. 26, of Maḍakasira (Anantapur Dt.,). In spite of such precautions as the one contained in this inscription, Maḍakasira leads all places in South India in possessing hero-stone inscriptions spread over the longest period, from the 9th to the 17th cent., A.D. Probably it has also the largest number of such records.

[5] *EC* IV, Ng. 70.

[6] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 49.

[7] *SII* V, No. 1290.

Ordeals for settling boundary disputes: As we have seen, the last peaceful method of settling a boundary dispute was by means of an ordeal. In a record of 1548 A.D., from Bābillapadu in Andhra,[8] it is stated that a boundary dispute between two villages, Guḍimeṭṭa and Bābillapadu, was settled after one Meda Timinandu performed the ordeal of walking over the boundary carrying a firepot. An earlier inscription, of 1218 A.D., from Cilamukuru, states that persons who walked on the boundary-line of the village carrying a fire-pot were given a grant of land.[9]

We have the example of an unjust and forcible planting of boundary stones which fortunately was detected. In 1275 A.D., there was a dispute between Garuḍanahaḷḷi and Muruḍīpura with regard to their boundary. When a copper-plate was produced, one of the parties declared on oath that it did not record the agreement that had been arrived at and that the existing boundary-stones had been set up by force. The king, Narasimha III, decided that this should be settled by ordeal as no other reliable evidence could be obtained. A trial by ordeal was held at the Hoysaḷeśvara temple, in the capital, and the case was decided in favour of the representative of Garuḍanahaḷḷi. Narasimha III gave him a certificate recording his judgment about the land-grant.[10]

When there was a boundary dispute between villages, the neighbouring villages adjudicated; but when there was a boundary dispute between two territorial divisions like Gangavāḍi and Noḷambavāḍi, then the king himself had to intervene. In 1220, A.D., Hoysaḷa Vīra Narasimha settled one such dispute with the help of his ministers.[11]

Force and Justice: Might is Right: Now we come to disputes which were settled after a fight and the death of one of the contending parties. Here is one example. In the reign of Vīra Ballāḷa, in a boundary dispute between the people of Tagare and Kusavara, Kavurana died while fighting with a sword.[12] Once the fighting began, it was difficult to stop it. The fight between the two neighbouring villages of Kuppaṭūru and Neraḷige (Shimoga Dt.,) went on for two years (C. 1141 to 1143 A.D.,).[13] When the dispute dragged on for years, it led to blood-feuds, each side waiting for an opportunity to take vengeance on the other and thus making the dispute a never-ending one. Such was the fight, probably the worst of its kind, between two villages, Indavura and Uppavaḷḷi in Chikmagalur Dt. It lasted a hundred years. In 1091 A.D., during the reign of Vinayāditya Hoysaḷa, a dispute arose about the bamboo-trees of a field, between Būvagāvuṇḍa of Indavura and Biṭṭiyaṇṇa of Uppavaḷḷi. In the course of the fight which ensued, Būvagāvuṇḍa killed Biṭṭiyaṇṇa. Very soon the former was killed by a relative of Biṭṭiyaṇṇa. Thus began a blood-feud between these two families which extended to the neighbouring villages.[14] This was both a land dispute between two neighbours and a boundary dispute between two adjacent villages. About a cent. later, to be exact, in 1190 A.D., we come to the last incident in this feud. "On the inhabitants of Indavuru fighting on account of a field-boundary dispute with the inhabitants of Uppavaḷḷi, Chandagāvuṇḍa fought and died. Whereupon the men of nine *nāḍus* assembled and saying, 'both parties should not perish', examined the boundaries and decided that 'to the people of Uppavaḷḷi does not belong even one foot of land from the tank upwards, from the natural outlet of the tank, and from the stream of Kañchale westwards upto Uppavaḷḷi; but as they have a claim to some land, gold should be paid as compensation by the people of Indavuru for the deaths of Uppavaḷḷi." To this effect, an inscribed hero-stone was set up.[15]

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[8] 321 of 1924.
[9] *NDI*, Podili, 5.
[10] *EC* III, Md. 79.
[11] *Ibid.*, VII, Ci. 72.

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[12] *ASMAR* 1926, No. 22, p. 46.

[13] *EC* VIII, Sb. 252 and 253.

[14] *ASMAR* 1932, No. 2, p. 178 from Uppavaḷḷi.

[15] *Ibid.*, No. 12, pp. 168-9.

Sometimes, even the arbitrators could not stop a fight. At such times, what they sought to achieve was a lessening of the ferocity of the fight. Two villages, which were fighting between themselves, evidently after much discussion, came to an agreement that the customary raids should not be in future as savage as in the past; and although "woundings, stabbing and deaths" may take place, yet the fighting men of each village will hereafter refrain from molesting the peaceful inhabitants of the village they attack or from destroying their houses, and that, should such persons be injured or houses be destroyed, the guilty party will submit to being fined."[16] From this example it appears that each village had its own fighting men or militia, and when fights involving the prestige of the village took place, they alone fought, leaving the peaceful section of the community to carry on their normal avocations. In such circumstances, the fighting was like duelling, which was quite common all over the world till recently.

A plea may be made here for the study of the memorial stones in the perspective of the efforts made by society for the peaceful settlement of such disputes, and not completely divorced from their social context.

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[16] Sewell, R., *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, (ed.), Krishnaswami Aiyangar, S., p. 156.

ECONOMIC FACTORS GOVERNING THE MEMORIAL STONES IN KARNATAKA

G. R. KUPPUSWAMY

THE establishment of Memorial Stones — normally following the death of a hero in a battle, arising out of political, social, economic and religious causes, was generally accompanied by land-grants. An attempt is made here to examine the (*a*) purpose, (*b*) content and procedure, and (*c*) proportion and value of grants made on such occasions.

(*a*) The main purpose of the grant was to provide for the surviving dependents and relatives of the heroes, some of whom died according to the vow taken earlier[1] (*viḷavakyam*) or by an act of unjust killing.[2] Land was also granted to meet the cost of the consecration, preservation and maintenance of the rites of the memorial; to his dependants; as a reward.[3] Among the recipients were those who established *vīrasthamba*, the god, the teacher and the Brahmins.[4] Sometimes it was aimed at facilitating the funeral offerings and for the conduct of eight kinds of ceremonies.[5] When Ecaladevī ended her life by the rite of *sanyāsana* in the early 12th cent., the occasion was made use of to relieve the suffering of the people under drought.[6] Grants were often made to compensate the loss of life in an accident as in the case of Rāmayya, who was crushed to death by a stone while engaged in the construction of a temple.[7]

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[1] *EC* VII, Hl. 47.

[2] *EC* IV, Yl. 29.

[3] *EC* XI, Dg. 87; *EC* VII, Hl. 117; *SII* XV, 595; *EC* VII, Sk. 49 respectively.

[4] *EC* XI, Cl. 42; *EC* VII, Hl. 78; Sk. 40; Sk. 85 respectively.

[5] *EC* IV, Ch. 92 and *EC* VI, Cm. 2.

[6] *EC* VI, Cm. 70.

(*b*) The contents may be analysed with reference to the actual grants made, the procedure followed in making such grants and the donors and donees involved.

A simple way of honouring the dead was by erecting a Memorial Stone and by providing for its maintenance.[8] Occasionally the dead were honoured by the construction or renovation of temples, tanks, and other monuments, and by planting of trees and laying of lawns around the *vīragal.*[9] A feast followed the installation ceremony.[10] There is a unique instance of a hero honoured with a *vīragal*, during his life-time, after he had triumphantly returned from the battle-field.[11] In another instance, a memorial is erected to honour an earlier promise.[12]

The services of a hero were recognized by making land grants, apportionment of taxes, a share of the revenues of the village, monetary grants, and, by awarding honorific titles and symbols to the survivors. Grants were made either to commemorate the dead, or for services to their gods, Brahmins or teachers. Occasionally, the *umbaḷis*, maintenance grants to the survivors, were also given.[13] Grants were sometimes accompanied by the award of the chieftainship of the *nāḍ.*[14] As a part of the ceremony, the surviving son received the *permāḍivaṭṭa* or *nagattara* crown.[15] Such lands or houses were generally exempted from taxes and dues.[16]

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[7] *EC* VII, Hl. 77.

[8] *EC* III, Md. 85; *Ibid.*, Ml. 18.

[9] *EC* XV, Hn. 107; *EC* I (R), Cg. 47; *EC* XII, Mi. 96 respectively.

[10] *EC* VI, Cm. 100.

[11] *EC* XII, Si. 99.

[12] *Ibid.*, Si. 52.

[13] *EC* VII, Ci. 40, 45; Hl. 79 and *EC* V, Ag. 26 and 61.

[14] *EC* IV, Hg. 103.

[15] *EC* IX, Bn. 83.

[16] *EC* VII, Sk. 50.

While grant of land was most popular, it was not unusual to apportion gifts of income from taxes, such as taxes on betel, sheep, bangle-sellers, fixed land-rent, and lumpsum monetary grant.[17] In addition to the land-grants, the relatives of the deceased received a parasol, horse and drum, the use of which was the privilege of those of high social and political status.[18] In one instance the wife and children of the dead were honoured with the grant of a palanquin and a canopy;[19] in another, the *uppara muḍi* together with the Nandi flag were raised in honour of the dead.[20] There is an interesting instance of a hero who fought and died after obtaining security of double-pay from his general. The memorial was erected subsequently by his wife, son and the trustees of the grant.[21]

A procedure for the grant of *umbaḷi* land appears to have been evolved. One had to apply for it and needed a strong recommendation.[22] This seems to have been a feature of later days — in the time of Keḷadi rulers. Often prominent men and local officers sent a petition to the ruler for the award of *umbaḷis*.[23] Such petitions were also made by the aggrieved families.[24] There is an instance of *kalnāḍ* being resumed by the State after the death of the original recipient.[25]

Generally, close relatives of the dead hero — such as the wife, the son, the daughter, the father, the mother, the younger or the elder brother, their sons, uncle of the deceased, the brother-in-law, the son-in-law and the father-in-law — erected Memorial Stones.[26] The ruling chiefs, the *prabhu gāvuṇḍas* and the ministers often

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17. *SII* XV, 581; *KI* V, 9; *EC* I(R), Cg. 97 and *EC* VII, Hl. 47.
18. *EC* VI, Cm. 157-158.
19. *Ibid.*, Cm. 44.
20. *EC* VII, Ci. 24.
21. *EC* VI, Cm. 99.
22. *EC* VII, Sh. 128.
23. *EC* VI, Cm. 96.
24. *Ibid.*, Cm. 83.
25. *EC* V, Ag. 5.
26. *EC* XV, Bl. 361; VII, Hl. 79; *KI* VI, 7; *EC* VII, Sk. 144; IX, Kn. 46; XV, Bl. 361; XII, Tp. 32; XI, Dg. 169; VII, Sa. 2, 144 and 139; XII, Si. 52.

participated in it.[27] The relatives also constructed temples, wells and tanks in memory of the departed.[28]

Grants of land, either for the maintenance of the memorial or of the hero's dependants, were made by the kings, queens, *heggaḍes*, feudatory chiefs, farmers, subjects or *praje*(?), masters, *mahājanas*, *ūroḍeyas*, *mahāpradhānas*, *mummuridaṇḍas*, eight *hiṭṭus*, *pañcamaṭhas*, *mahānāḷprabhus* and *vṛttikāras*.[29]

Apart from the temples, the gods and the Brahmins, the beneficiaries were evidently the dependants of the deceased hero — such as the father, sons, wife, daughter and brothers. Sometimes the benefits were shared by the institutional as well as individual dependants.[30] The grants were maintained by the local officers.[31]

(*c*) Information relating to the proportion and nature of the land-grant and estimates of its value, are not easily obtained. While there was no ceiling fixed on the land to be granted and such grants included both wet and dry as well as garden lands,[32] they varied in extent from a few *kammas* to several *mattars*. In the case of wet-lands, the variation was from a single unit to as much as fifty *kammas*[33] and sometimes it reached three *mattars*. The variation in the extent of dry lands was much more *i.e.*, from 1 to 6 *mattars*. This was evidently related to the yield per unit, procurement price and cropping pattern. Where the grants are indicated in terms of sowing capacity they are normally restricted to 10 *koḷagas* or 3 *khaṇḍugas*.

Grant of the income of a single or couple of villages or an entire division consisting of as many as 12 villages, is also met with.[34]

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[27] *EC* VI, Cm. 87; *EC* I(R), Cg. 62.

[28] *EC* XII, Tp. 39.

[29] *EC* XII, Tp. 39 and 37; Si. 44; VII Hl. 35; Sh. 268; Hl. 48; *SII* XV, 580; *EC* VII, Ci. 84; *SII* XV, 617, 581 and 595; *KI* V, 61.

[30] *EC* VII, Hl. 65; IV, Hs. 20; XIV, Sr. 315; VI, Cm. 83; *KI* VI, 26; *EC* VII, Sh. 268; Hl. 48; and *EC* VI, Cm. 30.

[31] *EC* XV, Bl. 308.

[32] *EC* IV, Hg. 100 and *SII* XX, 121 respectively.

[33] To be more specific the following units may be noticed:
3, 5, 10, 12, 15, 20, 25, 30 and 40.

[34] *EC* IV, Hs. 20 and IX, Bn. 83.

We also come across a grant of income of a division of 70 or of 1000 villages.[35]

Probably there was no uniform pattern in the making of grants, although the status of the hero may have played a part in determining its size. Those who fought and died were either the bond-servants or persons who followed ordinary professions, and, in exceptional cases, great generals. It is very doubtful whether the grants were adequate enough to maintain the surviving family, as stated in a record.[36] In most cases they were only token grants while it is also true that the grant of land valued at 1 *haṇa*[37] for the maintenance of the hero stone or a presentation of income of two villages for the performance of funeral ceremonies[38] or the grant of 12 *gadyāṇas*[39] for preparing and erecting a Memorial Stone could be regarded as generous reward.

Lumpsum money grants ranged in value from as low as a few *haṇas* to as high as 100 *gadyāṇas*.[40] A record throws interesting light on the principle of reinvestment of money-grant made on the death of a hero. Gūḷiya Bamma Gauḍa deposited the money he had received to purchase a house. He sold the house and got in exchange a piece of dry land. The sale of dry land brought him 20 *honnu* with which he finally made paddy-field.[41]

While it is difficult to get correct estimate of the value of the gift land, a study of inscriptions from the 10th to the 14th cent., reveals that lands were valued anywhere between ½ — 2 *gadyāṇas* to as high as 12 *gadyāṇas* per *mattar.*[42] In monetary terms, land grants for maintenance etc., (which varied between 1 and 2 *mattars*) appeared to have ranged from ½ *gadyāṇa* to 1½ *gadyāṇas* or from 2 to 6 *gadyāṇas* in the case of highly valued lands. In exceptional cases it varied between 12 and 36 *gadyāṇas* (a *gadyāṇa* roughly equalled ½ a *tola*).

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[35] *EC* XIV, Yd. 31 and *ASMAR* 1931, 73.

[36] *EC* XI, Hk. 85.

[37] *ASMAR* 1932, 29.

[38] *EC* XIV, Ch. 92.

[39] *EC* V, Cn. 195.

[40] *EC* VI, Cm. 87 and VII, Hl. 47.

[41] *EC* VI, Mg. 7.

Conclusion: The *mahāsatikal* and *vīragal* memorials are worshipped in our times all over Karnataka, and particularly in the Karwar Dt. Besides land-grants, apportionment of income from taxes, or lumpsum cash payments or token symbolic grants were also made. Whether such provisions were adequate enough to maintain the family of the hero or were merely token-grants is not known. In exceptional cases, however, income from groups of villages was granted.

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[42] The following specific instances may however be noticed:

(*a*) a composite grant of paddy-field of the value of 30 *gadyāṇas* to father and daughter of the deceased (*EC* VI, Cm. 83).

(*b*) a grant of fixed land-rent-10 *gadyāṇas* of gold and one hundred measures of paddy (*EC* I (R), Cg. 97).

(*c*) erection of Memorial Stone at a cost of 12 *gadyāṇas* (*EC* V, Cn. 195).

(*d*) a lumpsum money grant of 100 *gadyāṇas* (*EC* VII, Hl. 47).

(*e*) a grant of land of 1 *paṇa* free of taxes (*EC* VI, Mg. 3).

(*j*) presentation of income of two villages for funeral ceremonies (*EC* IV, Ch. 92).

See also Kuppuswamy, G. R., *Economic Conditions in Karnataka* (A.D., 973–A.D., 1336), (Dharwar, 1975), p. 180; Annexure II to Chapter VI.

ARTISTS OF MEMORIAL STONES IN KARNATAKA: FROM EARLY-CĀLUKYA TO THE KADAMBA TIMES (6TH-10TH CENT. A.D.)

S. SETTAR & G. K. VETTICKAL

THE main purpose of this study of Memorial artists by four of us* is to draw attention to the artists of the memorial stones and to present a catalogue of names of the artists. The catalogue has been prepared after going through about fourteen thousand inscriptions of Karnataka, of which 11,256 are found in the seventeen volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 240 are found in the forty *Annual Reports* of the Mysore Archaeological Department, and the rest are scattered over the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, *Ephigraphia Indica* etc. The search enabled us to collect as many as 314 names. The earliest of these, as far as we could investigate, is that of Kevali, Kamasāra-ācāri, (C. 750 A.D.) son of Aya,[1]; the latest appears to be that of Mariyoja, of the 18th cent. The first carved a memorial in honour of Maldayya, a hero who laid down his life in the Coḷa-Ganga conflict; the second carved a hero-stone to commemorate the death of Mācagavuṇḍa of Sirivangaḷa (modern Sirangala in Somavarpet Tk., of the Coorg Dt.,).[2] From this, it is evident, that inscribing names of the artists prior to the middle of the 8th cent., and after about the 18th cent., was not as popular as it was during the intermediary period.

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*This study has been planned and completed by S. Settar. For the sake of convenience, the study has been divided into Three Sections and the names associated with the main author, in each section have been responsible for the collection of the source material of the period.

[1] *EC* IX, Ht. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, Cg. 38.

Although the artists who worked on the monuments of the Sātavāhana and the Cālukyas of Bādāmi are known, we hardly come across the names of those who were engaged in carving memorials. It is probable that these artists considered their works not significant enough to bear their personal names; it appears more probable that with the elaboration of the size and plastic details of the stele, the artists began to take interest to own their works and to leave their mark on them.

Early Period: Our survey reveals that the practice of inscribing names on the memorial stones gradually increased from about the 8th cent. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa *vīragal* of Māvaḷḷi[3] and Ganga record of Dāsarahaḷḷi[4] and another Rāṣṭrakūṭa record of Manamane[5] are the only records of the 8th cent., in which the names of the artists occur. The two Ganga records are small in size and simple in workmanship; and the commemorative texts are also very brief. The average size of the tablet of the Ganga hero-stones, carved in the 8th cent., was probably about 3′ × 3′6″, whereas the average size of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions appears to be about 8′ × 3′. Only one record of the Noḷamba dynasty has been traced and assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to about 870 A.D. It mentions the name of Prayoḷaman. This bears close resemblance to that of the 8th cent. Ganga stone, and measures about 4′ × 3′6″.

The frequency of the appearance of the artists' names increases considerably in the 10th cent. Not less than four names of artists of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa memorials[6] are found in the Shimoga and Bellary Dts. They are of Kaykoja,[7] Gangarāsi,[8] Bhīmayya[9] and Eragari-oja.[10]

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[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, IX, Bn. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 22.

[6] *SII* IX, pt. I, No. 56 of A.D., 908; *EC* VIII, Sb. 570 of A.D., 951, Sb. 531 of A.D., 962, Sb. 457 of A.D., 972, Sb. 454 of A.D., 973.

[7] *SII* IX, pt. I, No. 56.

[8] *EC* VIII, Sb. 570.

[9] *Ibid.*, Sb. 531.

[10] *Ibid.*, Sb. 457 and 454.

Of these, Eragari-oja appears twice: he carved memorials in honour of Koṇagāvuṇḍa Bidiyaṇṇa in 972[11] and Horavayya in 973.[12] Of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sculptors, none appears to have borne titles, save Gangarāsi, of Kaisodi in Sorab Tk., who calls himself a *bhaṭāra* or stalwart. It is interesting to note that the majority of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa artists hailed from the modern Sorab area in the Shimoga Dt.

Noḷamba-Pallava Period: Four names of the Noḷamba-Pallava artists of the 10th cent. are known to us. Kadamāra and Kelloja lived in the first quarter of the 10th cent. The work of the first,[13] (a stele of about 4′ × 3′) is found at Nāraṇapura in Sira Tk., of the Tumkur Dt., while the work of the second artist is found at Doḍḍa Uḷvarte in the Chitradurga Dt., and it measures about 5′ × 2′6″.[14] A sculptor called Honna appears to have carved another hero-stone in Doḍḍa Uḷvarte in 974 A.D. While these artists, living in their respective villages, appear to have got very few opportunities of exhibiting their skill — (for, on an average, each of these carved only one hero-stone during his life time), an artist named Vikramāditya got about half a dozen opportunities. The latter carved memorials in honour of warriors who laid down their lives defending cattle (*turugoḷ*) and women (*peṇ-buyyal*). He was probably the most popular of the sculptors of hero stones of this cent. This son of Bijayitācāri,[15] mentions his hometown Koyatūra (doubtfully identified with the modern Coimbatore) in four records;[16] in one record he calls himself *Koyatūra kāsigam*, stone cutter of Koyatūr.[17] He bore a title *bahu-guṇa-tejan* or shining with many virtues.[18] Although his dates are

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11. *Ibid.*, Sb. 454.
12. *Ibid.*, Sb. 457.
13. *Ibid.*, XII, Si. 59 of A.D., 920.
14. *Ibid.*, XI, Cl. 6 of A.D., c. 925.
15. *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 108.
16. *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 108, 161, 162 and Kl. 245.
17. *Ibid.*, Kl. 245.
18. *Ibid.*, Mb. 161 and 162.

doubtful, it is obvious that he was active between 950 and 970 A.D., when Ereya Noḷamba and Dilīpa Noḷamba were ruling. His activities extended from Vīraguḍi in Yeḷadūr hobḷi of Mulbagal Tk., to Haraḷakuṇṭe in Huṭṭūr hobḷi of Kolar Tk. But the major part of his life appears to have been spent in Tāvarekere of Duggasandra hobḷi of Mulbagal Tk. He carved at least three hero-stones in Tāvarekere and one each in Vīraguḍi and Haraḷakuṇṭe. Unlike other Noḷamba-Pallava artists, Vikramāditya's works appear to be large in scale and impressive in workmanship. He worked on a slab normally between 6′ and 7′ in height and about 4′6″ in width. All these local sculptors of the Noḷamba-Pallava period were well-versed in Kannaḍa language.

Two other artists of the time of Mārasimha Noḷamba lived in the present Hassan Dt. Sculptor Vibhoja made an elaborate hero-stone, of about 7′6″ × 4′, at Neraḷgi in Arsikere Tk.,[19] while Kelayya carved a modest tablet, about 3′6″ × 1′9″, at Karagaḍa in Belūr Tk.

Gangas: As many as 150 hero-stones belonging to the Ganga dynasty have been noticed so far, but we have hardly any idea of the artists who made them. Under the Gangas, the composer of the inscription appears to have received greater importance than the carver of the memorial. In four records assigned to the Gangas, three bear the names of composers or writers (called Paraśurāmayya,[20] Duggayya,[21] Berddemayya)[22] and only one refers to Vibhoganga, the maker of that stone (*kalla-besageyda*).[23]

Kadambas: The Kadamba artists of the 10th cent., also rarely mention their names. Of the two records known to us,[24] only the name of the writer or composer is mentioned and not that of the sculptor. An inscription of Kundūr of Hassan Tk.,[25] refers to an artist called Gangoja, son of Varddhamāna, who appears to be the same as the artist called Gangācāri-Varddhamānācāri of the early 12th cent., who worked at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa,[26] (and not of the 10th cent., as supposed by the epigraphists).

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[19] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 237 of A.D., 971.

[20] *Ibid.*, Ag. 59 of A.D., c. 950.

[21] *Ibid.*, Cn. 262 of A.D., 971.

[22] *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 9 of A.D., 971.

[23] *Ibid.*, XV, Ak. 237 of A.D., 972.

[24] *Ibid.*, V, Ag. 27 and *EC* XV, HN. 66.

About half a dozen miscellaneous records of this century have been noticed in which we find either the name of the artist or of the composer. But their dynastic affiliation is uncertain. The hero-stone found in Karubele in Bowringpet Tk., of the Kolar Dt., was a joint work of Bibhadiladi Divākarayya and Nāgojanayya. The former appears to be the composer and the latter the sculptor.[27] Similarly a hero-stone found at Tagarti-agrahāra in Sakaleshpur Tk., of the Shimoga Dt., was the work of Hakkayya, a writer, and of an engraver whose name has been lost. This inscription is dated in 993 A.D. In the rest of the records of this century, reference is made to the names of writers and not of sculptors. Hero-stones found at Andagove Kallūr in the Coorg Dt.,[28] Śivara in the Kolar Dt.,[29] and at Araḷaguppe in the Tumkur Dt.,[30] etc., bear this out. The last is a *niśidhi*, while the rest are *vīragals*.

Conclusion: In conclusion we may say that although the erection of hero-stones became popular in the present Karnataka area between the 6th and 10th cent., it is only from the 8th cent., that we seem to regularly find the names of the artists. Although hundreds of hero-stones have been found with or without inscriptions, those that bear names of artists were erected in the early-Cālukya, Noḷamba-Pallava, Ganga, Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Kadamba kingdoms. Of the known artists of this period, the most outstanding is Vikramāditya of the Noḷamba-Pallava kingdom. He appears to be among the earliest of his class to bear titles, and whose services were demanded by more than one village. The size as well as the scheme of the workmanship of memorials seem to have become elaborate between the 8th and 10th cent. The average size of memorial stones in the 8th cent., was about 4′ or 4′6″ in height, and 3′ or 3′6″ in width; whereas the average size of the hero-stones of the 10th cent., was between 7′–8′ in height and 3′–4′ in width. Another noteworthy feature is that in the 10th cent., particularly under the Gangas and the Kadambas, the carving of the name of the artist was not as popular a practice as carving the name of the composer. Nonetheless, recognition was not altogether denied to the artists. Two instances cited above reveal both the name of the composer of the text as well as of the engraver-sculptor of the hero-stone, testifying to the fact that like writers or composers the artists were also recognized by society.

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[25] *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 38.

[26] *Ibid.*, II, SB. 149 (120): Not only are the two names identical, the titles they bear are also identical.

[27] *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 64 of A.D., c. 900.

[28] *Ibid.*, I, Cg. 37 of A.D., 944.

[29] *Ibid.*, X, Mr. 94 of A.D., c. 950.

[30] *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 56 of A.D., 961.

ARTISTS OF MEMORIAL STONES: CĀLUKYA—HOYSAḶA

S. SETTAR & F. A. GANIHAR

A considerable number of Memorial stones of the later Cālukya, and Hoysaḷa have been found, but the majority of the artists who carved them are unknown to us. We, however, know the names of about a hundred artists. Although an attempt has been made here to collect all available information, we cannot claim finality to the surmises and conclusions drawn for obvious reasons. The majority of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions have already been brought to light, and, have been systematically edited in the series of *Epigraphia Carnatica* and the *Annual Reports*; this enables us to believe that our study of the Hoysaḷa records may be more reliable than that of the Kalyāṇi Cālukyas. Several inscriptions relating to the memorials of the Cālukyan period have been published, but because they are scattered in different compendiums, journals, and works of various other kinds, it is not easy to consult them without getting confused in the process. Moreover, not all the records of the Cālukyan heartland — the former Hyderabad and Bombay Karnataka — have been brought to light, and until this is done, our study is bound to be incomplete and our conclusions tentative. Particularly dangerous would be the quantitative analysis of their various achievements, including heroic exploits.

Although the artists of memorials did not form a class or a group by themselves, and were probably not treated differently from sculptors and artisans engaged in the construction of temples, they are treated here as if they formed a group for the convenience of this study. We have very rarely come across artists who distinguished themselves both as builders of temples and sculptors of *vīragals*; equally rare are instances wherein the artists of memorials have engraved donative records. This does not, however, help us establish any hierarchy — the temple artists claiming superiority over the sculptors of memorials and the latter over the scribes. We learn that artists were reluctant to peregrinate to distant parts of the kingdom, not to speak of the neighbouring kingdoms; however, certain historical circumstances made some move to far-off centres. The Cālukyan artists who moved to Belūr in the early decades of the 12th cent., constitute one of the most thoroughly documented such migrant groups. Unlike these, the artists of the memorial stones appear to be almost invariably bound to their home-town and their immediate neighbourhood. Bîroja, a celebrated artist in the Sāntāra kingdom, carved more than half a dozen memorials, but his movement was restricted approximately to the size of about two modern taluks. This was, however, an exception to the normal practice, for we know of very few artists who worked on more than one or two tablets during their life time and who moved beyond their village boundaries. The meagre economic gains from such works probably led the artisans to engage themselves in some other regular occupation. We learn that some were goldsmiths, black smiths, or carpenters; some served in the army; some probably depended upon agriculture and hunting; those who did not take to one of these professions seem to have served as tool-makers, as technicians to serve any or all these professions. A section of the artisan community, however, continued to keep itself in touch with the traditional craft of their caste and family, and readily presented itself to meet local demands, whenever such occasions arose. Some took pride in recording their names; others did not bother to claim credits. Like architects, sculptors and painters, the majority of artists of the memorial stones also chose to remain anonymous. The reasons for this can only be guessed.

I

It is not easy to estimate the number of memorials erected during the rule of the Cālukyas, Hoysaḷas and Vijayanagara, but no less than six hundred and nine of them have been brought to light so far. All these are recorded; but several hundreds which bear no inscriptions remain beyond our reach, their historicity lost in oblivion. Of the recorded, *about* 124 can be assigned to the time of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, *about* 122 to that of the Vijayanagara, while the rest — *about* 363 — belong to the time of the Hoysaḷas. Of the names of artists who carved these, only 137 are now available; of these, not less than 22 served the Cālukyas, 38 the Hoysaḷas, while the rest lived and worked under the Vijayanagara. Besides acquainting ourselves with these artists, our study aims at understanding some aspects of their life and the environment in which they lived and worked. This has been done against the back-drop of the history of the time.

Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi :[1] Nāga is one of the earliest of the Cālukyan artists known to us; we cannot be, however, certain whether further researches will allow him to hold on to this position in history. Kokara, a warrior born in the caste of bangle-sellers, died fighting heroically against Madeyūr Śāntivarna in 979 A.D. Engraving an account of this historical event, which was composed by Madhavayya, Nāga sculptured a tablet, measuring about 5′10″ × 2′7″ at Hunavaḷḷi. The ruler of the time was Cālukya Nūrmaḍi Tailadeva.[2] Between 979 and *about* 1165(?) A.D., not less than 22 names of such artists can be found in the published records; the latest in this list — if we eliminate a composer named *senabova* Mallayya — is that of Siggoja at Kavaḍi[3] of 1152 A.D.

With the exception of three artists, all these lived in the present Shimoga Dt., then a centre of conflict between the Cālukyas and their various adversaries. All but six of these lived during the second half of the 11th and the first half of the 12th cent. We know of only one artist of the 10th cent., one sculptor and only one scribe of the 12th cent.

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[1] The limitations of this quantitative analysis are to be realised from the remarks made in the first para. The data however is useful in understanding the general pattern in the practice.

[2] *EC* VIII, Sb. 530.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sb. 525.

Whether this estimate will be substantially altered when the former Hyderabad and Bombay Karnataka areas are as systematically surveyed as the Southern Karnataka Districts, is to be seen.

These memorials are of medium height, about 5′ × 2¾′; but some are about 7′ × 3′ or more. The number of panels in which the conventional scenes of action is depicted also varies according to the size and circumstances in which the hero-stone was established.

These artists appear to have hailed from a humble social background and, a good number of them did not care to identify their works. Some atleast inscribed their names in simple and casual terms: *Ayojan-besageyda, Holloja Kaṇḍarisida-besa, Kaṭukojam nālku-kalla-besageyda*[4] etc., indicating that these artists chiselled or carved those tablets. The local terms applied for the finished works are *besa, rūvāra, biṇṇaṇi, śilākarmma*[5] etc.

As already stated, the artists hardly travelled beyond their immediate neighbourhood. The reasons for this may not be hard to find. Either the nature of their work and its economic outcome, or their natural apathy to move away from their social environment, appears to have come in the way of using their artistic talent to full advantage.

Distinguished sculptors generally flaunt their titles and honours but the artists of memorial stones are content with calling themselves *rūvāris*, (sculptors) and *kalkuṭigas* (masons). We have a solitary instance in Hire-Jambūr,[6] which reveals that Ketoja, son of Caṭṭoja, was "the lusty elephant to (the titled sculptors)."

Details relating to the places of birth, or of residence, or of parents and relations of artists — if not of their spiritual and temporal heads — are occasionally incorporated in the records.

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[4] *Ibid.*, Sb. 73, 62 and 519 respectively.

[5] *Ibid.*, Sb. 62, 252 and 327; *EC* VII, Sk. 707 respectively.

[6] *EC* VII, Sk. 77.

Bommoja[7] and Mācoja,[8] who hailed respectively from Dasikerevāḍi and Indeśvaragiri, worked at Hire-Iḍagoḍe (Sorab Tk.,) and Hoṭṭūr (Bankapur Tk.,). These appear to be their ancestral places rather than the places of their residence. Of the parents, invariably it is the name of the father that is mentioned;[9] the next place of honour was apparently held by the artist's father-in-law or mother's brother, for allusions to him are not uncommon. This reminds us of the high status occupied by the maternal uncle in the *Śūdra* social order, a feature not altogether effaced now.

There is little evidence to suppose that the artists were at any time subjected to free or forced labour; nonetheless evidence relating to the rates of payments, or of rewards are hard to come by. An *umbaḷi* granted by the Brahmins of Gauḍa-agrahāra to *cittāri* (painter-sculptor) Jakka,[10] is the only evidence we have to infer that the artists were supported by land grants.

As in earlier centuries, the Cālukyan artists were also not proficient in reading and writing; probably not many of them could work without the help of scribes or engravers. The absence of the composer's name in records does not necessarily mean that the artist composed the text himself. As is well-known the village accountants (*senabovas*), poets or teachers supplied the texts. Though not all of them aspired to gain credit for their work, there are examples which speak on their behalf. For the *vīragal* carved by Nāga, the text was composed by Mādhavayya[11] probably a village poet; another carved by Kaṭṭakarjja bears a record which was composed (or incised) by Māramayya;[12] yet another carved by Lokoja bears the text written by Nāgacārideva, probably a village gold-smith;[13] the memorial stone prepared by Jakoja bears a record which was composed by Ādhimayya, a person who held the post of the *sandhi-vigrahi.*[14] Such examples can be multiplied.[15] While collaboration between the sculptor and the scribe is frequently come across, collaboration of two or more sculptors is rarely noticed during the Cālukyan period. On the other hand, we learn that sculptors like Kaṭukoja, Barmmoja, Hoja, Māroja, Holloja, Ayoja, Rāmoja, Siggoja carried out the twin tasks of the sculptor and of the scribe single-handed.[16]

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[7] *EC* VIII, Sb. 421.

[8] *EI* XVI, No. 11a.

[9] *EC* VIII, Sb. 314; *EC* VII, Sk. 77 respectively.

[10] *EC* VII, Sk. 50 of 1076.

[11] *EC* VIII, Sb. 530.

[12] *EC* VII, Sk. 307 of 1016.

[13] *ASMAR* 1927, No. 132 of 1061.

In conclusion, we may note the following features of the Cālukyan artists of memorial stones: (1) on an average, only one in about every six of them cared to leave his name on his works; (2) that almost none possessed noteworthy titles; (3) that while collaboration of scribes and sculptors was known, collaboration between two or more sculptors was uncommon; (4) that of the known artists, almost all lived and worked in the modern Shimoga Dt., and the area of their activity did not extend beyond their immediate neighbourhood; (5) that some of them were keen on mentioning the names of their father or father-in-law (maternal uncle ?), but not so keen on mentioning their spiritual and temporal heads and they never mentioned the name of their mothers.

Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi: Artists of Memorial Stones: App. I.

The Cālukyan artists* of memorial stones, so far known, are listed in the following alphabetical order (unless otherwise specified the Roman numbers refer to the *EC* Vols.).

1. Ayoja — VIII, Sb. 73 of ? 1139.
2. Bammoja — VIII, Sb. 314 of 1075.
3. Bommoja of Dasikeṛevāḍi — VIII, Sb. 421 of 1104.
4. Barmaroja — VIII, Sa. 118 of 1063.

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[14] *KI* V, No. 7 of 1071.

[15] *EC* VIII, Sb. 314 of 1075 and 567 of ? 1165 etc.

[16] *Ibid.*, Sb. 62, Sa. 118, Sb. 564, 327, 519, and 73; *EC* VII, Sk. 290; *EC* VIII, Sb. 525 respectively.

* Only those records which clearly mention the rule of the Cālukyas are taken into account; all those, which do not mention the names of kings, but which can be assigned to this period, are also eliminated.

5. Dāsoja of Talave — VIII, Sb. 289 of 1138.
6. Holloja — VIII, Sb. 519 of 1138.
7. Hoja — VIII, Sb. 564 of 1103.
8. Jakka — VII, Sk. 50 of 1076.
9. Jakoja — *KI* V, No. 7 of 1071; No. 9 of 1072.
10. Kāloja — VIII, Sb. 141 of 1127.
11. Kaṭṭakarjja — VII, Sk. 307 of 1016.
12. Kaṭukoja — VIII, Sb. 62 of 1032.
13. Ketoja, son of Caṭṭoja — VII, Sk. 77 of 1100.
14. Lokoja — *ASMAR* 1927, No. 132 of 1061.
15. Mācoja of Indeśvaragiri — *EI* XVI, No. 11a of 1007.
16. Mahādeva — VIII, Sb. 399 of 1074.
17. Mallayya, scribe, *senabova* of Hālgaṭṭa — VIII, Sb. 567 of ? 1165.
18. Maroja, scribe — VIII, Sb. 327 of 1112.
19. Nāga — VIII, Sb. 530 of 979.
20. Rāmoja — VII, Sk. 290 of 1141.

21 Sata — *KI* IV, No. 28 of 1125.

22. Siggoja — VIII, Sb. 525 of 1152.

The chronological grouping is as follows: (1) 10th cent. — 1; First-half of the 11th cent. — 3; Second-half of the 11th cent. —7; First half of the 12th cent. — 9; Second-half of the 12th cent. — 2; After 1200—nil?

The details are as following:

900-1000	Nāga, 979
1000-1050	Mācoja, 1007 Kaṭṭakarjja, 1016 Kaṭukoja, 1032
1050-1100	Lokoja, 1061 Barmaroja, 1063 Jakoja, 1071, 1072 Mahādeva, 1074 Bammoja, 1075 Jakka, 1076 Ketoja, 1100

1100-1150	**Hoja, 1103**
	Bammoja, 1104
	Māroja, 1112
	Sata, 1125
	Kāloja, 1127
	Holloja, 1138
	Dāsoja, 1138
	Ayoja, 1139
	Rāmoja, 1141
1150-1200	**Siggoja, 1152**
	Mallayya, 1165

II

The Hoysaḷas: The largest number of memorials found so far in Karnataka belong to the time of the Hoysaḷas. Of the three hundred and sixty-three recorded memorials brought to light so far, as many as thirty-eight names of sculptors are available. Seventeen of these lived in the 12th cent., about sixteen in the 13th cent., while the rest lived in the first two decades of the 14th cent.[17] Besides these, there are several Hoysaḷa memorials whose dates are unknown.

There is an element of uncertainty about the earliest Hoysaḷa artist of the memorial stones, but the available evidence helps us identify him with Dammācāri or Dharmācāri. In 1116 he carved two *vīragals* in memory of the heroes of Ārundūr who died defending Talige-nāḍu-1000, in a conflict between the Hoysaḷas and Pāṇḍyas. These are found at Āḍūr (Chikmagalur Tk.,), then an integral part of the Hoysaḷa homeland.[18] Another at Āṇūr, (not very far from Āldūr), also refers to a fight in defence of the same *nāḍu.*[19] While the Ārundūr records are dated in 1116 and mention Viṣṇuvardhana as the ruler, the Āṇūr record is not only undated but it also does not fully identify the ruling Hoysaḷa king. Nonetheless, all these appear to be works of sculptor Dammācāri or Dharmācāri, who claims to be a resident of Āṇūr village.[20] Ballāḷa, referred to in the Āṇūr record, appears to be the elder brother of Viṣṇuvardhana; for, during the rule of these two kings, a series of battles took place between the Pāṇḍyas and Hoysaḷas, climaxed by the battle of Dumme fought in 1116. The proximity of the location of the records, a common reference to the Talige-nāḍ-1000, the presence of Bamma (called Bammagauḍa, Bammiga and Bamaya) and the recurrence of the name of Dammācāri in all these *vīragals*, help us conclude that the Āṇūr hero-stone of the time of Ballāḷa I may have been carved earlier than the Āldūr *vīragals*. This helps us know that Dammācāri was actively engaged in the first two decades of the 12th cent.

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[17] See table.

[18] *EC* VI, Cm. 99.

[19] *ASMAR* 1927, No. 36.

As contempories of Dammācāri, a couple of artists were distinguishing themselves at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, the most noteworthy of them being Gangācāri. He is first met in a record issued in honour of Meghacandra-Traividyadeva on the Kaḻbappu[21] (mod. Candragiri in Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa). His patron was Gangarāja, a famous general of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. An elaborate account of the attainment and accomplishments of this saint was composed by *perggaḍe* Cāvarāja, which became the basis of a lithic tablet carved by Gangācāri. This appears to be his first work, but during a decade and a half that followed, Gangācāri distinguished himself as a scribe of donative records, as an artist of *niśidhis*, and also, as a sculptor of images. His religion was Jainism; his area of activity was Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and its immediate neighbourhood; his masters were the Hoysaḷas. The texts he incised on stone were composed by eminent local poets of the time, of which Cāvarāja, the *mṛdu-rekha-vilāsam*, composed one,[22] *heggaḍe* Mardimayya composed another,[23] and

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[20] *EC* VI, Cm. 99.

[21] *EC* II, SB. 156 (127).

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, SB. 135 (117).

Mallinātha, the *madana-maheśvara*, wrote one more.[24] An interesting aspect of this artist is that he had twin names. He calls himself by either of the two or both the names, but he never forgets to mention that he was an ornament to the titled-sculptors, (*biruda-rūvāri-mukha-tilaka*). In his works,[25] dated in the years 1115, 1119 and 1129, he is named Gangācāri; the same name also occurs in another work completed by his younger brother,[26] but in three other works,[27] dated in the years 1118, 1120 and 1123, he is named Varddhamānācāri. In the record dated in 1120 he says that he was the son of Hoysaḷācāri. He calls himself Gangācāri-Varddhamānācāri, son of Hoysaḷācāri, in an inscription found on the pedestal of the Neminātha image of the Cāvuṇḍarāya Basti, first noticed by one of us in 1963;[28] in all probability, the image of Neminātha was also carved by this artist.

It is interesting to note that sculptor Gangācāri-Varddhamānācāri was almost fully engaged either by Gangarāja or by other members of his family. Besides two donative records (registering the gifts by Gangarāja),[29] three *niśidhis* (on behalf of Gangarāja in honour of Pocikabbe, mother of Gangarāja, and Śubhacandradeva and Malliśena),[30] he also carved an image of Neminātha to be installed by Ecaṇa, son of Gangarāja.[31] During the fifteen years of active life he seems to have trained his younger brother, Kamvācāri, so well that the latter was able to make, on his own, a *niśidhige* in honour of Mācikabbe, mother of Śāntale or mother-in-law of king Viṣṇuvardhana, in the year 1131.[32]

As in the case of the earliest Hoysaḷa artist of memorial stones, there is an element of uncertainty with regard to the latest. The latter appear to be sculptor Bogoja, and *senabova* Māyaṇṇa, of Indavūra, the writer of the text. This memorial, now found in Uppavaḷḷi in Chikmagalur Tk., was erected in the year 1313 A.D.,[33] in honour of Jakagauḍa, who died defending the cattle of Uppavaḷḷi when Basivegaḍe of Avaṭe raided that village. Unfortunately the record is not fully dated; but the missing number of the *Śaka*-era has been restored to the reigning period of Ballāḷa III. If future research is to support this, we may say that Bogoja would be (one of) the last of the artists to carve *vīragals* in the Hoysaḷa kingdom.

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[24] *Ibid.*, SB. 77 (67).

[25] *Ibid.*, SB. 156 (127), 547 (397) and 77 (67) respectively.

[26] *Ibid.*, SB. 176 (143).

[27] *Ibid.*, SB. 82 (73), 136 (118) and 135 (117) respectively.

[28] *Ibid.*, SB. 149 (120).

[29] *Ibid.*, SB. 547 (397) and 82 (73).

[30] *Ibid.*, SB. 136 (118), 135 (117) and 77 (67) respectively.

[31] *Ibid.*, SB. 148 (120).

[32] *Ibid.*, SB. 176 (143).

Between C. 1115 and C. 1313 A.D., not less than thirty-eight artists — some of whom carved more than one memorial, and often in collaboration with other scribes or writers — identified their works. A good number of these lived in the present Hassan (at least 12) and Chikmagalur Dts., (at least 12); but artists who lived in the present Shimoga (about 6), Tumkur (about 4), Mandya (2), Mysore (1), Coorg (1), and Bangalore (1) Dts., are not unknown. Only one artist appears in two widely distributed records — a record in the Hassan Dt., and the other in the Mandya Dt., the movement of the rest appears to have been more or less confined to an area roughly equivalent to that of the present taluka. Our study reveals that artists who worked during the first half of the 12th and second half of the 13th cent., identified their works in greater number than the rest. Of an estimated number of 363 recorded memorials of the Hoysaḷas brought to light, only 38 names of artists who made them are known to us. This analysis helps us infer that, on an average, only one out of every ten artists of the memorial stones cared to leave his name on his works.

Of the thirty-eight artists mentioned here, three (Gangācāri-Vardhamānācāri, Kamvācāri and Dāsoja) worked only on the *niśidhis*, one (Ketācāri) on the *satī*, while the rest worked on *vīragals*. The artist who carved the largest number of memorials in this period is Gangācāri-Vardhamānācāri; as indicated above, four *niśidhis* of his are noticed at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and in its neighbourhood.

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[33] *ASMAR* 1932, No. 23.

Next comes Dhammācāri, with three *vīragals* to his credit. Although we are not certain of the identity of Bogoja found in a record of the Hassan Dt., and of the Chikmagalur Dt.,[34] as well as Maloja of the Shimoga and of the Tumkur Dts.,[35] we are certain that the name of Madhukoja (found in about five records of Sagar Tk.,) and of Malloja, son of Gacchikoja[36] found in the Hassan and Mandya Dts., refer to identical persons. Madhukoja can be regarded more a subject of Sāntāras than of Hoysaḷas, for, he carved memorials in honour only of those heroes who laid down their lives in the cause championed by the Sāntāra chieftains.

It is obvious that the majority of the Hoysaḷa artists were not keen on identifying their works by carving their names on them. Being of humble background and attainments, they were probably content to serve the local cause, as sculptors, whenever such occasions arose in their locality, while preoccupied with one of their diverse other occupations like hunting, agriculture, crafts, (as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons) or serving in the army. The majority were ignorant of the rudiments of the Three Rs., not to mention of any depth in letters and literature. Because of their limited educational attainments, they could not even transcribe texts of records on the lithic surface without the assistance and guidance of other mediators. We find that the services of more than one, sometimes as many as three persons, were required to make a simple stela of modest dimensions. For example, we are aware of the poets who supplied texts to Gangācāri-Vardhamānācāri; in a similar manner, Cikka-Baicoja, Kamvācāri, Maloja, Dāsoja, Madhukoja, Bogoja depended on the texts respectively composed by Candaṇṇa, son of Vāsudevabhaṭṭa, Bokimayya, Rāyaṇṇa of Kundūr, Gangaṇṇa, Meci-jīya son of Beḷa-jīya of Baradavaḷḷi and Māyaṇṇa, *senabova* of Induvara.[37] Some of these poets and officials probably first wrote the text on a slab with a piece of chalk [38] so as to enable the illiterate sculptor to carve the inscription following the lines. Either the complex nature of the work, or the pressure put upon the artists by the patrons and priests, or the inadequate attainments of the artists, appears to have necessitated collaboration. The memorial found at Angaḍi[39] was carved by two artists, Masaṇoja and Maḍeyoja, whereas the hero-stone found at Kenkere[40] was finished by three artists named Sakoja, Maloja and Būtoja.

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[34] *EC* V, Cn. 261 of 1273 and *ASMAR* 1932, No. 23 of 1313.

[35] *EC* VIII, Sb. 3 of 1130 and *EC* XII, Tp. 32 of 1164.

[36] *EC* XV, HN. 84 of 1306 and *ASMAR* 1913, para 85.

[37] *ASMAR* 1932, No. 24, *EC* II, SB. 176 (143), *EC* V, Bl. 206, *EC* II, SB. 173 (140), *EC* VIII, Sa. 45 and *ASMAR* 1932, No. 23 respectively.

The artist takes pride in mentioning the name of his father, and at times, of his grand-father, or of the father-in-law or maternal uncle; occasionally he also mentions his temple, or *sangha*, or the temporal lord. The names of mothers are, however, never remembered. Some artists also mention their home towns. Bogoja, son of Gangoja, who carved a *vīragal* at Masaganahaḷḷi belonged to Roḍḍa;[41] Cikka-Baicoja was the son of Eboja and a grandson of Baicoja;[42] Cinnoja who carved a hero-stone at Basavanahaḷḷi, was the son of Babeoja and a native of the same village;[43] Ketācāri, son of Mayaṇācāri, hailed from Kongaṇi, but worked at Teḷanūr;[44] Madiyoja, son of Būtoja, of Gadubaḷḷi carved a hero-stone at Cikkole.[45] Instead of the name of his father, Paduyaṇa and Nāgoja[46] mention the names of their maternal uncles (or fathers-in-law). Ketali's son Maloja proclaimed that he belonged to the *Surasatī-gaṇa* and was attached to the *basadi* of his village.[47] Gangācāri says that he was the lay-disciple of Śubhacandra-siddhāntadeva, a Jaina

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38. *EC* II, SB. 156 (127).
39. *ASMAR* 1934, No. 12.
40. *EC* VI, Cm. 157-58.
41. *EC* V, Cn. 261.
42. *ASMAR* 1932, No. 24.
43. *Ibid.*, No. 7. Though Ciṇnoja appears as a patron, the *oja* suffix to his name, enables us to identify him as belonging to the community of artists.
44. *EC* XV, Bl. 306.
45. *Ibid.*, Bl. 307.
46. *ASMAR* 1927, No. 20.
47. *EC* XII, Tp. 32.

muni at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa.[48] Sakoja, Maloja and Būtoja mention that they were carpenters in the service of Candramauḷiyaṇṇa.[49]

Memorial stones are generally called *kallu*[50] (stone), *vīragallu* or *vīrakallu*,[51] *niśidhige*;[52] and are identified as *binnāṇi*.[53] *Kaṇḍarisida* or *khaṇḍarisida*,[54] *kalla-geyda*,[55] *kala-māḍida*,[56] *vīragala-māḍida*,[57] *hoyida*,[58](meaning that the stone was 'hewn', 'cut', 'pared', 'made', 'hammered' etc.,) occur in records, incidentally throwing light on the process of carving. In further simplification, it is stated that the work (*kelasa*) was made by . . ."[59] The artist normally bears a prefix, *rūvāri*, and almost invariably his name ends with the suffix *oja* or *ācāri*. The names of *rūvāri* Bayiboja and *rūvāri* Hoysaḷācāri bear this out.[60] Of the artists who mention their institutional affiliation and attainments, *rūvāri* Rāmoja's son Dāsoja, who calls himself *sevaṇuballara-deva*,[61] may be mentioned. Gangācāri-Vardhamānācāri is nearly always described as the *biruda-rūvāri-mukha-tilaka*. The longest and the loftiest of the titles appears to have been gained by Malloja, an artist of the 12th cent. Attached to the *Sarasvatī-gaṇa* and to the local *basadi*, this artist of Taṇḍaga describes himself as the *maccharipa-prāsāditarige-kaṇṭaka-sūla*, *ari-biruda-prāsadigaḷa-gaṇḍa-gattari*, *toḍardara-ankuśa*. These titles reveal the heroic claims of a warrior rather than the artistic attainments of a sculptor.[62] Like sculptors, scribes also assumed titles. Cāvarāja is called *mṛdu-rekhā-vilāsam*;[63] Gangaṇṇa, the *likhita-manohara* and *paranārī-sahodara*;[64] while Bommeya is known as *kavi-darpaṇa*.[65]

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[48] *EC* II, SB. 156 (127).

[49] *EC* VI, Cm. 157.

[50] *EC* VIII, Sa. 45 and 96; *EC* VI, Cm. 99; *EC* XII, Tp. 32 respectively.

[51] *EC* XV, HN. 83 and 84, *EC* VIII, Sb. 3; *EC* V, Hn. 29 respectively.

[52] *EC* XV, Bl. 322.

[53] *EC* VIII, Sa. 101.

[54] *EC* II, SB. 156 (127), 82 (73); and 547 (397) respectively.

[55] *EC* VIII, Sa. 96, *Kalla-kaḍida; Ibid.*, Sa. 45.

[56] *EC* VI, Cm. 99.

[57] *EC* V, Hn. 29 and *EC* VIII, Sb. 3 respectively.

[58] *EC* VI, Cm. 81.

[59] *EC* XV, Bl. 306.

[60] *EC* VI, Cm. 4 and *EC* II, SB. 136 (118) respectively.

[61] *EC* II, SB. 173 (140) a title which seems to indicate his affiliation to Jainism (cf., *Sevaṇuballara-deva* assumed by an artist of the Sahasrakūṭa-Jinālaya at Arsīkere, Hassan Dt., *EC* XV, Ak. 201).

The peregrination of the artists of the memorial stones, as already stated, was generally restricted to their immediate neighbourhood. Gangācāri-Varddhamānācāri is an example here. During his life time, he hardly travelled beyond Sāṇenahaḷḷi-Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa complex for professional purpose. Some moved a couple of miles away from their hometowns, but generally not beyond their *nāḍ*-divisions. Dharmmācāri and Maloja may bear this out. The first of these carved a *vīragal* at Āṇūr (in Āṇūr *hobaḷi*) and two more in Āldūr (Bidaranāḍu-*hobaḷi*) in the present Chikmagalur Tk.[66] The second artist also carved two memorial stones in the Tiptur Tk., one at Taṇḍaga (in Dabbegaṭṭa *hobaḷi*) and another at Ālbūr (Noṇavinakere *hobaḷi*).[67] Malloja, son of Cchikoja (Ga?-cchikoja?) is probably the only artist who travelled far beyond such confines. One of his works is located at Bāgavāḷa, in the Hole-Narsipur Tk., of the Hassan Dt., while another is located at Ciṭṭanhaḷḷi in the Krishnnarajapet Tk., of the Mandya Dt.[68] We are not aware of the reasons that prompted this artist to undertake a journey covering all this distance, but it is highly improbable that he was invited for the sole purpose of carving a memorial. The artist may have migrated for personal reasons and, after settling in his new residence, he may have got an opportunity to utilise his skill. Another artist who attracts our attention by his frequent movements, although within a confined area, is Madhukoja, a Sāntāra artist to whom reference has already been made.

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[62] *EC* XII, Tp. 32.

[63] *EC* II, SB. 156 (127).

[64] *Ibid.*, SB. 173 (140).

[65] *EC* VIII, Sa. 101.

[66] *ASMAR* 1927, No. 36 and *EC* VI, Cm. 99 and 100 respectively.

[67] *EC* XII, Tp. 32 and 46 respectively.

[68] *EC* XV, HN. 84 and *ASMAR* 1913, para 85 respectively.

Carving memorial stones apparently did not enable the artists to support themselves and their dependents, but, at the same time, there appears to be no evidence to assume that they rendered free or forced labour. A spirit of voluntary involvement cannot, however, be overruled. It is to be noted that a considerable number of heroes who laid down their lives belonged to the artisan community, and the artists who worked on the memorials of such persons may have felt gratified by their ability to serve their community and society. Bammoja and Masaṇoja, who died defending Koravanagaḷa,[69] evoked so much respect and admiration from the *agrahāra* Brahmins of Śāntigrāma as to make them raise a memorial for them. They were, no doubt members of the artisan community. The artist involved in this work may have regarded it not only a means to earn his livelihood, but also an occasion to fulfil his social obligation. This may be true of an artist of Kaigoḍ, who carved a memorial in honour of Ankoja. The hero's elder brother took the initiative to erect a memorial, but the sculptor of the tablet could also have felt a sense of belonging, since the hero as well as the patron formed a part of his own social milieu. The Jaina artists who carved *niśidhis* at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Savaṇeri etc., for their temporal and spiritual heads, could also have found similar bonds or attachments. How far the involvement of the artisan community in the armed force helped popularise the *vīragals* is a moot question, but there is no doubt that such occasions provided an opportunity for the display of the heroic as well as the artistic attainments of the community. Evidence is available to surmise that the hand that held the chisel and hammer could also handle the sword and shield, and the titles borne by some of the artists attain significance in this background.

The reward received by artists apparently depended upon various factors, the enthusiasm and economic position of the patrons, and the socio-political status of the dead-hero, being the most important ones. Memorials were often erected by close relatives, not only to extol the heroes' sense of sacrifice but also to promote an ideal to be emulated by the other young men of the time. Often this was done either by the community or by the person in the protection of whose honour, property, and person, the hero laid down his life. On several occasions, the dead was honoured with a memorial and his dependents were given a land grant. The size of the grant, however, depended upon the ability and discretion of the patron or patrons. This, probably, also decided the nature of the memorial ritual. Just as the patrons of modest means could not give a generous land grant to the dependents of the deceased hero, so also they could not offer lavish rewards for the artist of the memorial stones. It is possible that some received a token grant in cash; some others, a capacity of grain; yet others, a land-grant or an annual share from the produce, either from an establishment or from a household. A recorded *vīragal*, assigned to the time of Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa, partially supports this, for, it refers to a grant given by the *mahājanangaḷ* of Māvinakere to Ketiga, an artist who carved the stone, *kalla-hosida-Ketigange biṭa-kāliyakeyi.*[70]

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[69] *EC* V, Hn. 70.

In conclusion, we may state (1) that although the economic prosperity of the memorial-stone artists of the Hoysaḷa period was not more than that of his predecessors, there was marked improvement in their social status if the titles they received have any relevance to their place in society; (2) that the practice of seldom attesting names remained unchanged, for we have only 38 instances out of the total number of 363 recorded memorials; (3) that the artist's capacity to compose and to carve single-handed, his willingness to move to distant parts of the kingdom, his ability to make a living out of this profession and his social and economic status, hardly underwent any change; (4) that, like his predecessor, the Hoysaḷa artist also mentioned the name of his father, teacher and patron, but not that of his mother. We are not clear whether a larger number of artisans took up service in the army, or exhibited their skill as fighters during this period, but we can hardly doubt the capacity of the *ojas* to wield a sword and to plunge into a deadly struggle in defence of their village, kingdom, and socio-religious values. The Hoysaḷa period not only witnessed the largest number of memorials, but also an integration of a substantial section of the *Śūdras* into the military and administrative systems. Out of this emerged a section of the *Nāyaks* of the subsequent centuries whose distinguished military service, both under imperial and feudal systems, was to become an important aspect of the history of South India.

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[70] *EC* XV, Hn. 105.

Hoysaḷa Artists of Memorial Stones: App. II.

Regional distribution:

Hassan-12; Chikmagalur-12; Shimoga-6; Tumkur-4; Mandya-2 (one repeated from the Hassan list); Bangalore-1; Coorg-1; Mysore-1.

Basic-Regional-Time-Data-Chart (The numbers within brackets indicate the total memorials made by the artists):

BANGALORE

1. Kandavoja — IX, Kn. 46 of 1293 (1).

COORG

1. Mārigauḍa and Māyiga — I, Cg. 85 of 1255 (1).

CHIKMAGALUR

1. Dammācāri/Dharmacāri — VI, Cm. 99 of 1116; Cm. 100 of 1116 and 1127, No. 36 of 1110-16 ? (4).
2. Masanoja-Madeyoja — 1934, No. 12 of 1117 (1).
3. Satyana-Sovana — 1932, No. 30 of c. 1125 (1).
4. Bayiboja — VI, Cm. 4 of 1140 (1).
5. Buvaṇa, writer — VI, Cm. 81 of 1172 (1).
6. Mancayya — 1932, No. 12 of 1190 (1).
7. Sakoja, Maloja and Būtoja — VI, Cm. 157-158 of 1195 (1).
8. Tippācāri — VI, Kd. 112 of ? 1211 (1).
9. Chikka-Baicoja s/o Eboja s/o Baicoja — 1932, No. 24 of 1226 (1), Candaṇṇa s/o Vāsudevabhaṭṭa, writer.
10. Vīroja s/o Nāgoja son-in-law of Basava — 1927, No. 20 of Hoysaḷa king Narasimha (1).
11. Cinnoja s/o Babeyoja of Basavanahaḷḷi — 1932, No. 7 of 1289 (1).
12. Cikoja-Gopoja — VI, Cm. 36 of 1292 (1).

HASSAN

1. Gangācāri (2) also called Varddhamānācāri (2).— II, SB. 156 (127) of 1115; SB. 77 (67) of 1129; SB. 136 (118) of 1120; II, SB. 135 (117) of 1132 in all (4) *niśdhis*
2. Kamavācāri-brother of Gangācāri — II, SB. 176 (143) of 1131 (1). Bokimayya, writer.
3. Mūloja, sculptor
   Rāyaṇṇa of Kundūr, writer } V, Bl. 206 of 1136/1195? (1).
4. Dāsoja, sculptor
   Gangaṇṇa, writer } II, SB. 173 of 1145 (1).
5. Mūloja s/o Maloja — V, Hn, 29 of 1174 (1).
6. Ketiga — XV, HN. 105 of c. 1200 (1).
7. Paduyana, son-in-law of Bamiseṭi of Beluhūr — XV, Bl. 307 of 1244 (1).
8. Madiyoja s/o Būtoja of Gadubaḷḷi — XV, Bl. 306 of 1244 (1).
9. Bogoja s/o Gangoja of Roḍḍa — V, Cn. 261 of ? 1273 (1).
10. Māroja and Bommojaṇṇa — 1944, No. 1 of 1285 (warriors or artists ?)(1).
11. Siddayya s/o *ācāri* Ecoja — XV, HN. 83 of 1303 (1).
12. Malloja s/o Gacchikoja — XV, HN. 84 of 1306 (2) — (for another, see under Mandya Dt.,).

MANDYA

1. Mandalikācāri s/o Puradācāri — 1947-56, No. 25 of 1192 (1).
2. Malloja s/o Gacchikoja — 1913, para 85 of (1306) (for another see No. 12 under Hassan Dt.,) (2).

MYSORE

1. Ketācāri, son of Mayanācāri, Viśvakarma of Konguṇi — 1933, No. 41 of 1229. (1).

SHIMOGA

1. Maloja — VIII, Sb. 3 of 1130 (1).
2. Masanoja s/o Rāmoja — VIII, Sb. 4 of 1211 (1).
3. Biramma of Beleya and Madhukoja — VIII, Sa. 96 of 1299 (1).
4. Madhukoja s/o Rāmoja, sculptor
   Maci-Jīya s/o Bela-Jīya of
   Baradavaḷḷi, writer } VIII, Sa. 45 of 1300 (1). under Sāntāra service.

5. Yadoja s/o Māroja — VIII, Sa. 156 of 1305 (1).
6. Bogoja, sculptor
   Māyaṇṇa, *senabova* of Indavūra, writer — 1932, No. 23 of 1313 (1).

TUMKUR

1. Maloja — XII, Tp. 32 of 1164, Tp. 46 of c. 1164 (2).
2. Sidoja s/o Viboja — XVI, Tp. 160 of 1277 (1).
3. Mallarasa, Masanoja of Navile and Maboja of . . . vati. — XVI, Tp. 39 of c. 1291 (1).

VIJAYANAGARA: ARTISTS OF MEMORIAL STONES

S. SETTAR & H. B. SUNKAD

OUR search for the artists of memorial stones, engaged during the Vijayanagara rule is more or less confined to the published records of the present Karnataka; hence, the following study may be taken to cover only a part of the Vijayanagara empire.[1] Quite a large section of about twenty artists known so far (about four of the 14th cent.,[2] eleven of the 15th cent.,[3] and the rest of the 16th cent.,[4]) hailed from the present Shimoga and Karwar Dts. One of the earliest is Mādoja-Nāgoja, son of Garaboja of Hire-Āvaḷi in Sorab Tk. He carved two *niśidhis* one in honour of Rāma-gauṇḍa in 1371, and another, in honour of Beca-gauṇḍa in 1376.[5] He was either a Jain or employed by a Jaina patron. These *gauṇḍas* were lay-disciples of Rāmacandra-maladhārideva. Mādoja appears to have lived to be a centenarian and groomed his son, named Banadoja,

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1. As the heartland of Vijayanagara and the areas in which they came into frequent conflicts — Bellary, Raichur and other neighbouring districts — are yet to be satisfactorily surveyed, we may hold that this study is limited to a part of the present Karnataka state.
2. *EC* VIII, Sb. 115; *EC* III, Ml. 18; *EC* VIII, Sb. 112; and *EC* V, Cn. 195.
3. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 72; *EC* IX, Cp. 148; *KI* I, Nos. 40, 46, 52, 57 and 61; *EC* VIII, Sa. 74, Sb. 118 and Tl. 23.
4. *ASMAR* 1922, No. 59; *EC* IV, Ch. 147, 148 and 161; *KI* I, No. 68.
5. *EC* VIII, Sb. 115 and 106 respectively. The first record is wrongly dated in 1374, while it belongs to 1371. Besides this, a part of the text needs to be reconsidered, for the name of the father of the artist under discussion does not agree with the evidence found in other records. We feel that, instead of *māḍida-Tagorojana-maga* (mentioned in the present reading), the text should be read "*māḍidāta-Gora(bo)jana-maga*" as in Sb. 106 of 1376.

in his profession. We find him referred to as a "venerable man" of Hire-Āvaḷi in a record of the early 15th cent.[6]

Between the time of Mādoja-Nāgoja of Hire-Āvaḷi, (late 14th and early 15th cent.), and of Timmaya of Kaikiṇi, (late 15th and early 16th cent.), several artists associated themselves with their works. These memorials fall into the following four groups: (1) *vīragals*, or hero-stones; (2) *niśidhis*, memorials erected in honour of Jains who died by the rite of *sallekhana*; (3) *niśidhi-sahagamanas*, or composite memorials in honour of those who ended their lives by the process of *sallekhana* and *sahagamana*; and (4) *satī-vīragal*, another type of composite tablet, in which the wives took to *satī* after the heroic death of their husbands. Of the artists, Maliyoja of Aruvanahaḷḷi,[7] Guṇḍoja of Bāgūr,[8] Devoja of Saulanga,[9] Īśarācāri-Maniyācāri[10] (who worked either individually or jointly), Vīroja of Kolavaḷḷi,[11] Bācācāri of Kaikiṇi,[12] and probably Ecoja of Kallahaḷḷi are noteworthy.[13] Besides Mādoja-Nāgoja, Bopohoja, and Banadoja also hailed from Hire-Āvaḷi,[14] Vṛṣabhadāsavarṇi and Ādidāsa — the latter being a lay disciple of Municandradeva — distinguished themselves by carving *niśidhis* at Maleyūru.[15] One of the composite tablets at Hire-Āvaḷi commemorates the death of Maddi-gauṇḍi by *sahagamana* after her husband terminated his life by the rite of *pañcanamaskāra*.[16] The *gauṇḍi* is mentioned as the younger wife of Bīca-gauḍa, a pious Jain. The memorial found at Hariyakopa is also of a composite variety, commemorating the death of Bīragauḍa in a cattle-raid at Haḍasa, and of his wife, Gaurājī,

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6. *Ibid.*, Sb. 118 of 1421.
7. *Ibid.*, III, Ml. 8 of 1381.
8. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 195 of ? 1398.
9. *ASMAR* 1942, No. 72 of 1401.
10. See below, note 36.
11. *EC* VIII, Tl. 23 of 1432.
12. *KI* I, No. 61 of 1471.
13. *ASMAR* 1922, No. 59 of 1508.
14. *EC* VIII, Sb. 115 of 1374; Sb. 106 of 1376; Sb. 112 of 1383; Sb. 118 of 1421.
15. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 148 as well as *EC* IV, Ch. 161 of 1518 and Ch. 147 of 1518 respectively.
16. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 106 of 1376.

following the *sahagamana*.[17] As noticed earlier, the Hire-Āvaḷi composite memorial was carved by Mādoja-Nāgoja, while Dugoja made that at Hariyakopa.

If Mādoja-Nāgoja is amongst the earliest, Timmaya appears to be amongst the latest of the Vijayanagara artists of the memorials found so far. Hailing from Kaikiṇi in the Karwar Dt., Timmaya led an active life in the chieftaincy of the Nagire, Tuḷu and Haivas, when Virūpakṣa of the Sangama as well as Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutarāya of the Tuḷuva dynasties were ruling from Vijayanagara. This was a period of perpetual conflict among coastal chieftains and they were dogged by internal conflicts as well as by incursions of the Muslim governors of Bidire and Goa. It was also a period when neither military assistance nor moral support was forthcoming to the chieftains from the imperial centre. Exploiting the occasion, petty chieftains of Konkaṇ grew bold and often attempted to become independent. When the Muslim governor of Goa invaded the territory of *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sāḷuva Devarasa Oḍeyar, a chieftain in the Konkaṇ region, in 1481,[18] the latter received no help from his imperial masters. To avenge the defeat and humilitation, the *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* built up his own force, marched against the Muslim governor in 1484, and fought a battle at Handigoṇa. Bayiranāyaka of Kaikiṇi, one of the heroes of Devarasa, succumbed in the fight. On the request of his grandson, sculptor Timmaya carved a memorial. This artist was not an insignificant one, adept only to hold chisel and hammer; he was the son of Petala Timma, a *nāyaka* (leader) and a *baṇṭa* (bravado), attached to the fort of Govūra.[19] In 1522, when Kṛṣṇadevarāya reestablished his authority in the Konkaṇ region, his *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Devarāya fought another battle against the same enemy at Maḍagova.[20] Tammināyaka's son Tammunāyaka,

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[17] *Ibid.*, Sb. 74 of 1420. We find a similar composite tablet at Kapparahaḷḷi (*ASMAR* 1927, No. 126), but it has not been signed by the artist.

[18] *KI* I, No. 63.

[19] *Ibid.*, No. 69.

[20] *Ibid.*, No. 68.

(a relative of the hero who succumbed in the battle of Handigoṇa), died fighting heroically in this battle. A memorial was carved by Timmaya in his honour also.[21] Eight years later, another occasion was provided for this artist to carve one more hero-stone; this time, the hero was Īśaradevanāyaka of the Kaluvaṇa family; the contending parties were the chieftains of Hāḍuvaḷḷi and Nagire; the ruler on the Vijayanagara throne was Acyutarāya; the field of action was the village Nagira.[22] Thus, between 1494 and 1530, Timmaya carved atleast three *vīragals*, all to commemorate the death of Kaluvaṇa heroes.

It is interesting to note the popularity of the name Timmaya, both among warriors and artisans in the Konkaṇ region. A probable explanation for this may be found in the renown attained by a person of this name and the eagerness of his society to perpetuate the memory of that celebrity of the Kaluvaṇa house, not only by erecting a lithic memorial but also by naming their progeny after him. This accounts for the identity of the names of three generations of artists — Timmaya, the artist, born to Petala Timmayanāyaka, who was the son of Kaluvaṇa Timmanāyaka of Govūra fort. The convention of calling the new born after the name of one's own ancestors is fairly widespread, especially among the *Śūdras*; while following this convention, Timmaya was, no doubt, serving both the artistic as well as the heroic traditions of his time.

Unlike their predecessors, the Vijayanagara artists of memorial stones appear to have received no lofty titles or awards. None mentions his monetary or social gains. He, however, states either the name of his father or of his maternal uncle, or of his teacher. Occasionally the place of origin or of settlement is also specified. Devoja, Ādidāsa and Timmaya, for example, mention the names of the father, teacher and chieftain respectively.[23] Timmaya, as seen above, states the name of his father as well as his heroic attainments.

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[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *KI* III, pt. I, No. 8.

[23] Maddoja was the father of Devoja (*ASMAR* 1942, No. 72); Municandradeva was the *guru* of Ādidāsa (*EC* IV, Ch. 148 and 161); and Timmaya's chieftain was Kaluvaṇa-Timmanāyaka (*KI* I, No. 67 and 68 etc.).

A section of the artists appears to have migrated to their immediate neighbourhood in search of work. We learn that Maliyoja hailed from Belatūr but worked at Aruhanahaḷḷi,[24] Dugoja hailed from Hariyakopa but worked at Hosamane,[25] while Banadoja, who belonged to one of the ancient families of Hire-Āvaḷi, lived and distinguished himself in his own home-town.[26] There is hardly any need to reiterate the close proximity between the place of birth and the place of work of the artists of memorial stones.

Very little information is available about the terms of employment as well as of the wages, gifts and land-grants received by the artists. It is obvious that they were not subjected to any forced labour, though the monetary rewards appear to be not so significant as to be regulated through written records. A solitary reference, found in a 14th cent., record, helps us learn that some of the *vīragals* cost about twelve *gadyāṇas* to the patron;[27] it is probable that the major portion of this amount was spent on the artist and the remaining sum on its consecration. Needless to say that artists like Timmaya hardly depended upon the pittance procured from this profession.

We do not have enough information about the transformation in the size as well as the stylistic contents of the tablets, for very few of the Vijayanagara memorials have been published and fewer have been subjected to stylistic analysis so far. Among the reported examples, some measure not more than about 2′10″ × 1′2″, or 2′5″ × 2′5″;[28] while some others are mentioned to be more than 5′ in height and divided into as many as five panels.[29] No uniform system appears to have been followed while recording the historical details. Some sum up the story of the hero's death[30] in about three or four lines, while others elaborate the account in as many as twenty-two lengthy sentences.[31] As similar variations are found on the memorials of earlier centuries, we may assume that very few innovations — with the exception of imprinting their individuality through their own plastic idiom — were introduced by the Vijayanagara artists. The granite-gneiss media partly helped the Vijayanagara artists achieve this individuality.

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[24] *EC* III, Ml. 18.

[25] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sa. 74. Hosamane is attached to Kipaḍi in Sagar Tk., of the Shimoga Dt.

[26] *Ibid.*, Sb. 118.

[27] *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 195 of ?1398.

[28] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 112 and *ASMAR* 1942, No. 72 respectively.

[29] *KI* I, No. 67 and 68.

Another element of agreement found between these artists and their predecessors is the freedom employed by them to accept or reject collaboration. Collective workmanship, generally involving a scribe and a sculptor, or two sculptors, is as often met as works completed by only one artist.[32] Often we find an abrupt termination of a long standing partnership. Īśarācāri and Maṇiyācāri offer an example of this. A memorial established in 1451 in honour of Mābunāyaka, who had laid down his life in a battle fought between the chieftains of Nagire and Tuḷu,[33] was jointly done by these two. They probably lived in the Kaikiṇi-Hāḍuvaḷḷi region for about a decade, preparing memorials in honour of heroes who died fighting against the neighbouring chieftains, either Muslim governors of Goa or the forces of the imperial house at Vijayanagara. In 1422, and again 1423, they collaborated at Hāḍuvaḷḷi, carving memorials in honour of Koṭiyaṇṇa who fought in a battle between the chieftains of Bārakūr and Hāḍuvaḷḷi[34] and Īśaraṇṇa-nāyaka who lost his life in an encounter between the forces of Nagire and of Hāḍuvaḷḷi.[35] We learn from these records that Keśavācāri was the father of

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[30] *EC* IV, Ch. 148 and 161 respectively.

[31] *KI* I, No. 67.

[32] Among the artists mentioned earlier, Maliyoja, Bopohoja, Guṇḍoja, Devoja, Baṇadoja, Timmoja, Vīroja, Baicācāri, and Ecoja reveal this tendency.

[33] *KI* I, No. 40.

[34] *Ibid.*, No. 52 of 1422.

[35] *Ibid.*, No. 46 of 1423.

Īśarācāri, while Maṇiyācāri was born to Rāmācāri.[36] After working together for more than a decade, these artists appeared to have separated sometime between 1423 and 1427, and continued to work independently. Maṇiyācāri, for example, carved a *vīragal*, in memory of a hero who died in the battle of Kāsaragoḍu in 1427. An attack by the Honnāvura chieftain on the merchants of the Hañjamāna caused the chieftain of Nagire to rush to the rescue of the latter, and resulted in this battle.[37] This impressive tablet is divided into four panels bearing the conventional scenes, while the historical details are narrated in twenty-two long sentences. Although this is his fourth *vīragal*, it is the only one carved by Maṇiyācāri without the assistance of another artist and in memory of a person who was not a Jain. Īśarācāri also took up independent work in 1429, and made a *niśidhi* in honour of Maṇikasena, *guru* of Sangabhūpa, the chieftain of Nagire.[38] This is also an impressive work, for the record runs into fifty-six long sentences.

It is obvious that Īśarācāri-Maṇiyācāri lived in the Nagire-Hāḍuvaḷḷi chieftaincy and carved memorials in honour of heroes who laid down their lives in their master's cause. We are unaware how these two artists shared responsibility when they worked together, but it is possible that one concentrated on engraving records and the other, carving panels. The factors that brought them together and separated them later cannot be guessed — but, it is possible that their experience encouraged them to migrate to different regions, which naturally led to the termination of their partnership. Personal — domestic or economic — reasons may have also led them to search for new pastures. It is equally possible that the patrons preferred to engage only one of them in order to economise in the cost. Whether personal discord also contributed something cannot be known. Both the artists appear to have belonged to the *Viśvakarmma-kula*, though we do not know whether they belonged to the same religion. The available evidence indicates that as long as they collaborated, they rendered service only to Jaina patrons. While Īśarācāri stuck to this principle till the end, Maṇiyācāri's last work was non-Jain. We are uncertain whether there was any link between their personal religion and the religion they served.

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[36] It is probably necessary to draw attention to line 17 of *KI* I, No. 52 which has been read by the editor as "*Keśavācāriya maga Īśarācāri āyācāriya maga-Maṇiyāçāri.*" We may suggest here that '*ā-yācāriya*' must be replaced by *Rāmācāriya*, as the latter was the father of Maṇiyācāri. This is supported by a statement found in *KI* I, No. 46.

[37] *KI* I, No. 48.

[38] *Ibid.*, No. 49.

We encounter an artist named Īśarācāri or Īśaraṇa in the records of Bailūr and Kaikiṇi during 1430s. This artist is likely to be mistaken for his name-sake, but, in fact they are two different persons. The artist at Bailūr-Kaikiṇi[39] claims that he was born to Koṭioja or Koṭi and invokes *gaṇādhipa* in the records. He carved two donative records and a memorial in honour of heroes who appear to be devotees of Śiva. Koṭioja hailed from Madakkerasi, and had another son called Baicācāri. The latter carved a memorial in 1471, in which, however, the Jina is invoked.[40]

In conclusion, we may note that the life-style and the working conditions of the artists did not undergo any recognisable change during the Vijayanagara rule. The most popular of those who lived in the Konkaṇ region appear to have loyally served their immediate chieftains rather than their imperial masters at Vijayanagara. We know very little about the awards, land, or monetary grants, given to the artists of this period. They apparently did not entirely depend on the income they got from carving memorials, for at least some of them were as skilled in handling sword and shield as chisel and hammer. On the whole, the social status and the economic condition of the Viśvakarmmis appear to have undergone hardly any change during this period.

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[39] *Ibid.*, Nos. 53 and 54 of 1433 and No. 56 of 1438.

[40] *Ibid.*, No. 61.

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